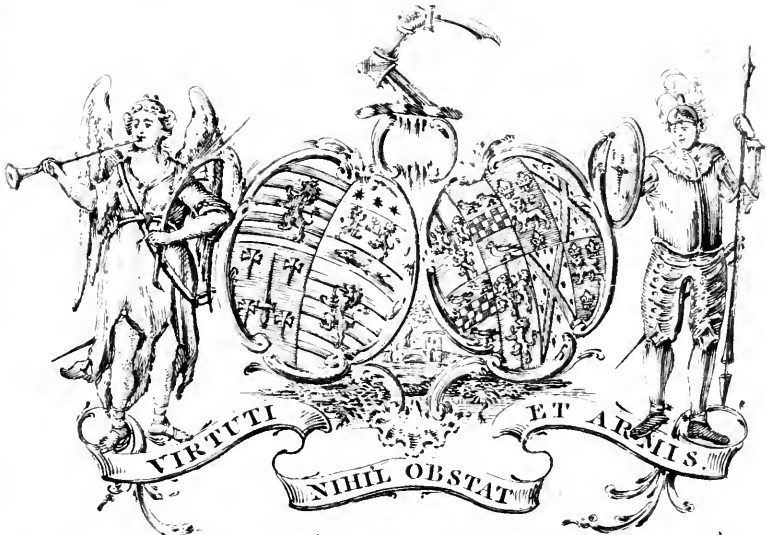




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*How well this Motto with Supporters suits!
I hate those Arms whose chief Supports are*

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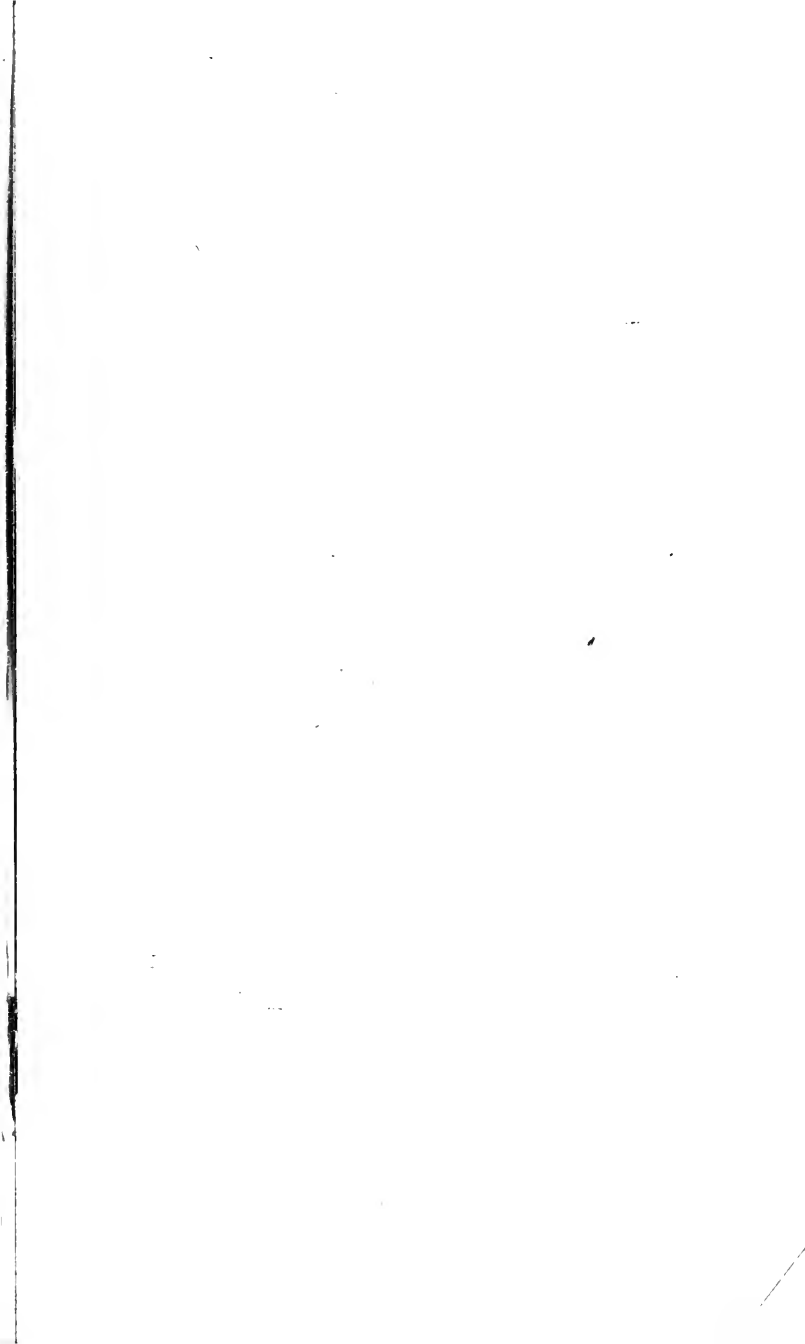
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111
Kupa Chank

7. 1. 39. For the
set, up of Kupa Chank. The
above is his autograph.

Fr. G. Perotto,







*His Royal Highness William
Duke of Gloucester.*

Printed for M. Gillyflower and L. Meredith.

THE
Royal Politician

REPRESENTED

IN

One Hundred Emblems.

Written in *Spanish* by

Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo,
Knight of the Order of St. Jago,
Plenipotentiary Ambassador

To the Cantons of *SWITZERLAND,*
At the Imperial Diet at *RATISBON,*
At the Famous Treaty of *MUNSTER,*
And of the Supreme Council of State for
both the *INDIES.*

With a large Preface, containing an Account of the
Author, his Works, and the Usefulness thereof.

Done into *English* from the Original.

By Sir *J. A. ASTRY.*

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for *Matt. Gylliflower* at the *Spread-Eagle* in
Westminster-Hall: And *Luke Meredith* at the *Star*
in *St. Paul's Church-Yard,* MDCC.



TO
His HIGHNESS
THE
Most Illustrious Prince,
WILLIAM,
Duke of Gloucester.

May it please your Highness,

THE Author of the ensuing Work,
originally a Spaniard, was in his
life-time, so highly esteemed for
his Learning, Wisdom, and Experience
in State Affairs, that he made no small
Figure in the greatest Courts of Europe.
Nor has this Off-spring of his Brain met
with less favourable Success. For having
A been

The Epistle Dedicatory.

been translated into several Languages, and in each often printed, it has been received with great Applause, and ever been honoured with the Protection of some Illustrious Young Prince.

But Precedent, Royal Sir, is not my only Apology for this Presumption; for were Saavedra now living, he might see his Theory reduced to Practice by the best of Kings, in the best of Governments: And though he has indeed given you excellent Maxims, supported by many eminent Examples, yet are there none so worthy your Imitation, as those you may continually observe, in the Conduct and Bravery of that most Excellent Prince, your Heroick Uncle; the whole Series of whose Life as far surpasses Panegyrick, as the Greatness of his Soul abhors Flattery. And I was the rather induced to attempt this unpolished Version, knowing that honest Plain-dealing and unbiassed Integrity, the two darling Mistresses of our Author, could not be unacceptable in a Nation where they are so generally beloved, and in a Court where they are beyond
Precedent,

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Precedent, more peculiarly cherished and maintain'd.

Your Royal Highness will here find Discourses, which I hope will not only be divertive to your Youth, but profitable even in your ripest Years; by reviving those Seeds of Honour and Virtue, which are daily sown by the pious Care and Example of Your most Illustrious Parents. You may here learn, not only the Duty of a Prince, but that also of an accomplish'd States-Man and Loyal Subject: And if ever it shall please God to make You his Vicegerent, You may from hence (next to the Holy Scriptures) learn your Duty to him also, by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree Justice.

In fine: You have here a Compleat System of Religious Politicks, which may guide You through all the Labyrinths of Government in this World, and crown You with immortality in that to come. But, pardon me, Royal Sir, I presume not by this Address to think, but that the nicest Stricks of our Author come far short of Your Highness's blooming Virtue, but as near as Per-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

jection can be copied, this Work has a Right in Your Royal Highness, it shewing not so much what You should be, as (if we may Judge the ensuing Day by the Glorious Morn) what You will be, the best of Princes.

But here I beg leave to retire, having already waded out of my Depth, Your Highness's Praises being a Topick so profound, that in attempting them, I should only trouble the Stream without hopes of ever plumbing the Bottom. The main Motives to this Dedication, were those two inherent Passions of Mankind, especially Writers, Interest and Ambition; the first in Regard to this Work, which has need of no less a Name, than that of Your Royal Highness to protect it; the last in respect to my self, having none greater than to subscribe my self,

Your Highness's most Faithful

and most Obedient Humble Servant,

J. A.

The Author to the Reader.



IN the toilsome Leisure of my continual Travels over *Germany*, and several other Countries, I compos'd these Hundred Emblems; wherein you have an Idea of a Royal Christian Politician, penning them down at vacant Intervals. These I had meditated on in my Journeys upon the Road, as oft as that continual Intercourse I had by Letters with his Catholick Majesty and his Ministers, and other publick Concerns incumbent on me, gave me Time and Leisure. By Degrees the Work swell'd, and though I was well assured, it came far short of Perfection, as not being compil'd with that continual Application of Thought, nor with that Accuracy and Labour correct-ed, as was requisite to have render'd it agreeable in all its Parts, and an absolutely perfect Piece; and that it

would be thought Pride in me, to presume to prescribe Precepts to Princes (1); However, the Importunity of my Friends (who have ever great Influence over me) prevail'd upon me to publish it; in which also Self-love had some part, for we are generally as fond of the Products of our Brain, as of those of Nature. I write not this, *Reader*, to excuse my Errors, for that I can't do sufficiently, but that I may more easily obtain Pardon of those, who shall consider my Zeal, in having amidst such a Croud of Business, Fatigues, and Dangers, compil'd this Book, that if any Benefit might be reap'd from it, it might accrue to my Prince and Master; and least with me should die the Experience which I have acquir'd by a continued Exercise in Business for Four and thirty Years, which after five years Study in the University of *Salamanca*, I have pass'd in the principal Courts of *Europe*, always employ'd in Publick Affairs, having been at *Rome* at the Election of two Popes; at the Assembly of the Electoral Princes at *Ratisbone* when *Ferdinand* the Third, the present most August Emperor, was created King of the *Romans*; at Eight Diets in *Switzerland*; and lastly at the Imperial Diet at *Ratisbone*, being Plenipotentiary for the most Serene House and Circle of *Burgundy*. Wherefore, if any one of these Political Counsels or Precepts, shall be any ways beneficial to him who is happily born to govern both the Old and New World, I believe this Attempt will be excus'd.

Nor should any one be disgust'd at the Use of Emblems, since God himself is the Author of them. The Brazen-Serpent (2), The Flaming-Bush (3), *Gideon's* Mice (4), *Sampson's* Lion (5), The Priests Garments (6), The Amours of the kind Spouse (7), What are they else but Emblems?

It has been my chiefest Endeavour to have the Invention new; whether the Performance be answerable

(1) *Præcipere qualis debeat esse princeps, pulchrum quidem, & generosum, sed prope superbum.* *Plin.* J. II. lib. 3. Epist. 18. (2) *Numb.* 21. (3) *Exodus* 3. (4) *Judges* 6. (5) *Judges* 14. (6) *Exodus* 28. (7) Song of Solomon.

I know not. There have been many Ingenious Men, who have wrote upon the same Subject, and 'tis very obvious for different Persons to Jump upon the same Thoughts; which has been my Fortune, having afterwards met with in other Authors. those Emblems which I at first thought my own Invention, which I therefore thought fit wholly to omit, not without Prejudice to my Design, for my Predecessors have made use of several Figures and Motto's, which has oblig'd me to take up with others less proper.

Also some Political Precepts, which though my own, as to the Invention at least, yet I have found since to be of other, and far more ancient Authority: I have therefore Inserted the Authors Names in the Margin, that due Honour may be paid to Antiquity. 'Twas the Happiness of the Wits of former Ages, that they could engross from their Posterity the Glory of Invention. I have made it my Design and Care, to Interweave this Web with some Threads of *Cornelius Tacitus*, without doubt the most accomplish'd Master of Princes, and who most judiciously penetrates their Nature, and the Customs and Intrigues of Courts, as also the Miscarriages and Success of Governments; with Precepts and Sentences taken from this Great Man, as with my Hand, I lead the Prince whom I would mould by these Emblems, that he may without danger, gather Flowers transplanted hither from anothers Garden, and purg'd from the Venom and Thorns which their native Soil frequently subjects them to, or the rankness of those times produc'd. In this Second Edition, I also illustrate the principal Maxims of State, with Proofs from Holy the Scriptures; for those Politicks which are refin'd in that Furnace, may be truly call'd Silver try'd and refined seven times in the Fire of Truth (8). And who would learn of a Heathen, or Impious Person, when the Holy Spirit is so ready to give Instruction?

(8) *Psalms* 12. 7. The Words of the Lord are pure Words; as Silver tried in a Furnace of Earth, purified seven times,

In explaining the Emblems, I am not too prolix, that the Reader may not lose the Satisfaction of discovering their meaning of himself. If by Chance, in my Discourse, I sprinkle a little Learning, it is not out of Ostentation, but to enlighten the Prince's Mind, and render the Instruction more agreeable.

The whole Work consists purely of State Maxims and Rules, those being the fittest Materials for such a Politick Building; however I don't barely propose them, but intermix them with the whole Discourse, applying them all along to particular Cases, to avoid the Danger of general Precepts.

It has been also my Endeavour to render the Style polite, but without Affectation; short too and concise, but not obscure; which in *Horace's* Judgment was a difficult Matter (9), and of which I have not yet seen an instance in the *Cassilian* Language. I have however made an Essay towards it, knowing that what is written to Princes should be neither idly Sententious, nor superfluously Copious. Their time is precious, and he does not a little obstruct the Publick Interest, who with empty and frivolous Discourse diverts them from Affairs of greater Importance.

I don't so wholly confine my self to the Institution and Direction of Princes, but that I also descend to Governments, reflect upon their Growth, Preservation, and Fall; and so to frame a Minister of State, and a prudent Courtier.

If at any time I am liberal of my Commendations of any, 'tis to excite Emulation, not to Flatter, to which I am very averse; for it were a Crime unpardonable to publish to the whole World, Flatteries, and those too engraven in Brass, or to make my self guilty of the very same thing, which I so much reprove and commend in others.

If I speak the Truth with too much Freedom, 'tis to be imputed to Ambition, which is so deeply rooted in Mens minds, that without Fire and Sword 'tis incurable.

(9) *Brevitas esse laboro obscurus fit*, Hor.

The Doctrine is general; but if any one shall from a Resemblance of Vices, think himself leuell'd at, or that what is blam'd in him is commended in others, 'tis not my Fault (10).

As also when I reprove Princes Actions, or reflect upon Tyrants, or only on the Nature of Sovereignty, it being no new or unusual thing, for a good Prince to do ill, when either he is not clearly inform'd of the Truth, or governed by ill Counsellors.

The same I would have understood of Commonwealths, if in any thing I seem to dislike them; for either my Reflections are upon what is very usual in Communities, or at least comprehend not those crown'd and well constituted Republicks, whose Government is Generous and Royal.

I have us'd Examples, both Ancient and Modern; those for their Authority, these partly as being more persuasive, partly too, because by Reason of Propinquity of time, the State of Affairs is less altered, and consequently may with less Danger be imitated, and a Prudent and Politick Judgment may more safely be formed thereon, which is the principal Advantage of History. Nor is our Age so barren of virtuous and great Atchievements, as not to have furnish'd us and our Posterity with good Examples (11). Besides, really it were black and envious in us to extol ancient, without the least regard to modern Actions (12).

I am well assur'd, *Reader*, that Books of this nature which treat of State Affairs, are like † *Statues*, which in running at the *Quintin*, all aim at with their Lances, all strike. I well know that whoever designs to be an Author, must submit to the Black Ink, and Press of Detraction, (which I design'd to signify by this Emblem;) but withal I am not ignorant, that the blacker that Ink, with which the Letters are daub'd, and the closer the Press wherewith they are press'd, the fairer afterwards, and more conspicuous they appear.

(10) Tac. 4. ann. *Qui ob similitudinem altera malefacta sibi obiectari putant.* (11) Tac. 4. Hist. (12) Ibid. † *Elusfermos.*

THE
TRANSLATOR
TO THE
READER.

I Will not endeavour with Rhetorical Flourishes to captivate any Person into a good Opinion of my Author, or his Work, being sensible I should therein do an Injury to his Memory, who has so often declared his Aversion to Flattery. I only desire the Reader to remember always that he was by Birth a Spaniard, and though Educated in the Church of Rome, was by Profession a Lawyer and Statesman, who being generally wiser, are less bigotted to the foolish Principles and Practices of that Religion. However, as I think it on the one Hand needless to vindicate the Illustrious House of Nassau from his partial Reflections, (which were modish in the Spanish Court when he wrote (1)) the whole World being satisfied in the Justice of their Cause, the Heroick Prosecution thereof, and what Additional Laurels they justly acquir'd thereby; so on the other side, I would not be thought to recommend his Religion either to Prince or People. We too lately escaped the Snare, to be again entangled with the Knaveeries or Fooleries, to say no worse, of the Church or Court of Rome; and next under God must own our sole Deliverance to a Branch of that Ancient and Imperial Family, our present Gracious Sovereign.

(1) The first Edition that I know of, was at Munster, Anno 1642. which being near six Year before the Conclusion of the Peace there, may serve as some Apology for the Author's Reflections on the Princes of Orange, and other Heroes of the Adverse Party.

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These Precautions being observed, I humbly presume this Book will be of excellent Use to all Ingenious Persons of what Degree or Quality soever. For though by the Title it seems calculated for the Meridian of Kings and Princes only, yet it in some measure comprehends all Persons within the Circumference of their Dominions.

The Statesman and Politician may herein learn what Qualifications they ought to be endowed with for Negotiations, either at Home, or in Foreign Courts; how by avoiding the Vices usually attending their High Stations, and embracing the contrary Virtues, they may render their Actions meritorious to their Prince or Country.

The Officers and Soldiers of an Army may here without Danger behold the Methods and Stratagems their Predecessors have used to Conquer their Enemies, and learn that their greatest Interest consists in good Order and Discipline, and absolute Obedience to their Superiors, that Vice is as pernicious in a Camp as a Court, and that Bravery and Virtue in Conjunction merit the greatest Reward and Affection from their Prince or Country.

The Merchants and Seamen may here behold the vast Advantage, their Profession is to a Government, and how Ships are the Moveable Poles, on which the Stability thereof depends.

In fine, all Persons of Learning, Sense, or Reason, may from many excellent Precepts and eminent Examples contained therein, improve and refine their Talents to the greatest Advantage imaginable, remembering always my previous Caution to avoid some few mistaken Aphorisms of his Religion and Country.

Our Celebrated Author, Don Diego Saavedra Faxardo, Knight of the Order of St. Jago, was Born of a Noble Family of Murcia in Spain. He was the Son of Peter de Saavedra and Fabiana Faxardo, who was also of Noble Extraction. He was Educated in the University of Salamanca, in the Profession of the Laws, wherein he became very Eminent, especially in those Parts thereof which are requisite for the Accomplishment of an Absolute Politician and Compleat Statesman. From thence he was chosen Secretary to Cardinal Gaspa:

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Gaspar Borgia, *Vice-Roy of Naples, and soon after Resident for his Catholick Majesty at Rome; where his Conduct gain'd him so great Applause, that he was sent on the same Employ into Switzerland: After that, he was Plenipotentiary-Ambassador at two Imperial Diets at Ratisbone; and then commanded to assist Don Gaspar de Bracamont, Count de Pennecranda, at the famous Treaty of Munster, where he gave signal Demonstration of his great Experience and Dexterity in the Management of the most difficult Affairs of State. At his Return he sat in the Supreme Council for the Government of both the Indies; in which Employ he died at Madrid in the Year 1648. All that I know more of him, you may find in his own Preface, to which, for brevity sake I refer you (2).*

The greatness of his Personal Character and Reputation, and of this Book in particular, are too well-establish'd in the World to require any Panegyrics on either; but if the Reader desire to see how this Work was admired by some of the most Learned of the Age, let him read the Epistles prefix'd to the Latin Version thereof. His Religious Temper more particularly appears in the great Veneration he always shews for the Holy Scripture, and his apt Application thereof; and his Politicks no less by being so well read in Tacitus, the Great Master thereof. Were that Excellent Roman now living, he could not but be pleas'd, to see the Roughness and Crabbedness of his Stile so finely polish'd, without Diminution to the profoundness of his Sense and Judgment, in our English Version; though in the Annotations thereof, he would find himself Rivall'd, if not excell'd by a Modern Politician. But there is no greater Argument to prove the general Approbation and kind Reception thereof, than the various Editions in several Languages, besides the Original, as Latin, French, Italian, Portugese, and High-German. To enumerate the particular Times and Places of each Impression would be superfluous, were they all known to us. Let it suffice to inform you, that

(2) Nic. Antonlo's Bibliotheca Scrip. Hispan.
Miraus's Bibliotheca Ecclesiast.
Moren's Great Dictionary.

to the READER.

the Impression of the Original we chiefly made use of in this Version, is the Fourth Edition, Printed at Valencia, 1660. as being the most Correct we could meet with. He wrote also a Book, Entituled, Corona Gothica, Cattellanice, & Austriaca Politicamente Illustrada, Printed at Madrid, 1650. though, as some say, he died before he had compleated it.

And here I cannot but observe how disingenuous (to say no worse) the Italian and French Translators, or rather Corruptors, of our Author have been, especially the last, who not content only to omit whole Pages and Sections, very material to the Purpose, have foisted in their own fulsome Flatteries instead thereof, basely perverting his very Sense and Meaning, to comply with the Interest and Ambition of particular Persons or Governments. So dangerous a Thing is Truth in some Nations. But we have chose rather to draw the Copy after the full Proportion of the Original, being satisfied we have the Happiness to live in so well Constituted a Government, and under so Excellent a King, that Truth and Integrity are now become the great Accomplishments of a Courtier.

Our Author taking occasion so often to mention Alphonsus the Wise, I presume it will not be thought unnecessary, or be unacceptable to some Readers, to give a short Account of him. He was the Tenth of that Name, King of Leon and Castile, and was also Sirnamed the Astrologer, and succeeded his Father, Ferdinand the Third, 1252. He made the Astronomical Tables, still Extant, which are called from his Name, Tabulæ Alphonsinæ; and 'tis certainly affirm'd, That he spent 200000 Crowns in the Composition of them. He refused the Imperial Crown of Germany, which was offered him after the Rejection of Richard, Duke of Cornwall, contenting himself only with the Title of Emperor, which some say he resigned to Pope Gregory the Tenth, whereof he repented, and would have reassumed the Imperial Title and Arms; but was deterred for fear of an Excommunication against him. He was successful against the Moore; but at length detron'd by his own Son Sancho, and died for Grief in Anno 1284. In a great Sickness, after many Remedies

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Remedies used in vain, he began to read Quint. Curtius's History of Alexander the Great, which he did with so much Delight, that he recovered his Health; whereupon he said, Farewell Avicen, Hippocrates, and the whole Croud of Doctors, give me my Curtius that hath saved my Life. He had read the Bible fourteen Times, with several Commentaries upon it; he was a great Astrologer, and after he had deeply considered the Fabrick of the World, the following saying of his, reported by Lipsius, denotes him to have been none of the most Pious; viz. That if God had advised with him in the Creation, he could have given him good Counsel (3).

By the Great Captain, often also mentioned, is meant Gonzales of Cordova, who served under Ferdinand and Isabella, in the Conquest of Granada, and was very famous in his Time.

It may perhaps, according to Custom, be expected we should give some Account of the present Performance; but that indeed is a very ticklish Point; for to Commend, or even Justify it would favour of Vanity; and to discover its Imperfections, would be very disobliging to our Friends, the Bookfellers. I shall therefore in the Words of an Ingenuous and Judicious Author (4), desire you to consider, That there are certain Graces and Happineses, peculiar to every Language which give Life and Energy to the Words. And whosoever offers at a Verbal Translation, shall have the Misfortune of that Young Traveller, who lost his own Language abroad, and brought home no other instead thereof. For the Grace of the Spanish will be lost by being turned into English Words; and the Grace of the English by being turned into Spanish Phrase. However we have endeavoured to come as near the Sense of the Original, as we could, without offering to be Fidi Interpretes, that properly belonging to those who Translate Matters of Faith, or such Facts of Moment as have Relation thereunto.

(3) Mariana Hist. Hisp. Turquet. Roderick Geneb. Spond. Bzovius.

(4) Sir John Denham.

The Reader is desired to take notice that our Author, & all others of his Religion, makes use of the Vulgar Translation in his Quotations out of the Holy Scripture, which in many Places is so different from the English Version, that they are not applicable to the Purpose for which he Quotes them. For Instance the Seventy eighth Emblem is a Syren or Mermaid, and the Motto, Formosa Superne. In the beginning thereof, he quotes Isaiah 13. 22. Et Sirenes in delubris voluptatis, which we Translate, and Dragons in their pleasant Places. How beautiful they are, unless we do them wrong, I leave you to judge. The Fifty fifth Emblem, is a Hand holding a Scepter full of Eyes; the Motto, His Prævide & Provide. He there quotes Jeremiah 1. 11. where the Vulgar has Virgam vigilantem ego video; the English, I see the Rod of an Almond Tree; which literally taken, is little to his Purpose, and therefore we leave it in the Sense he took it. The Word in the Hebrew, is Saked, for an Almond Tree, and Verse the 12th, Then said the Lord unto me, thou hast well seen, for I will hasten my Word to perform it. The Almond Tree is there mentioned as an Emblem of Hast; the word Saked, an Almond Tree, alluding to Sakad, a Word which signifies making Hast. Nor is the Allusion frivolous, for Pliney says, Floret omnium prima Amygdala, mense Januario, Martio verò Poma maturat. Lib. 16. c. 25. (5).

Now, if any Person thinks himself represented herein, and likes not his Picture, let him consider he fate not for it, and if he finds any Strokes too Bold, let him not blame the Artist, but amend the Original. As for that little Popery that is in it, it has been so solidly confuted by many Eminent Divines of the Church of England, and so ridicul'd by others, that I presume, it cannot have the least Influence on the meanest Protestant of the Nation. In Answer to what he reflects on some of his Majesty's Heroick Ancestors, (if it may not rather be called an Encomium) I refer the Reader to that most Excellent and Unanswerable Apology,

(5) Bochartus's Geograph. Sacra. Phaleg, lib. c. 1. Canaan, lib. 1. c. 35.

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wrote by the Prince of Orange himself, and published in all Languages. And for a Conclusion, accept of the following Epigram, by an unknown Hand, representing that Illustrious Prince, as Prophetically, speaking to William the Third, our present Gracious Sovereign.

Nassovius Cœli miratus ab Arce Nepotem
Ad Summum tantis passibus ire Decus;
Macte, inquit, sanguis noster; tibi cedimus nitro,
Quandoquidem cedunt Terra Fretumque tibi.
Me Duce parta meis Libertas pristina Belgis,
Orbis Hyperboreus, te Duce, liber erit.

In English.

When Nassau from the Skies beheld his Son,
With such large Steps the Race of honour Run;
Proceed, my Boy, proceed with joy, said He;
I do, since Earth and Sea submit to thee.
I only to my Country freedom gave,
You will the Northern World from Bondage save.

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OF THE
 EDUCATION
 OF A
 PRINCE.

EMBLEM I.



Valour is born, not acquired ; 'tis an intrinsic Quality of the Soul which is infused with it, and immediately exerts it self: The very Mothers Womb was a Field of Battel to the Two Brothers, *Jacob* and *Esau* (1). Of *Thamar's* Twins, one

(1) And the Children struggled together within her, *Gen. 25. 22.*

by Nature more daring, when he could not be Born before his Brother, broke however the Ligature, and thrust out his Hand, as if he would snatch the Eldership from him (2). A great Soul exerts it self in the Cradle: *Hercules* Crowned by the Conquest of Two Serpents, from that day exposing himself to Envy, and making Fortune truckle to his Vertue. A generous Spirit is conspicuous in the very first Actions of Nature. The Infant of *Spain*, your Highness his Uncle of Blessed Memory, saw the Battel of *Norlinguen* almost even before he knew what War was, and even then knew how to Command with Prudence and Act with Vigour.

Cyrus, a very Boy when Elected King by those of his own Age, did in that Childish Government such Heroick Actions, as sufficiently manifested his secret Greatness of mind and Royal Genius, Natures most excellent Productions are themselves their own Discoverers. Amidst the rude and unrefined mass of Oar, the Diamond sparkles, and Gold glisters. The Young Lion as soon as whelp'd, views his Paws, and with a haughty Mein, shakes his curled Main scarce yet dry, as preparing to Fight. Childish Games, to which Princes are carried by a natural Impulse, are Signs and prognosticks of maturer Actions. Nature is never so much as a Moment idle, but from the very Birth of it's Off-spring is industrious in a regular Formation of its Mind as well as Body; for this Reason, she has stamp't such an extraordinary Affection upon Parents to excite their Diligence in well Educating their Children; and lest they should (which is no unusual thing) with a strange Nurses Milk, imbibe also her Vicious Practices, the same Nature, provident in her Distributions, has dispenced as it were a double Fountain of purer Blood, to supply them with Nourishment for their Young Ones: But either Idleness, or fear of

(2) And it came to pass when she travelled, that the one put out his hand first, *Genes.* 38. 28.

losing their Beauty, is frequently the occasion why Mothers (not without considerable Detriment to the Commonwealth) neglect their Duty, and give the suckling of their Children to others; which Abuse, since it cannot so easily be remedied, at least great care should be taken in the Choice of them. *Let them be Healthy, of a good Family, and well bred; for as from the Conception to the Birth the Child is nourished in the Body of its Mother, so is it from its Birth till 'tis weaned, by the Nurse's Breast, and this last Interval being longer than the other, the Child must of Necessity imbibe more of the Nature of its Nurse than its Mother,* Says the Wise King Alphonso, who prescribed Laws to Heaven and Earth.

The Second Obligation Parents lie under, is the Education of their Children (3): there's scarce any Animal will forsake its Young Ones without Direction given how to provide for themselves. Nor are the Advantages of Education less considerable than those of Nature, and Children are more ready to embrace their Parents instructions and bear their Reproofs, than those of others (4): Those particularly who are nobly born disdain to be govern'd by their Inferiours. In a Childs first Procreation, it Received nothing from the Father but a Body, for God alone is the Authour of the Soul, which except the Father afterwards Cultivates and improves by Education (5), he will scarce deserve the name of a true and absolute Father. Nor is it new in holy Scripture for a Master to be called Father. For Example, *Jabal* the first Teacher of Musick (6). And who, I pray, is fitter to Teach his Son how to appear with Majesty, how to keep a Decorum in all things, Maintain his Authority, and govern his Subjects, than the Prince himself (7)? He only has the full practick

(3) Hast thou Children, instruct them. *Eccles. 7. 23.* (4) *Educantur siquidem recte à parentibus, per sanctos & justos mores boni merito erudient.* *Aristot. Decon. lib. 2.* (5) Wisdom exalteth her Children. *Eccles. 4. 12.* (6) He was the Father of all such as handle the harp and Organ, *Gen. 4. 21.* (7) My son, give me thine heart, and let thine Eyes observe my ways. *Prov. 23. 26.*

Knowledge of Government, which others know only in part and by Speculation: Nor without reason did *Solomon* boast that he Received great Improvement from his Fathers Instructions (8); however since Fathers sometimes have not themselves the Qualifications requisite for a good Education of their Children, or at least have not leisure to take that Trouble upon them, Masters must be looked for of an unblamable Life and Conversation; eminent withall for Learning and Experience (9); such as King *Alphonso* in his Laws describes in these Words. *So that for all these reasons, Kings ought to take great care of their Children, and to choose them Tutors of a good Family and good Livers, sound both in Mind and Body, and above all faithfull and just, firm to the Interest of their King and Country.* To which I add, that they ought to be Men of Valour and a great Spirit, well Experienced in Affairs, as well of Peace as War, such was *Seneca*, whom therefore *Agrippina* made Choice of for *Nero's* Master (10). 'Tis impossible, without doubt, for a Man of an abject and mean Spirit to imprint on a Prince thoughts more sublime than his own. Were an Owl to instruct an Eagle, she would not teach her to look on the Sun, or soar above lofty Cedars; her School would be kept altogether in the dark, amidst the lower Branches. The Master's Image appears in the Scholar, and in him, he in a manner Represents himself. For no other reason did *Pharaob* make *Joseph* Lord of his house, and Ruler of all his substance, but to teach his Princes to be like himself (11). Those who have the tuition and government of Princes Sons, ought to be as careful of their tender years, as Gardi-

(8) For I was my Father's Son, tender and only beloved of my Mother; he taught me also, and said, Let thine heart retain my words. *Prov.* 4. 3. (9) *Quarendi sunt liberis Magistri, quarum & inculpata sit vita & mores.* *Plut. de Educ.* (10) *Utq; Domitii iuvenia tali Magistro adlesceret; & consiliis ejusdem ad spem dominationis uteretur.* *Tac.* 12. *Ann.* (11) And he made him Lord of his house, and ruler of his substance: To bid his Princes at his pleasure; and teach his Senators wisdom, *Psal.* 105. 21, 22.

ners are of their most delicate Plants, which even before they appear above ground; they secure with Fences to prevent their being injured, by treading on, or handling. On the first stroak depends the Perfection of a Picture, so does a good Education on what the first years have imbibed, before the passions get strength and refuse to submit to reason (12). From a very minute Seed a vast Tree proceeds, which however small a twig at first, and easily flexible every way, when 'tis invested with Bark, and has diffused it self into Branches, stands immoveable. The affections in youth are not much unlike poison, which having once made its passage into the Heart, leaves the paleness consequent to it incurable. Vertues that improve and increase with our Age have not only the precedency of others, but excell even themselves (13). Of the four Winged Animals in *Exekiel's* Vision, the Eagle, one of that very number, was carried higher than all those four (14), for because she as soon as hatcht began to have Wings, the others not till long after, she not only appeared above them, but her self too. For want of a suitable consideration of this, I Imagine it is that many persons usually commit the Care of their Sons as soon as they come into the World, to Women, who with the idle fear of shadows, agreeable to the genius of their Sex, enfeeble their minds, and stamp other Effeminate passions on them, which with time take deep root (15). To avoid this inconveniency, the *Persian* Kings Committed theirs to the care of persons of worth and prudence (16). But above all, Children's natures are

(12) Bow down his neck while he is young, and bear him on the sides while he is a Child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient to thee, and so bring sorrow to thine heart. *Eccles.* 30. 12. (13) It is good for a Man that he bear the Yoke in his Youth, he sitteth alone, and keepeth silence, because he hath born it upon him, *Lam.* 3. 27, 28. (14) They four had also the face of an Eagle. *Exek.* 1. 10. (15) Train up thy child in the way he should go: and when he is old he will not depart from it. *Prov.* 22. 6. (16) *Nutritur puer non à Matre nutrice parum honorifica, verum ab Eunuchis, qui reliquorum circa Rem optimi videsatur, Plur. primo Alcib.*

to be taken particular notice of, it being impossible without it to draw a true Scheme of Education.

Now no Age is more proper for it than their infancy, when nature as yet free from envy and dissimulation (17), sincerely discloses it self; when in their Forehead, Eyes, Hands, their Smiles and other motions of their Body, their passions and inclinations appear without disguise. The Ambassadors of *Bearn* having power given them by the illustrious *William* of *Mençada* to Choose which of his Sons for their Prince they thought fit; upon observation, that Ones hand was Clinched, the others open, Chose this latter, interpreting it to be a sign of Munificence and Liberality, as it afterwards prov'd. If an Infant be of a generous and great Mind, at hearing his own commendations he smooths his Brows, looks pleasantly and smiles; on the contrary, when discommended, he is concerned, blushes and casts his Eyes on the ground; if of an undaunted Spirit, he looks stern, is not terrified with shadows or threats; if Liberal, he despises toys and presents, or readily parts with them again to others; if revengeful, he continues Angry, is all in Tears till he have satisfaction; if he be Choleric, the least trifle puts him in a heat, he lets fall his Brows, looks dogged, and threatens with his fist; if Affable, with a sweet Smile and alluring Eye, he wins favour and acceptance; if Melancholy, he avoids Company, delights in solitude, is often complaining, seldom Laughs, and generally looks sullen; if he be Airy, he unfolds the Wrinkles of his Forehead, and now gratefully fixing his Eyes seems to dart a pleasing light, by and by with a kind of Complacency withdrawing them, and agreeably pleating his brows, betrays the Cheerfulness of his Mind. Thus does the heart represent the other Vertues also, and vices in the face and exterior motions of the Body, till more cautious Age has taught it to Conceal them.

(17) *Juvenes non sunt maligni moris sed facili moris, propterea quod vitam viderant nequissimam.* Lucan.

In the very Cradle and Nurse's Arms, the whole Court admired in your Highness, a certain natural pleasantness and grateful Majesty, and indeed that grave carriage and presence of Mind which appeared in your Highness, when the Two Kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon* took an Oath of Allegiance to you, exceeded the ordinary capacity of your years.

I would not have however, these reflections of mine upon infancy be look'd upon as infallible and without exception, for nature sometimes deviates from her Common Road, and deceives the too curious Enquirer, there are some, who tho' vicious in their infancy, when at years of discretion take up and Reform, which happens perhaps, because one of a great and haughty Spirit despises Education, and consequently is subdued by his natural passions, while right reason is too weak to resist them, till that getting strength He acknowledges its errors and corrects them effectually: 'twas a cruel and barbarous Custom therefore of the *Brachmans*, who either killed or exposed their Children after they were Two Months Old in the Woods, if there appeared in them any tokens of an ill nature. As inhumane were the *Lacedaemonians* who threw theirs into the River *Taygetes*. Both seem'd to make no account of Education, of right reason and free-will which usually correct and regulate natural affections. This also seems unaccountable, when nature joyns some eminent Vertues with the most enormous Vices in the same person; as too different slips are often grafted upon two branches, which growing out of the same Root produce different, nay contrary Fruits, bitter and sweet.

This was Visible in *Alcibiades* of whom 'twas a question whether he was more eminent for his Vertues or Vices. And thus Nature works 'ere she has begun to know her self, but reason afterwards and industry correct and polish her operations.

Lastly since I propos'd to my self by these Emblems to give an exact Model of a Prince from the Cradle to the Tomb, It won't be amiss to accommodate my rudi-

ments and stile to each particular Age, as *Plato* and *Aristotle* have done. At present, I Advise that special Care be taken to render his Arms and Legs active by Exercise. If by chance any of his Limbs should be crooked they may be straightned by artificial Instruments (18). Let frightful Spectacles which may injure the imaginative faculty be kept from him: Let him not be suffered to look askint at any thing: Use him gradually to the sharpness of the Air, nor should Musick be Wanting to quicken his Spirits now and then: for whatever new thing Children meet with, that 'tis they admire, that makes the deepest Impression on their Imagination.

(18) *Ceterum ne propter teneritatem membra torquantur, nationes quibusdam artificiosis instrumentis utebantur.* Arist. lib. 7. Pol. cap. 17.

E M B L E M II.



With Pencil and Colours Art admirably Expresses every thing. Hence, if Painting be not Nature, it certainly comes so near it as that often its works deceive the sight, and are not to be distinguished but by the touch. It can't, it's true, animate Bodies, but it frequently draws the Beauty, Motions and Affections of the Soul. Altho' indeed it cannot intirely form the Bodies themselves for want of matter, yet the Pencil so exquisitely describes them on Canvass, that besides Life there's nothing that you can desire more. Nature I believe would envy Art if she could possibly do the same, but now she is so kind, as in many things to use the Assistance of Art; for whatever the Industry of this can perfect, that Nature does not finish her self. Thus we see man is born without any manner of knowledge or propriety of speech, instruction and learning being left to draw the lineaments

of Arts and Sciences on his mind as on a blank Canvas, and Education to Imprint morality thereon, not without great advantage to humane Society; for hence it comes to pass that by One mans having Occasion for the Assistance of another, the bonds of gratitude and affection are strengthened: for Nature has sown the seed of Vertue and knowledge in all of us, we are equally born to those goods of the mind, which must be cultivated and quicken'd by some other hand (1). But 'tis necessary these measures be taken in the tender years, while the mind is fitter to Receive all manner of forms, so readily apprehensive of sciences as to appear rather to remember than first learn them; which *Plato* made use of as an argument to prove the immortality of the Soul (2); but if this be neglected in the first Age, the affections by degrees get ground, and their depraved inclinations make so deep an impression upon the will as no Education can efface. The Bear no sooner whelps but licking the limbs of her deformed Litter while they are soft, perfects and brings them to shape, whereas if she suffered them to grow firm her pains would be ineffectual. It was wisely done (in my Judgment) of the Kings of *Persia* to Commit their Sons in their Infancy to Masters, whose care it should be for the first seven years of their life to Organize their Bodies: In the second to strengthen them by using them to fencing and the like Exercises. To these they after added four select Persons to give the finishing strokes; the first eminent for Learning, made 'em Scholars; the second a discreet, sober man, taught them to govern and bridle their appetites; the third a Lover of Equity, inculcated the Administration of Justice; lastly the fourth eminently Valiant and Experienced in Warfare, instructed them in Mili-

(1) *Omnibus natura fundamenta dedit, semenque virtutum, omnes ad ista omnia nati sumus; cum irritator accessit, tunc illa animi bona, velut lapsa excitantur.* Sen. Epist. 10. (2) *Ex hoc posse cognosci animas immortales esse, atque divinus, quod in pueris mobilia sunt ingenia, & ad precipue facilia.* Plat. de Ao.

tary Discipline, especially endeavouring by incentives to Honour, to divert their minds from fear and Cowardice. But this good Education is particularly necessary in Princes as they are the Instruments of Politick happiness and publick safety. In others the neglect of a good Education is only prejudicial to single persons or at least influences very few: but in a Prince 'tis not only against his private, but every ones common interest, whilst some he injures immediately by his Actions, others by his Example. Man well Educated is the most divine Creature in the World; If ill, of all animals the most savage (3). What, I pray, can you expect from a Prince who is ill Educated, and has got the supreme power in his hands? other evils of a Common wealth are of no long continuance, this never terminates but with the Princes life. Of what Importance a good and honourable Education is, *Philip King of Macedon* was sensible, declaring in his Letters to *Aristotle* upon the Birth of his Son *Alexander* his Obligation to the Gods, not so much for giving him a Son, as that he was born at a time when he could make use of such a Master, and 'tis certainly never convenient to leave nature otherwise good, to her self and her own operations, since the best is imperfect and requires some external industry to cultivate it, as indeed do most things necessary for man's well being. The punishment derived to us by the fault of our first parents being not to enjoy any thing without labour and the sweat of the Brow, how can you expect a Tree to bear sweet fruit unless you transplant it, or by grafting it upon stems of a more refined and generous nature, correct its Wildness. Education improves the good and instructs the bad (4). This was the rea-

(3) *Homo rectam natus institutionem divinissimum mansuetissimumque animal effici solet; si vero, vel non sufficienter, vel non bene educatur, eorum quæ terra progenit, ferocissimum.* Plat. lib. 3. de leg. (4) *Educatio, & institutio commoda, naturas bonas inducit, & rursum bonæ naturæ si talem institutionem consequantur, meliores adhuc & præstantiores evadere solent.* Plat. Dial. 4. de Leg.

son why *Trajan* became so eminent a Governour, because he added industry to his natural parts and had the direction of such a Master as *Plutarch*. Nor had King *Peter* surnamed the Cruel, ever proved so barbarous and tyrannical had *John Alphonso*, Duke of *Albuquerque*, his Tutor, known how to mollifie and break his haughty temper. There's the same difference in Mens dispositions as in Metals, some of which are proof against fire, others dissolve in it; yet all give way to the graving tools, are maleable and ductile. So there's no humour so rugged but care and correction may have some effect on. Altho' I confess Education is not always sufficient of it self to make men Vertuous, because many times under Purple as among Briars and Woods, there spring up such monstrous Vices, particularly in persons of a great Spirit, as prove utterly Incurable. What is more obvious than for young men to be debauched by Luxury, Liberty or Flattery in Princes Courts, where abundance of Vicious affections grow as Thorns, as noxious and unprofitable weeds upon ill manured Land. Wherefore Except these Courts are well instituted the care taken in a good Education will be to very little purpose; for they seem to be like Moulds and accordingly so Form the Prince as themselves are well or ill disposed, and those Vertues or Vices which have once began to be in repute in them, their ministers transmit to posterity. A Prince is scarce Master of his reason when his Courtiers out of flattery Cry up the too great Liberty of his Parents and Ancestors, recommending to him some great and renowned Actions of theirs, which have been as it were the propriety of his Family. Hence also it comes to pass that some particular Customs and Inclinations are propagated from Father to Son in a continued succession, not so much by the Native force of their blood, (for neither length of time nor Mixtures of Marriage are used to Change them) as because they are established in the Courts where Infancy imbibes them and as it were turns them into nature, thus among the *Romans* the

Claudii were reputed Proud, the *Scipio's* Warlike, the *Appii* ambitious; as now in *Spain* the *Gusmans* are looked upon to be Good Men, the *Mendozas* Humane, the *Mauriques* have the Character of Formidable, the *Toletan's* Severe and Grave. The same is Visible in Artificers, when any of a family have attained an Excellency, they easily transmit it to their Children, the Spectatours of their Art and to whom they leave their Works and Monuments of their Labour. To all this may be added, that Flattery mixt with Errour sometimes commends in a Boy for Vertue what by no means deserves that name, as Lewdness, Ostentation, Insolence, Anger, Revenge and other Vices of the like nature; some men erroneously perswading themselves that they are tokens of a great Spirit; which withall induces 'em too eagerly to pursue these, to the neglect of real Vertues: as a Maid sometimes if she be commended for her free Carriage or Confidence, applies her self to those rather than Modesty and Honesty, the principal good Qualities of that Sex. Tho' indeed young men ought to be driven from all Vices in general, yet more especially from those which tend to Laziness or Hatred they being more easily imprinted in their minds (5). Care therefore must be taken that the Prince over-hear no filthy or obscene expressions, much less should he be suffered to use them himself: We easily execute what we make familiar to us in discourse, at least something near it (6). Wherefore to prevent this Evil the *Romans* used to Choose out of their families some grave Ancient Matron to be their Sons Governesses, whose whole Care and Employment was to give them a good Education, in whose presence it was not allowable to speak a foul word or admit an indecent Action (7). The design of

(5) *Cuncta igitur mala, sed ea maxime quæ turpitudinem habent vel odium parent, sunt procul à pueris removenda.* Arist. Pol. 7. c. 17. (6) *Nam facile turpia loquendo, efficitur ut homines his proxima fiant.* Arist. Pol. 7. c. 17. (7) *Corum quæ neque dicere fas erat, quod turpe dicitur, neque facere quod inhonestum factum videretur.* Quint. dial. de orat.

this severe discipline was that their nature being preserved pure and untainted, they might readily embrace honest professions (8). *Quintilian* laments the neglect of this manner of Education in his time, Children being usually brought up among servants, and so learning to imitate their Vices. Nor, says he, is any one of the family concerned what he says or does before his young Master, since even their parents don't so much inure them to Vertues and Modesty as Lasciviousness and Libertinism (9). Which to this day is usual in most Princes Courts: nor is there any remedy for it, but displacing those Vicious Courtiers and substituting others of approved Vertue who may excite the Princes mind to Actions more generous and such as tend to true honour (10). When a Court has once bid adieu to Vertue, 'tis often Changed but never for the better, nor does it desire a Prince better than it self. Thus *Nero's* family were Favourers of *Otho*, because he was like him (11). But if the Prince cannot do this, I think it were more adviseable for him to leave that Court, as we remember *James* the 1st. King of *Arragon* did, * when he saw himself Tyrannized over by those who educated and confined him as it were in a prison: nor can I give those Courts any other name, where the principal aim is to enslave the princes will, and he is not suffered to go this way or that by choice and at his own pleasure, but is forcibly guided as his Courtiers please, just as Water is conveighed thro' private Channels for the sole benefit of the ground thro' which it passes. To what purpose are good natural Parts and Education, if the Prince is

(8) *Quo disciplina, ac severitas eo pertinebat, ut sincera & integra, & nullis pravitatibus detorta uniuscujusque natura toto statim pectore arriperet artes honestas. Quintil. Ibid.* (9) *Nec quisquam in tota domo pensi habet quid coram infante domino, aut dicat aut faciat; quando etiam ipsi parentes, nec probitati neque modestie parvulos assuescunt, sed lascivie, & libertati. Quint. ibid.* (10) *Neq; enim auribus jucunda convenit dicere, sed ex quo aliquis gloriosus fiat. Eurip. in Hippol.* (11) *Prona in eum aula Neronis ut similem. Tac. 1. Hist.* * *Mar. Hist. Hist.*

suffered to see, hear and know no more than his Attendance think fit? What wonder if *Henry* the 4th. King of *Castile* † proved so negligent and sluggish, so like his Father *John* the Second in all things, after he had been Educated among the same Flatterers that occasioned his Fathers male Administration? Believe me, 'tis as impossible to form a good Prince in an ill Court, as to draw a straight Line by a Crooked square: there's not a wall there which some lascivious hand has not sullied; not a Corner but Echoes their dissolute Course of Life: all that frequent the Court are so many Masters and as it were Ideas of the Prince, for by long use and Conversation each imprint something on him which may either be to his benefit or prejudice; and the more apt his Nature is to Learn, the sooner and more easily he imbibes those domestick Customs. I dare affirm that a Prince will be good if his Ministers are so; bad if they be bad: an instance of this we have in the Emperor *Galba*, who when he light upon good Friends and Gentlemen, was governed by them, and his Conduct unblameable; if they were ill, himself was guilty of inadvertency (12).

Nor will it suffice to have thus reformed living and animate figures in a Court, without proceeding also to inanimate: for tho' the graving Tool and Pencil are but mute Tongues, yet Experience has taught us they are far more eloquent and perswasive. What an incitement to Ambition is *Alexander* the great's Statue? how strangely do pictures of *Jupiter's* lewd Amours inflame Lust? besides, for which our corrupt nature is blameable, Art is usually more celebrated for these kind of things than Vertuous instructive pieces; At first indeed the excellency of the workmanship makes those pieces Valuable, but afterwards lascivious persons adorn the Walls with them to please and entertain the Eyes. There should be no statue or piece of painting al-

† Mar. Hist. Hist. (12) *Amicosum, libertorumq; ubi in bonos incidisset, sine reprehensione patiens: si mali forent, usq; ad culpam ignarus* Tac. l. hist. lowed,

lowed, but such as may Create in the Prince a glorious Emulation (13). The Heroick Atchievements of the Ancients are the properest subjects for Painting, Statuary and Sculpture; those let a Prince look on continually, those read; for Statues and Pictures are fragments of History always before our Eyes.

After the Vices of the Court have been (as far as possible) thus corrected, and the Princes humour and inclinations well known, let his Master or Tutor endeavour to lead him to some great undertaking, sowing in his Mind Seeds of Vertue and honour so secretly, that when they are grown it will be difficult to judge whether they were the product of Nature or Art. Let them incourage Vertue with Honour, brand Vice with Infamy and Disgrace, excite Emulation by Example; these things have a great Effect upon all Tempers, tho' more on some than others. Those who are of a Generous disposition, Glory influences most; the Melancholy, Ignominy; the Cholerick, Emulation, the Inconstant, Fear; the Prudent, Example; which is generally of most efficacy with all, especially that of Ancestors; for often what the Blood could not, Emulation does perform. 'Tis with Children as young trees on which you must Graff a branch (as I may say) of the same Father, to bring them to perfection. These Grafts are the famous examples which infuse into Posterity the Vertues of their Ancestors and bear excellent fruit. That therefore it may be conveighed as it were thro' all the Senses into the mind, and take deep Root there, should be the particular industry of his Instructors, and consequently they are not to be proposed to the Prince in ordinary Exhortations only or Reproofs, but also in sensible objects. Sometime let History put him in mind of the great Atchievements of his Ancestors, the glory of which eternized in print may excite him to imitate them. Sometimes Musick (that

(13) *Cum autem ne quis talis loquatur prohibetur, satis intelligitur verari, ne turpes, vel falsuras vel fabulas spectet.* Arist. 7 Pol. cap. 17.

sweet and wonderfull Governess of the passions) playing their Trophies and Triumphs, will be proper to Raise his Spirits. Sometimes let him hear Panegyricks recited upon their Life, to encourage and animate him to an Emulation of their Vertues, now and then reciting them himself, or with his young Companions Act over their Exploits as upon a stage, thereby to inflame his mind: for the force and efficacy of the action is by degrees so imprinted on him that he appears the very same whose person he represents: Lastly let him play the part of a King amongst them, receive petitions, give audience, ordain; punish, reward, command or marshal an Army, besiege Cities and give Battel. In experiments of this nature *Cyrus* was educated from a little Boy and became afterwards an eminent General. But if there be any inclinations unbecoming a Prince discernible in his Infancy, he should have the Company of such as are eminent for the opposite Vertues to correct the Vices of his Nature; as we see a straight Pole does the Crookedness of a tender Tree tyed to it. Thus if the Prince be covetous, let one naturally liberal be always at his Elbow; if a Coward, one bold and daring; if timorous, one resolute and active; if Idle and Lazy, one diligent and industrious; for those of that Age as they imitate what they see or hear, so they also easily copy their Companions Customs. To Conclude, in Education of Princes too rough Reprehension and Chastisement is to be avoided as a kind of Contempt. Too much Rigour makes men mean spirited; nor is it fit, that he should be servilely subject to One Man, who ought to Command all. It was well said of King *Alphonfus*, *Generous Spirits are sooner corrected by words than blows, and love and respect those most who use them so.*

Youth is like a young horse that the Barnacle hurts, but is easily governed by the gentler Bit. Besides that men of generous Spirits usually conceive a secret horror of those things they learnt thro' fear; on the contrary have an inclination and desire to try

those Vices which in their Childhood were prohibited them. Affections too much confined (especially such as nature endows a Prince withall) break out at last into Despair, as Exhalations hard bound within the Clouds, into Lightning. He that imprudently shuts the gates upon natural inclinations, is the occasion of their attempting to get thro' the Windows. Some allowance is to be made to humane infirmity, which is by some innocent diversions to be raised to Vertue: this method they took who had the Care of *Nero's* Education (14). The Tutor ought to chide the Prince in private, not before Company, least he rather grow obstinate when he sees his Vices are publick. In these two Verses of *Homer* is very aptly contained how a Prince ought to be instructed how to obey:

Advise, Command him, and what's good suggest
He will obey when for himself 'tis best. Hom. 2. ll.

(14) *Quo facilis lubricam Principis aetatem, si virtutem aspernaretur, voluptatibus concessus, retineret. Tac. 13. ann.*

EMBLEM III.



BY the industry of some ingenious and carefull hand one while watering, another time defending it from the injuries of Wind and ill Weather, the Rose grows, and as the Bud opens unfolds its little leaves into a circular form: A flower strangely pretty, but which flatters only the Eyes, and is subject to so many casualties, that in this its infinite delicacy 'tis by no means secure. The very same Sun which saw it bloom, sees it also whither, and that without any other benefit, than just shewing the World its beauty; it brings so many months Labour to nothing, nay oftentimes wounds the very hand that planted it; nor could it be otherwise than that such rank tillage should produce thorns. Of Coral (a Sea shrub) there's quite another account to be given; for that growing under Water, and continually tossed by the Violence of

Waves and Tempestuous Winds becomes so much the harder and more beautiful; nay, then first is it more illustriously useful, when it has underwent the rage of so many Elements. Such contrary Effects arise from the different manner of growing of this Shrub, and that Flower in respect of softness and hardness. The same happens in the Education of Princes, for they who are brought up so tenderly and closely that neither the Sun, Wind or other Air can come to them, but that of perfumes, prove too delicate and little fit for Government; they on the contrary are strong and able who inure their Bodies to laborious Exercises. It's also convenient to use ones self to Cold from our infancy as a thing of great advantage to health, and that will enable us to undergo Military duties (1). By these Exercises Life is prolonged, by Voluptuousness and Luxury shortned. a Vessel of Glass formed with a blast of the Mouth, is with a blast broken; Whereas one of Gold wrought with a hammer resists a hammer. 'Tis no matter if he that lives a private and retired Life, be delicate; but one who is to support a Kingdom, as *Atlas* the Heavens, upon his shoulders, had need be strong and robust. A Common-wealth has not occasion for a Prince only for a shew, but in the Field also and in time of War, and in Scripture we find an effeminate King mentioned as a kind of divine punishment (2). The advantage or disadvantage of this different Education was visible in the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Ferdinand* the Catholick, one of which had his at Court, the other in the Camp; that among Women, this among Soldiers; that entering his Government seem'd to fall into a strange Gulf, and leaving the Helm, committed the guidance of it to his Ministers; this was neither ignorant of, nor unacquainted with Govern-

(1) *Est etiam utile statim ab ineunte etate frigoribus assuescere, hoc enim tum ad valetudinem, tum ad munera militaria commodissimum est.* Arist. Pol. 7. cap 17. (2) I will give Children to be their Princes, and Babes to rule over them, *Isai.* 3. 4.

ment; but knew how to Rule even in another's Dominion, and force Subjects to their Duty; that was contemn'd, this honoured and esteemed by all; that ruined his Kingdom, this advanced to a Monarchy. 'Twas upon this consideration that King *Ferdinand* Sir-named the holy, was desirous to breed his Sons, *Alphonso* and *Ferdinand*, Soldiers. And what else was it rendred the Emperour *Charles* really great, as well as titularly so? was it not his continual Travels and indefatigable Labours? Nor had *Tiberius* any other thoughts when he design'd his Sons *Germanicus* and *Drusus* for the Army, chiefly for these four Reasons; that they might accustom themselves to War; gain the Soldiers hearts; be free from the Debauchery of the Court; and Lastly that himself might live in more security when both his Sons commanded his Legions (3).

He that lives in a Camp, by the many Experiences he has there, spends his time to advantage; the Courtier utterly loses his in Riot, Ceremonies and trifling Diversions. At Court a Prince studies more how to set off his Body than improve his Mind. And tho' this latter is rather to be regarded, yet Ornaments of the Body, and a comely Prefence should not be wholly neglected. For those captivate the Eyes, as this does the Eyes and Soul. God himself seem'd pleased with the shape and proportion of *Saul* (4). *Ethiopians* and *Indians* in some parts choose them Kings, whom the most Majestick Mien recommends: as the Bees do the biggest among them, and that of the most shining Colour. People Judge of a Prince's Actions by his Prefence, and think him the best who is the Comeliest. *Galba's* very Age, says *Tacitus*, was ridiculed and scorn'd by those who were used to *Nero's*

(3) *Ut suesceret Militia, studiaq; exercitui pararet, simul juventutem urbans luxu lascivientem mediis in castris haberi Tiberius, seque tutissimam rebarur, utroq; filio legiones obtinente.* Tac. 2. ann. (4) And when he stood among the people, he was higher than any of the people from the shoulders upwards, 1 Sam. 10. 22.

blooming Youth (5). A handsome face joynd with a kind of Majesty encreas'd *Vespasian's* fame (6). Thus Beauty strikes the Eyes, and thro' them wounding the Soul engages Mens affections and good opinions: 'tis a particular privilege of nature, a pleasing Tyrant over the affections and a certain Sign of a well disposed mind; and tho' the holy Spirit for more security advises us not to judge by exteriorours, yet do we seldom find a generous Soul in a deformed body (7).

'Twas a saying of *Plato's*, that as a Circle can't be without a Center, so neither can external Beauty Consist without interior Vertue. King *Alphonsus* therefore well advised to have a Prince Married to a handsome Woman, that says he, *the Children may be beautifull as a Prince's ought to be, that they may be above other men.*

The *Lacedaemonians* fined their King *Archiadinus* for Marrying a little Woman, however Wittily he excused himself by saying, *of two Evils he had chose the less.* Beauty of the Body is the image of the Soul and picture of Goodness (8). It nevertheless happens sometimes that nature intent upon outward perfections forgets inward which are more desirable. So it was with *Peter* the Cruel, whose savage and rough disposition Nature had concealed under an agreeable Person. Pride and Ostentation of Beauty easily discompose the Modesty of Vertue; a Prince therefore should not esteem feminine and affected Charms, which serve only to inflame another's Lust; but those which usually accompany true Vertue; for the Soul is not to be adorned with the Beauties of the Body, but this rather with the Ornaments of the Soul.

A Commonwealth requires a Prince perfect in mind rather than One so in Body; tho' twere a great orna-

(5) *Ipsa aetas Galba & irrisu & fastidio erat assuetis juventae Neronis, & Imperatores forma & decore corporis, (ut est in eis vulgi) comparantibus.* Tac. 1. Hist. (6) *Augebat famam ipsius decore oris cum quadam Majestate.* Tac. 2. Hist. (7) *Commend not a Man for his beauty, neither abhor a man for his outward appearance.* Eccles. 11. 2. (8) *Species emulsi corporis simulacrum est mentis, figurae; propositae.* Acad. 2. de vir. ment.

ment if he were eminent for both. Thus the Palm is singularly commended, as well for the neatness of its Trunck and Leaves, as for the pleasant Fruit it bears, and other excellent qualities of it, being a Tree so usefull, that *Plutarch* says the *Babylonians* reckoned 360 Vertues in it; these, I conceive, the Complement of the Cælestial Bridegroom points at, *Thy stature is like to a Palm Tree* (9). For by these words he would commend not only the beauty of his Spouse's Body, but the endowments also of her Soul, signified by the Palm as 'tis an Emblem of Justice and Fortitude: of Justice because its leaves hang in æquilibrium; of Fortitude upon the account of the admirable strength of the Boughs, which the more weight they are loaded with, the more forcibly grow up. 'Tis further an Hieroglyphick of Victory, because in the Games and Exercises of the Ancients, the Victors were crowned with Branches of it. The Cypress was never esteemed at this Rate, however flourishing and green it always is, lifting its self even up to heaven in form of an Obelisk: for that its beauty is meer. outside without any good quality inherent in it; it's of a slow growth, bears useles fruit, bitter leaves, has a strong smell and taste, a thick and melancholy shade. To what purpose is a Prince of a delicate Body, if he only satisfies the Eyes, and does not discharge his Duty. There needs no more in him than an agreeable harmony of parts to shew a generous and well disposed mind, into which afterwards Art and Industry may inspire Motion and Vigour, for without that every Action of a Prince will be dull, and rather cause Ridicule and Contempt than procure Authority with his Subjects. But sometimes these extraordinary Endowments of the Mind don't render a Prince amiable, as when the State is distempered and inclined to Change its Government, which *Ferdinand* King of *Naples* had once Experience of; nay sometimes Vertue her self is unhappy, and a good Prince

often odious; as on the other side his Vices taking, as were those of *Vitellius* (11). But for the generality humane Will embraces that which is most perfect; and it will be therefore a Prince's interest as well in publick as private Exercifes, to study by them to fupply and perfect Nature, to ftrengthen himself in his Youth, to create generous Thoughts in his Mind, and in all things to please the People: for the Perfon of a Prince should not only court the Minds but Eyes too of his Subjects (12), who choofe to be governed by him in whom they fee most Ornaments of Nature and Vertue. Our most Catholick King, Your Highnefs's Father, by the pains he took and refolution he fhewed at a Chafe, by his Valour and Dexterity in Military Exercifes, his fingular Carriage and Vivacity in publick Actions, what vast Reputation did he gain? How beloved by their Subjects, and esteemed by Foreigners were the Kings *Ferdinand* the holy, *Henry* the II, *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and the Emperour *Charles* the Vth. in whom Beauty and a juft Proportion of Body were joyn'd with Industry, Vertue and Valour. But those Exercifes are better learnt by Conversation and in Company, where Emulation enflames the Mind and awakens Industry. For this reason the Kings of the *Goths* Educated the Sons of the *Spanish* Nobility in their Courts, not only to lay an Obligation upon those Families, but that their own Sons might have their Education and learn the Sciences with them. The same those of *Macedon* used to do (13), among whom the Court was as it were a feminary of Commanders. Which good Custom is either utterly forgot, or at least has not been hitherto in Vogue in the Court of *Spain*. 'Twere otherwife the properest means in the world to engage the Hearts of foreign Princes,

(11) *Studia exercitibus raro cuiquam bonis artibus quaesita, perinde ad suere quam huic per ignaviam.* Tac. 3 Hist. (12) *Persona Principis non solum animis, sed etiam oculis servire debet civium.* Cic. Phil. 8. (13) *Hac cohors, velut seminariam Ducum, Praefecto umq; apud Macedonas fuit.* Curt.

to institute Seminaries of that Nature, to which their Sons might travel and be instructed in Arts and Sciences worthy a Prince. From which also this advantage would arise, that the King's Sons would insensibly be accustomed to the Manners and Genius of those Nations, and meet with a great many among them, who with singular Affection and Gratitude for so good an Education would return the Obligation with their Service. To this End King *Alphonfus* firnamed the wise, in the Second of his excellent Laws, call'd the *Partidas*, has drawn up a Catalogue of those Arts and Duties it is proper for Kings Sons to be exercised in.

For all these Exercises nothing renders a Prince so fit as Hunting, for herein Youth exerts it self, becomes strong and active; that gives occasion to use Military Arts, to view Ground, measure the time, know when to expect, when assault and strike, what use to make of Accidents and Statagems. There the sight of the Blood of wild Beasts, and the trembling Motion of their Limbs as they expire, purge the Affections, fortify the Mind, and inspire generous Thoughts, such as despise Fear and Danger: for the Solitude of a Wood and that Silence which usually is kept in Hunting raise the Thoughts to glorious Actions (14).

Lastly all those Exercises are to be used with that moderation that they render not the Mind either wild or stupid; for the Mind is no less harden'd with too much Labour, and made as it were callous and insensible, than the Body. 'Tis therefore not convenient to fatigue both at the same time, for these Labours have contrary Effects; that of the Body is a hindrance to the Mind, that of the Mind to the Body (15).

(14) Nam & sylva solitudo, ipsaq; illud silentium quod venationi datur, magna cogitationis incitamenta sunt. Plin. lib. 1. Epist. ad Cor. Tac.

(15) Nam simul mentem & corpus laboribus fatigare non convenit, quoniam hi labores contrariarum rerum efficientes sunt. Labor enim corporis menti est impedimento, mentis autem corpori. Arist. Pol. 8. C. 4.

E M B L E M IV.



Knowledge is necessary in a Governour, in a Subject natural Prudence is sufficient, nay sometimes meer Ignorance. In the Idea and Contrivance of a Building the Brain is employed, in the Fabrick it self the Hand labours. Command proceeds from Understanding and is quick-sighted, Obedience is ignorant generally and blind (1). He is by nature a Comander who is most intelligent. Whereas others are so either by Succession, Election or Conquest, which depend more upon Fortune than Reason. Wherefore we shall reckon the Sciences among the politick instruments of Government: so *Justinian; Imperial Majesty*, says he, ought to be Armed as well with *Laws* as

(1) *Præst autem natura, qui valet intelligentia prævidere. Arist. Pol. I. Cap. 4.*

Arms, that the time of peace and War may be equally well governed (2). This 'tis you have exhibited in the present Emblem under the figure of a Cannon levelled for the better aim, by a quadrant, the Emblem of the Laws and Justice; for this should so manage Peace and War that what's Just be always in View, and Reason be the mark at which all things be aimed by the medium of Wisdom and Prudence. 'Tis related of *Alphonfus King of Naples and Arragon*, that being ask'd upon this Subject, which he was most indebted to, his Arms or Studies? he made answer: *That 'twas from his Books he had learnt Arms and the Laws of Arms* (3).

But some one may perhaps think these Ornaments of Learning are more convenient for the body of a Commonwealth, which the word Majesty seems to import, than the Prince, who being distracted with Publick Business, can't apply himself to them; that 'twere sufficient to make Learning flourish, if he entertained and patronized Men of Ingenuity; which the same Emperour *Justinian* did, who tho' himself utterly illiterate, with the Assistance of Men of the greatest Learning, whose Conversation he had, got the Reputation of an eminent Governour. For my part, tho' I make no difficulty to grant that even men of no literature may sometimes govern a Commonwealth well, as we have instances in *K. Ferdinand* the Catholick, and many others; yet this only holds in those Genius's that Experience has improved, or at least such as are endowed by Nature with so acute a Judgment that they can determine any thing without danger of Errour (4). But tho' Prudence may have some efforts from Nature, yet 'tis to be perfected by Learning; for to know well how to chose whats good, and reject the contrary, a

(2) *Imperatoriam Majestatem non solum armis decoratam, sed etiam legibus oportet esse armatam, ut utrumq; tempus & belli & pacis recte possit gubernari.* Jutt. in proem. Inti. (3) *Ex libris se arma, & armorum Jura didicisse.* Panorm. lib. 4. (4) *Esi prudentia quosdam impetus à natura sumat tamen perficienda doctrinâ est.* Quint. lib. 12.

general knowledge is almost necessary, and a long observation of Examples both past and present, which is not perfectly to be attained without labour and study; nothing therefore is so necessary to a Prince as the Light and Ornament of good Literature; *For for want of the knowledge of these things (says K. Alphonso) a Prince will be oblig'd to take to his assistance, one who does understand them; and he may experience what King Solomon said, That he who entrusts his secret with another, makes himself his slave, whereas he who can keep it himself, is Master of himself, which is infinitely requisite in a Prince.* For the Office of a King requires a great understanding and that too illustrated with Learning, *for without doubt, says K. Alphonso in the same Law, no man can acquit himself of an Office of such importance as this, at least without great understanding and wisdom,* whence he who scorns the favours of Knowledge and Education, will be scorn'd by God, who is the Author of them. Other Sciences have been divinely infused into many; none but *Solomon* was ever inspired with Politickss. For Tilling ground, Agriculture prescribes certain Rules; the Art of Taming wild Beasts has also its Methods, but 'tis easier to command any Animal than Man, 'tis necessary therefore that he be endued with an extraordinary portion of Wisdom who has Men to govern (5). The different Customs and Dispositions of Subjects can't without considerable Sagacity, Application and Experience be discovered: and consequently no man requires Wisdom more than a Prince (6). 'Tis that makes Kingdoms happy, Princes feared and revered. Then was *Solomon* so, when the World became acquainted with his. Knowledge renders a Prince more formidable than Power (7). *A wise King, says the holy Spirit, is the upholding of the people: But an un-*

(5) *Omni animali facilius imperabis quam homini, ideo sapientissimum esse oportet, qui hominibus regere velit.* Xenoph. (6) *Nullus est, cui sapientia magis conveniat, quem Principi, cujus doctrina omnibus debet prodesse subditi.* Veget. (7) *Wisd. 5. 26.*

wife King *destroyeth them* (8). All which shews how barbarous the Opinion of the Emperour *Licinius* was, who cryed out upon the Sciences as a publick Plague, Philosophers and Orators as Poison to a Commonwealth; nor does that of the *Goths* appear less absurd, who found fault with *Athalaricus's* Mother for instructing him in good Letters, as if he was thereby rendred incapable of publick Business. *Silvius Aeneas* had quite other sentiments of them, when he said they were Silver in the Commonalty, Gold in the Nobility, and in the Prince Jewels. *Alphonso* of *Naples* upon hearing once a certain King say, *That Learning did not become a Prince*; Replyed immediately, *That's spoke rather like a Beast, than a man* (9). Well therefore said *K. Alphonso* †, *That a King ought to be assiduous in Learning the Sciences, for by them he will learn the Office of a King, and know better how to practise it.* Of *Julius Cæsar* 'tis related that he would have the Statuary form him, standing upon a terrestrial Globe with a Sword in one Hand, in the other a Book with this Motto, *Ex utroq; Cæsar*; thereby intimating that as well his Learning as his Arms was instrumental in getting and preserving to him the Empire. *Lewis* the XIth of *France* did not esteem Learning at this rate; for he would not permit his Son *Charles* the 8th. to apply himself to it, because he found himself thereby so obstinate and opinionative as not to admit the Counsel of any, which was the reason why *Charles* proved afterwards unfit to govern, and suffered himself to be led by the Nose by every one, not without great Dishonour to himself and detriment to his whole Kingdom. Extreains therefore in that as in all other things are to be avoided, supine Ignorance breeds Contempt and Derision, besides it is exposed to a thousand Errours; on the other side excessive Application to Studies distracts the Mind and diverts it from the Care of Government. The Conversation of

(8) Eccl. 10. 3 (9) *Eam vocem bovis esse, non hominis.* Paucerm. lib. 4. † lib. 15. c. 5. p. 2.

the Muse is very pleasant and agreeable, and no one would without Reluctancy exchange it for the Fatigue and Trouble of Audiences and Consultations. *Alphonso* the Wise knew the Causes of Earthquakes, but could not regulate the Commotions of his Kingdoms; the Cœlestial orbs his Ingenuity penetrated, yet knew not how to defend the Empire offered, and Crown hereditary to him. The Sultan of *Egypt* upon his fame sent Embassadors to him with very considerable presents, in the mean time almost all the Cities of *Castile* revolted. Thus it usually happens; Princes too much addicted to the Studies of Wisdom advance their Reputation among Foreigners, and lose it with their Subjects. Their Learning is admired by those, to these sometimes prejudicial; for Men of mean parts are generally better Governours than men of ingenuity (10). A Mind too intent upon Speculation is usually slow in Action, and fearful in Resolution, for of necessity many different and contrary Reasons must occur to such a Person, which either wholly take away or obstruct the liberty of his Judgment. If an Eye looks upon Objects by the Sun's Light reflected, it clearly and distinctly sees them as they are; whereas if it be fixed directly against the Sun's Rays, 'tis so dazled with too much lustre, that it can't so much as distinguish the Colours and Figures of them. It happens thus to Wits; those who too eagerly apply themselves to the Studies of Wisdom and Learning are less fit for publick business. Right Reason never judges better than when free and disengaged from the Disputations and Subtilties of the Schools; nor without Reason did the wise *K. Solomon* call that the worst of Travails which himself had tryed (11). For there are some of the li-

(10) *Hæbetiores quam acutiores ut plurimum melius Rempub. administrant.* Thucyd. lib. 3. (11) I gave my Heart to search out by Wisdom, concerning all things that are done under Heaven: This sore Travail hath God given to the Sons of Men, to be exercised with, *Eccles. 1. 13.*

beral Sciences, which to have a superficial Knowledge of is commendable, but to make them ones whole Business, and desire to attain a Perfection in them, very prejudicial (12). Wherefore 'tis very convenient that prudence moderate a little that desire of knowledge which is usually most vehement in the best Wits; as we read *Agricola's* Mother did, who cooled the heat of her Sons Mind, when in his youth he seem'd to follow the study of Philosophy more eagerly than was allowable for a *Roman* and Senatour (13). As in Vices so in Learning there is excess (14): and this is as hurtful to the mind as those to the Body. It will suffice therefore for a Prince to tast the Arts and Sciences as 'twere *en passant*; some practical knowledge of them will be more for his advantage, particularly those which relate to the Affairs of Peace and War, taking as much out of them as will suffice to illustrate his understanding and regulate his Judgment, leaving the honour of being excellent in them to his Inferiours; let him pass only his leisure hours in this Noble Exercise as *Tacitus* says *Helvidius Priscus* used to do (15).

This granted, those are not always to be esteem'd the best Tutors for Princes, who are most eminent for Learning and Knowledge, for they are generally too great Lovers of Retirement and studious Idleness, Strangers to conversation, Men of no Resolution and very unfit for the management of weighty Affairs. But those rather who are Learned and Experienced Politicians, who besides the Sciences can teach a Prince the Art of Government.

(12) Sunt enim quaedam ex liberalibus scientiis quos usque ad aliquid discere honestius sit, penitus vero illis tradere atque usque ad extremum persequi velle, valde noxium *Arist.* lib. 8. *Pol.* (13) seu in prima juventute studium Philosophiae acrius quam concessum *Rom.* ac senatori habuisse, nisi prudentia matris inensum ac flagrantem animum coercuisset. *Tac.* in *vit. Agr.* (14) Retinuitque quod difficillimum est, ex scientia modum. *Ibid.* (15) Inuentum illustre altioribus studiis juvenis admodum dedit, non ut plerique, ut nomine magnifico vitam velaret, sed quo firmior adversus fortuita *Rompab* caperetur. *Tac.* lib. 4. *Hist.*

The first thing to be instilled into a Prince is the fear of the Lord which is the beginning of wisdom (16). He who adheres to God is very near the fountain of all Sciences. To know what is human only, is Ignorance, the daughter of Malice, which is the ruine of Princes and Commonwealths.

Another necessary qualification in a Prince is Eloquence, that pleasing Tyrant over the Passions, that sweetly allures Mens Wills to a Submission to its Commands. That great Prophet *Moses* knew of what Consequence this was, and therefore when he was sent into *Egypt* to conduct the Children of *Israel* thence, made this excuse to God that he was slow of speech and of a slow Tongue (17). And God took this for a reason, and accordingly to encourage him, promised to assist his Lips and put into his Mouth the Words he should speak to *Pharaoh* (18). What did not *Solomon* promise himself from his Eloquence? I shall be admired, says he, in the sight of great men. When I hold my Tongue they shall bide my Leisure, and when I speak they shall give good Ear unto me: if I talk much they shall lay their hands upon their mouth (19). And certainly if naked eloquence has power so strangely to captivate an audience, what can't it do if armed with Regal Power, or cloathed with Purple? a Prince who can't speak his Mind without the assistance of another (a fault *Nero* was first observed to be guilty of (20)) is rather a dumb statue, and deserves not the Name of a Prince. History is the Mistress of Political truth (21), than which nothing can better instruct a Prince how to rule his Subjects. For in that, as in a clear Mirrour, appears the Experience of

(16) Psal. 100. 10. (17) O my Lord, I am not eloquent, neither heretofore, nor since thou hast spoken to thy Servant: I am but slow of speech, and of a slow tongue. *Exod.* 4. 10. (18) I will be in thy mouth, and teach thee what thou shalt say. *Exod.* 4. 12. (19) *Wisd.* 8. 12. (20) *Primus ex iis, qui rerum positi essent, Nerone aliena facundi eguisse.* Tac. 1. Ann. (21) *Verissimam disciplinam, exercitationemq; ad politicas actiones, Historiam esse.* Polyb. lib. 1.

former governments, the prudence of Predecessours, and the Souls of many Men collected into one (22). History is like a faithful Counsellor, always ready and at hand. Of Law the Prince need only study that part which relates to Government, turning over such Laws and Constitutions of his Kingdom as were by right Reason dictated or by Custom approved.

Let him not spend much time in the study of divinity; for how dangerous that knowledge and power in conjunction is, *England* has experienced in *K. James*, 'tis enough for a Prince to persevere himself in the faith and have about him devout and Learned Men able to defend it.

Lastly Judicial Astrology has been the ruine of many Princes; for that desire of knowing future events is in all Men vehement, especially in Princes, for they promising to themselves great Authority if they can be looked upon as equal to the Gods, or do any thing above the common reach of Mankind, follow these superstitious and odious Arts: nay sometimes arrive to that degree of madness, to ascribe all things to second causes, and utterly destroy divine providence by imputing all to chance and divination, whence it happens that while they attribute more to Chance and Fortune than human Prudence or Industry, they are too remiss in their Designs and Actions, and oftner advise with Astrologers than their Counsellours.

(22) *Hominum multorum mens in unum collecta.* Greg. Naz. ad Nicom:

E M B L E M V.



THE Sciences have bitter Roots, though the Fruit be sweet; for this reason our Nature at first has an Aversion for them, and no labour appears so harsh as what must be employed on their first Rudiments: What Pains and Anxiety do they cost Youth? Upon which account, and because Studies require assiduous Application, a thing very injurious to Health, and which the Business and Diversions of the Court don't permit; the Master should be industrious in inventing several means to qualify this troublesome Institution by disguising it under some pleasant Game, that the Prince's mind may imbibe what he is to learn insensibly. For instance, to teach him to read he may use this contrivance; let there be made four and twenty small Dice, on each of them be engraven a Letter of the Alphabet, then let some Children play, and he win who at one Cast
throws

throws most Syllables, or an entire Word. These little Victories and Entertainments will take off much of the difficulty of this Task, for 'tis far more hard to play at Cards, which, however Children presently learn. Now, to teach the Prince to Write in a way as short, I would have the Letters engraven of a thin Plate, this put upon Paper, and him to go over these Tracts of Characters, as so many little Furrows, with his Hand and Pen; especially exercising himself in those Letters of which the rest are framed. Thus, while he Attributes to his own Wit and Industry, what is only the effect of this artificial Plate, he will by degrees be more pleased with those Labours. Nor is skill in Languages less necessary for a Prince; for always to use an Interpreter, or read only Transactions, is a thing too liable to deceit, or at least the truth thereby loses much of its Force and Energy: Not to mention that it can't but be very hard for a Subject not to be understood by him, from whom he is to expect Comfort in his Afflictions, to have his Miseries relieved, and to be gratified for his Services. This moved the Patriarch *Joseph*, when he was made Commander over *Egypt*; before all things to apply himself to learn the Languages most in use there, and which he did not understand (1). What Love and Esteem does at this day, the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Third's Skill in Languages procured him, being able to answer every one in his own Native Idiom; but a Prince is not to be instructed in this by way of Precepts, for they confound the Memory; but rather great Persons Sons of Foreign Countries should be taken into his Family, by whose familiar Conversation he may in a few Months time, and that with a little Pains, and as it were by way of Diversion, make so great a Proficiency, as to be acquainted with the Language of each of them.

That he may also know the use of *Geography* and *Cosmography*, (without which Policy is in a manner blind)

(1) Psalm 138. 6.

it were not amiss to furnish and hang his Chamber with Tapiftry fo artificial wrought, as to represent a kind of General Description or Map of the Universe, that is, the Four Quarters of the World, and most Remarkable Countries, together with the more celebrated Rivers, Mountains, Cities, and other places of Note. By the same contrivance may the Lakes be disposed, that he may fancy he sees in them, as in your Sea-Charts, the Situation of the whole Sea, its Ports and Islands. In Globes and Mathematical Spheres, he may see the Extent of both Hemispheres, the Motion of the Heavens, the Sun's Course, its Rising and Setting, the Vicissitude of Days and Nights, and all this by way of Discourse and Divertisement, leaving the Mathematicians subtle way of arguing and demonstrating to the Schools. It will suffice in *Geometry*, if he know how to Measure distances, take Altitudes and Depths with Instruments. 'Tis withal necessary that he learn Fortification, and accordingly for Instructions sake may raise Forts of Clay, or some such material, with all sorts of Trenches, Breast-works, Pallisadoes, Bastions, Half Moons, and other things necessary for the Defence of them; then he may Assault and play upon them with little Artillery made for that purpose. But to fix those Figures of Fortification more firmly in his Memory, 'twould be for his advantage to have the like artificially contrived in Gardens, cut in Myrtle, or any other Greens, as you see in the present Emblem.

Nor ought a Prince be ignorant how to Marshal an Army; to that end let him have Soldiers of all sorts, Foot and Horse, Cast in Metal; of these he may Compose an Army, distribute them into Regiments, Troops, Companies, in imitation of some Model, which he may have before him for that purpose. Plays ought always to be in imitation of things to be afterwards practised with more seriousness (2). By this means he will in-

(2) *Itaque ludi magna ex parte imitationes esse debent earum rerum, quae serio postea obeundae.* Arist. Pol. 7. c. 17.

sensibly, and without any trouble take to these Arts; and when the light of Reason is risen in him. be more capable of a perfect knowledge of them by Conversation of Men of Learning (3), and such particularly as have been conversant with, and exercised in Affairs both of Peace and War, who will discover to him the Causes and Effects of each particular. For the knowledge of those things is at this time more useful, easier acquired, and fatigues the mind least (4).

Let no one look on these Exercises to be of no consequence in Education of Kings and Princes Children; for Experience, the best Mistress, teaches us, That Boys learn many things of their own accord, which they had not attained by the Instruction of a Master without much difficulty. Much less should any imagine that the variety of these methods rather prejudices than promotes Education. If to tame and master an Horse, so many Instruments are necessary, as the Bit, Bridle, Rains, Binnacle, and those too of different sorts; if so many Precepts are needful as have been written upon this Subject, what Care and Industry shall we think sufficient to form a perfect Prince, who is not only to Command the ignorant Vulgar, but even the Masters of the Sciences? To govern Men is not the Gift of Nature, but rather of Experience and Speculation; it seems to be the Art of Arts, the Science of Sciences, of which never any one will attain the Perfection (5). I am not ignorant, Sir, the Person your Highness has for a Matter, is for the happiness of our Monarchy, so well furnished with these Arts and Sciences, that he can't but in a short time bring your Highness to a considerable Perfection in them: However these Advertisements, I could not omit pursuing my design in this Treatise to be beneficial as far as possible, not only to your Highness, but all other Princes now and hereafter.

(3) A wise Man will hear, and will increase Learning; and a Man of understanding shall attain unto wise Counsel. *Prov.* 1. 5. (4) *Eccle.* 39. 3. (5) *Nihil videtur ars artium & scientia scientiarum, hominens regere, animal tam varium & multiplex.* Greg. Naz. in Apolog.

E M B L E M VI.



THE heavenly Bridegroom has made use of the Body of this Emblem in the Book of *Canticles* to express the Ornaments of his Brides Virtues (1): and the same the Lilies that crowned and perfected the Pillars of *Solomon's* Temple, seem to allude to (2), as do those which beautified the Candlestick of the Tabernacle (3). This put me upon designing in the present Emblem, to represent by the Wheat, the Sciences; by the Lilies, the Arts and polite Learning which they ought to be graced with. Nor am I without Precedent or Authority, for *Procopius* long ago by Ears of Corn understood Disci-

(1) Thy Belly is like an heap of Wheat, set about with Lilies, *Sant.* 7. 2. (2) And upon the tops of the Pillars was Lily-work, so was the Work of the Pillars finished, *1 Kings* 7. 22. (3) *Exod.* 25. 31.

ples (4), as our Bridgroom by Lilies, Eloquence (5). In effect, what is Polite Learning, but a kind of Crown of the Sciences? *Cassiodorus* calls it the Diadem of Princes (6); and the *Hebrews* used to crown some parts of it with Garlands: And this I take to be signified by the Poets Lawrels. The Hoods, and Girdles, and coloured Silken Tufts, by which the *Hebrew* Doctors were distinguished. The Sciences should possess the Center of the Soul; gentile Learning be instead of a circumference; the knowledge of one, without the Ornaments of the other, is a kind of ignorance; for 'tis with the several parts of Learning, as with the Nine Muses, who joyning hands, make a Circle in their Dances. How tiresome a thing is Philosophy if too severe, and not qualified, and made agreeable by Polite Literature and Humanity? These are therefore necessary for a Prince to temper the harshness of Government with their pleasantness; for 'tis from that they have the name of Humane. A Prince should not be altogether singular, but have something common to the rest of Mankind; he should discourse with them of different sorts of Studies, and that with a courteous and obliging Carriage; 'tis not Royal Grandeur which confounds us, but extravagant indiscreet Gravity; as 'tis not the Light, but the extream Driness of the Sun that dazles our Eyes; 'tis therefore very proper that Political Science be deckt and embellished with the Liberal Arts, which cast as great a Lustre as Rubies in a Crown, or Diamonds in a Ring. Nor do such Arts sit amiss upon Majesty, as require the assistance of the Hand as well as Mind; nor will it in the least derogate from a Prince's Authority, or obstruct his Management of Publick Affairs, to allow him some intervals of leisure for his Diversion (7): Thus *Mark Anthony* took a delight in Painting; *Maxi-*

(4) *Spica nomine, at ego quidem sentis, discipulorum ceterum intellexit.* Procop. in c. 17. Isa. (5) His Lips like Lilies dropping sweet Myrrh. Cant. 5. 13. (6) *Diadema eximium imprestabilis notitiæ literarum, per quam dum veterum providentia dicitur, regalis dignitas augetur.* Calfi. 12. Var. 1. (7) *Nec cuiquam iudici grave, aures studiis honestis & voluptatibus concessis impartire.* Tac. 14. Ann.

milian the Second, in Sculpture; *Theobald*, King of *Nawarre*, in Poetry and Musick; with which last *Philip* the Fourth, the present King of *Spain*, your Royal Highness's Father, diverts himself as oft as disingaged from the Cares and Concern the Government of two Worlds oblige him to. In this Exercise the *Spartans* too instructed their Youth; and in general all of this Nature are recommended by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, as very beneficial to a Commonwealth. And though 'tis true, the Mind should not repose its whole satisfaction in them, Policy however requires a Prince sometimes to use them, the People being strangely pleased to see their Prince's thoughts thus diverted, and not always intent on the contriving their Slavery; 'twas on this account *Drusus's* Debaucheries were acceptable to the *Romans* (8). There are only two things to be observed in the Use and Exercise of these Arts; one is, that they are to be practised not in publick but privately, as the Emperor *Alexander Severus* used to do, though excelled by none in Musick, whether Vocal or Instrumental. The reason of this is, we are apt to think it a contemptible sight to see the Hand which bears a Scepter, and Rules a Kingdom, filled with a Fiddle-stick or a Pencil; which we still look upon to be a greater fault, if the Prince be of an Age, wherein one would think the care of the Publick ought to take him off these private Pastimes: It being our Nature not to accuse a Prince of loss of time, if he's idle or does nothing, but rather blame him for spending it at these Diversions. The other Caution is, that he lay not out too much time upon them, or be desirous to excel others (9), least he take more pride in this vain excellency than in well-governing the Commonwealth; a thing *Nero* was guilty of, who aban-

(8) *Nec locus in jactura adis displicebat: hoc potius intenderet, diem adificari. n. abas, noctem convivis traheret; quam silus & nullis voluptatibus avocatus, neptus violentas & malas curas exerceret Tac. 3. Ann.*

(9) *Hac tria ad disciplinam spectari oportet, at nudum teneatur, ut fieri possit. n. acco.*

doned the Reins of his Empire for those of a Chariot, and valued himself more upon acting the part of a Comedian in the Theatre than of an Emperor of the World.

This Abuse which Princes sometimes fall into by having a greater Esteem for these Arts, than the Science of good Government. *Virgil* elegantly Censures in these Verses:

*Let others better Mold the running Mass
Of Metals, and inform the breathing Brass,
And soften into Flesh a marble Face.
Plead better at the Bar, describe the Skies,
And when the Stars descend, and when they rise.
But Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful sway,
To rule Mankind, and make the World obey;
Disposing Peace and War thine own Majestick way.
To tame the Proud, the fetter'd Slave to free,
These are Imperial Arts, and worthy thee.*

Dryden's *Virg.*

As for Poetry, though it be a part of Musick, Accents and Rhimes having the same effect in that, as Notes in in this; though that be the far nobler Exercise of the two; for this is of the Hands, that of the Brain. The one designed meerly to divert, the other to instruct with Diversion; notwithstanding it seems by no means proper for a Prince; it's strange Sweetness being a great obstacle to Masculine and Noble Actions; for when the Mind is once captivated with the Charms of its Thoughts and Conceptions, as the Nightingal with the Melody of her Voice, it never leaves off, and grows so keen with Poetical Niceties, that its Edge is soon turned and blunted against the hard and rugged Troubles it must necessarily meet with in Government (10). Hence it also follows, That if a Prince takes not the

(10) *Vile autem exercitium putandum est, & Ars, & Disciplina, quaecunque corpus, aut animam, aut mentem liberi hominis ad usum, & speciem virtutis inutilem reddant.* Arist. Pol. 8. cap. 2.

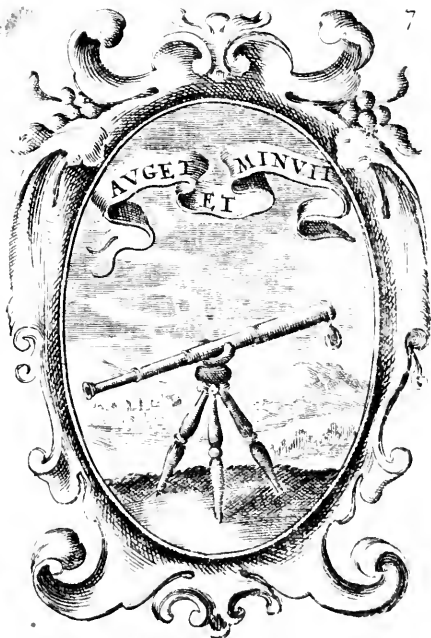
same delight in Ruling as Composing, he will in all probability least regard this greatest concern, wholly neglect or abandon it to the care of others; as did *John II. King of Arragon*, who squandered away his time in the Study of Poetry, and sent for Persons eminent for it from the remotest Countries, till his Subjects tired with his Negligence, put a stop to this useless Diversion of his by an open Rebellion. Nevertheless, since Poetry is so much in Vogue at Courts, and does much refine and polish the Mind, a Prince will hardly escape the Charge of Ignorance, if he have not some smattering in't. He may therefore be allow'd some time for that Study, I mean as much as shall be thought fit to quicken his Parts, and improve his Judgment; for how many excellent Poems have by this means come from the Pens of such as have govern'd in Church and State, with general Applause and Approbation? There are abundance of Princes given to the practice of Chymistry, which is indeed a very noble Diversion, and discovers many wonderful Effects and Secrets of Nature; but for all this, I would advise a Prince not to meddle with it (11), for Curiosity will easily lead him from thence to Alchymy; or at least, under the pretext of Simple Distillation, he will have a fancy to fix Mercury, and make Gold and Silver; things which the most precious of our time is thrown away upon to no purpose, and certain, wasted for uncertain Treasures. 'Tis a Phrenzy, that nought but Death can cure, to make one Experiment after another, and not consider that 'tis impossible to find a better Philosopher's Stone, than a good and prudent Oeconomy. 'Tis of this, and of Commerce, not of Chymistry, this Sentence of *Solomon* is to be understood, [*That nothing is richer than Wisdom*] (12). 'Twas by this kind of Traf-

(11) Be not curious in unnecessary matters; for more things are shewed unto thee, than men understand. *Ecc. 3. 24.* (12) What is richer than wisdom that worketh all things? And if prudence work; who of all that are a more cunning workman than shee? *Wisd. 8. 5.*

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sick with the Inhabitants of *Tarſis* and *Ophir*, the same *Solomon* got his vast Riches; for which he had never prepared so many and great Fleets, exposed to so many and great Hazards at Sea, if he could have saved the labour with a Crucible. It is likely, that he who could speak well of all things (13), who was endued by God with a Supernatural Knowledge, should never find out this Secret also, or actually have used it, had it been feasible? Besides, 'tis not credible that God will ever permit it, for thereby in probability an end would be put to all Commerce, which is maintain'd by nothing so much, as by a Species of Money common to all the World, and that made of some scarce and precious Metal.

(13) And he spake of Trees, from the Cedar-tree that is in *Lebanon*, even unto the Hyssop, that springeth out of the Wall, *1 Kings 4. 33.*

EMBLEM VII.



THE Affections are born with us ; Reason comes not till many Years after, when they are already possess'd of the Will, and this deluded with a false appearance of good submits to them, and owns no other Empire but theirs, till Reason recovering strength by Time and Experience, takes upon it the Right of Government it had by Nature, and begins to make Head against the Tyranny of our Appetites. This Light usually rises later in Princes, because the Delicacies of the Court which they're used to, render their Affections more prevailing ; besides, that their Courtiers strive generally to get their Favour, which they know, rather depends upon the Will than Reason ; hence all use the art of Flattery, and make it their business to engage that, but cast a Cloud on this. A Prince ought therefore to be well acquainted with these Artifices, and arm

arm himself not against his own Passions only, but all such Persons as would abuse them to govern him. This is a great and general Negligence in those who undertake to form Princes Minds. Useless and unfruitful Weeds which grow among Corn, we spend time in eradicating; yet suffer vicious Passions and Inclinations, that wage War with Reason, to grow. To cure a Prince's Body, many *Galens* are always ready, the Mind often has scarce one *Epictetus*; though this is subject to no less Infirmities than the Body, and those so much worse, as that is more excellent than this. If its countenance were visible, and we could discover in it its ill and distempered Affections, we should pity the Condition of many, we at present take for happy Men, whom that feverish Heat of depraved Appetites so miserably preys upon. If the Hearts of Tyrants could be opened, one might see Bruises and Wounds (1). Alas! What Tempests of Confusion and Distraction is a Mind in that Condition rack'd with? Its Light is all obscured, his Reason so disturbed, that all things appear to him far different from what they really in themselves are. Hence proceeds that variety of Judgments and Opinions in the World; hence few weigh things aright, but pass a different estimate according to the light by which they see them. For 'tis with the Affections, as with Telescopes, which at one end magnify, at the other diminish Objects. The Crystals are the same, the Objects nothing alter'd; this only is the difference, that the visual Rays falling in at one end, are dilated from the Center to the Circumference, and consequently diffuse themselves and multiply more; whereas at the other end they are contracted from the Circumference to the Center, and so represent Objects considerably less: Such is the difference between these two ways of looking upon things. At the same time (tho'

(1) *Si recludantur tyrannorum mentes, posse aspici laniatus, & ius, quando, ut corpora verberibus, ita sevitia, libidine, male consultiis animus dilaceretur.* Tac. 6. Ann.

in different Kingdoms) the two Infants, *James*, the Son of *James* the Second, King of *Arragon*; and *Alphonso*, Son of *Dionysio*, King of *Portugal*, had in view the Succession of their Fathers Crown. But see in how different a manner, the first against his Father's Will refused to accept; the other contrary to the Laws of Piety, by force of Arms attempted to snatch it from the Head of his. One considering the vast Cares and Dangers of Government, bid adieu to the World, and prefer'd a Monastick Life as the more quiet and happy; the other look'd upon Life without Sovereignty to be burthensome and unprofitable, and had more respect to his Ambition than the Law of Nature. This look'd upon the Circumference of the Crown which border'd with Flowers, was an agreeable sight; that consider'd rather the Point and Center of it, whence the Lines of Labour and Care are drawn. All Men propose something that has the appearance of good, as the end of their Actions (2); but because we are deceived in the knowledge of this Good, hence proceeds our Error. The greatest thing imaginable when in our own Power appears little and inconsiderable, in others great and magnificent. Our own Faults we are not sensible of, those of others we easily discover. Other Mens defects seem like Giants, ours scarce so big as Dwarfs. Nay, further, we know how to new-name Vices, and give them the Colour of Virtue: Ambition we call greatness of Mind; Cruelty, Justice; Prodigality, Liberality; Rashness, Valour. In short, few can with Prudence distinguish Honesty from its contrary, what's profitable from the prejudicial (3). 'Tis thus, we are deceived when we look on things by that end of the Prospective, which Passions and Inclinations stop. I know nothing but Benefits that are to be looked upon through both ends; those we receive, ought to appear great to us; those

(2) *Omnia namque ejus, quod speciem boni profert, gratiâ omnes agunt.* Arist. Pol. 1. Cap. 8. (3) *Pauci prudentia, honesta à deterioribus, utilia ab noxiis discernunt,* Tac. Lib. 4. AUB.

we confer, little. This was King *Henry* the Fourth's Custom; nay, he seldom so much as remembered Kindnesses he had done others; on the contrary, those he had received, he never let slip out of his Memory, being always careful the first opportunity to repay them as a Debt. A Prince ought not to imagine that a Courtesy is, as it were, a Mark of Slavery on the Person gratified: I should not call that Generosity but Tyranny rather, and a kind of Traffick for Mens Affections, which the Prince buys at the price of Favours, as they do Slaves for Money on the Coasts of *Guinea*. He who does a good Office should not think he lays an Obligation; he who receives it ought to think himself obliged. In a word, A Prince should imitate God Almighty, *who giveth to all Men liberally, and upbraideth not* (4). In undertaking and carrying on Wars; in procuring and establishing Peace; in Injuries as well offered as received, let him always use the same Crystal of right Reason, through which he may see every thing equally without disguise or fallacy. That Indifference and Justice in giving a due Estimate of things, becomes none more than a Prince, who ought to perform the same Office in his Kingdom, as the Tongue of a Balance in a pair of Scales, and agreeable thereto pass a true and sincere Judgment of all things, that his Government may be just, whose Balance will never hang even, if the Passions have place, or all things be not weighed in the Scale of right Reason. Upon this account Masters ought to come with singular Care and Industry to instruct the Prince's Mind, discovering those Errors of the Will, and the Vanity of its Persuasions, that free and disengaged from Passion, he may pass an unprejudiced Judgment on every thing. For, really if we thoroughly examine the fall of so many Empires, so many Revolutions in States, such a multitude of Kings and Princes deposed and murdered, we shall find the first Origin of these misfortunes to have

(4) James 1, 5.

been, the Passions having shaken off their Obedience, and their refusal to submit to Reason, whose Subjects they are by the Law of Nature. Nor is any thing more pestilent to a Commonwealth than those irregular Appetites, or the particular Ends which every one, as he pleases, purposes to himself. I don't hereby contend to have these Passions wholly razed or extinguished in a Prince, for without them he would be absolutely incapable of any generous Action; Nature having not furnished us with Love, Anger, Hope, Fear, and other the like Affections to no purpose; for though these are not Virtues, they are however their attendants and means, without which they are neither attainable nor practicable. 'Tis the abuse only, and inordinacy of them, I disapprove of; those are to be corrected, that a Prince's Actions be not guided by Passion, but his whole Government by Prudence and Policy. Those things which are common to other Men, are not allowable in a Prince (5). *Charles* the Fifth, if at any time he would indulge Anger or Indignation, did it in private and remote from Company, not publicly when he represented the Person and Majesty of an Emperor; for in this Capacity, a Prince is rather the Idea of a Governor than a Man, and rather his Peoples than his own Man. Nothing is then to be determined out of Affection, but all things examined by the Rule and Standard of Reason; not by his Inclination, but Art. A Prince's Behaviour should be rather Political than Natural; his designs proceed rather from the Heart of the Commonwealth than his own. Private Persons usually make their own Interest and Advantage the Measure of their Actions: Princes are to have the Publick Good in view. In a private Man to conceal his Passions, is look'd upon to be a sign of too close and reserv'd a Temper; in Princes even Policy sometimes require it. There appeared not the least

(5) *Regum est ita vivere, ut non modo homini sed ne cupiditati quidem serviant.* M. Tull. in Orat. Syll,

Symptom of Passion in *Tiberius*, when *Piso* presented himself to him, after having, according to his order, dispatched *Germanicus*, which occasioned no small Jealousy in *Piso* (6). He who Commands many, should with many vary his Affections, or if possible appear free from them (7); endeavour in the same Hour as occasions differ, to seem Severe and Courteous, Just and Merciful, Liberal and Frugal (8). *Tiberius* was a great Master (9) of this Art, whose Mind it was not easy to discover; he knew so well how to mingle the Symptoms of his Anger and Satisfaction. A good Prince commands himself, and serves his People; but if he neglect to break, or conceal the natural Tendency of his Mind, his Actions will be always uniform, whence every one will presently see the Scope of his Designs, contrary to one of the principal Maxims of Policy; which for this very reason recommends variety of Methods in Acting, that the Prince's Designs may not be known. Nor is it by any means safe for him to let others discover his Nature and Inclinations. For there's no easier access to his Mind than that, which 'tis necessary he keep free and reserved, if he desire to have his Kingdom well-governed. For as soon as his Ministers have once discovered his Inclination, immediately they flatter him, and encourage the same in themselves. If in any thing the Prince be obstinate and opinionative, they are so too, and now nothing but perverseness governs. But if it shall be at any time the Prince's Interest to court the Peoples Favour and Applause, let him rather so behave himself, that what the People like or dislike, he may seem to have a natural Inclination or Aversion for. *Aristotle* puts Bashfulness in the number of the Passions, denies it to be a Moral Virtue, because a fear of Infamy, and

(6) *Nullo magis exterritus est, quam quod Tiberium sine miteratione, sine ira obtinuit, et clamore rixit, ne quod offensa permiseretur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *liber est superior, qui, utcumque copari sit, animam vestis fieri.* Terent. (8) *Tempora autem decet.* Sen. in Med. (9) *Etiam facile quod desperavit illi, in egestate morum Principis, adeo veritas, ut nihil sit et Clementia signa.* Tac. 3. Ann.

therefore seems incompatible with a great Man, whose Actions being all squar'd by the Rule of right Reason, he has nothing to be ashamed of. According to St. *Ambrose*, however 'tis a Virtue which regulates our Actions (10); by which I conceive, he means that ingenuous and liberal Shame, or rather Modesty, which like a Bridle restrains us from the Commission of any ignominious or unseemly Action, and is a token of a good Genius, and no small argument that there remain in that mind some Seeds of Virtue, though not yet deeply rooted. I am apt to believe *Aristotle* speaks of another vitious and irregular Bashfulness, which is an obstacle to Virtue; we may say of both, as of Dew, which falling moderately nourishes and refreshes Corn; but when thick like small Snow, burns up and kills it. No Virtue can be freely exercised, when this Passion has once prevailed, nor is any thing more pernicious to Princes, for this reason above all, that it has the appearance of Virtue, as if it were in a Prince a sign of Candor, (and not rather of a mean and abject Spirit) not to be able to deny, contradict, reprehend, or correct without a Blush. Such as these straiten themselves too much in their Grandeur, are in a manner afraid of Shadows; and what is worse, make themselves Slaves to those they ought to govern. Besides, how unbecoming is it to see in their Faces the colour of Shame, which none but Flatterers, Liars, and in general, all profligate Persons ought to be stained with, and for them so to forget themselves as to be governed and cozen'd by others. Whatever is asked, they voluntarily offer, and give without any respect to Merit, vanquished meerly by Petitions. They readily subscribe to others Counsels and Opinions, though they don't approve them, and had rather seem Conquer'd

(10) *Pulchra virtus est verecundia, et suavis gratia, qua non solum in factis, sed etiam in ipsis spectatur sermonibus, ne modum pratergrediatis loquendi, ne quid indecorum sermo resonet tuus. St. Ambrosi.*

than Victors; which is the foundation of the most considerable Miscarriages in a Commonwealth; shamefacedness by no means becomes Princes, who should always appear with a serene and steady Aspect (11). Princes therefore should make it their who'e business to correct this Passion, and moderate their natural Bashfulness with Valour and Constancy, with a Resolution not only of Mind, but outward Demeanour to resist Flatteries, Lyes, Frauds, and Malice, that they may correct and amend them, and preserve a Royal Integrity in their Words as well as Actions. Which the Two Kings, *John* the Second, and *Henry* the Fourth, having neglected to do; what wonder if their Authority and Crowns were brought into such dangers? Farther, in curing this Passion, no small Discretion is necessary; for whereas other Vices, like Thorns, are to be utterly extirpated, this is rather to be pruned, and the superfluity cut off; that part of Shame left which guards Virtues, and regulates Mens Manners and Actions; for without this restraint, the Prince's Mind will be quite unruly; and except he now and then reflects upon Infamy and Indecency, he will follow the force of his Passions, and precipitate himself; especially when there's Power to countenance them. If by good Arts modesty is scarce to be preserved, what will be the consequence if we wholly abandon that (12)? 'Twas then *Tiberius* gave himself to all manner of Vice and Tyranny, when he had cast off Shame and Fear, and followed only his own Humour (13). Hence *Plato* said, *That Jupiter, if at any time apprehensive of the Ruin of Mankind, dispatch'd Mercury for the Earth, to distribute Justice and Modesty among Men, by which they might prevent their Destruction.* Commiseration and Pity is a Passion not less dangerous in Princes, than the other;

(11) *Quorundam parum idonea est verecundia rebus civilibus, quæ firmam frontem desiderant. Seneca.* (12) *Vix artibus honestis retinetur pudor. Tac. 14. Ann.* (13) *Postremo in scelera simul ac dedecora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur Tac. 6. Ann.*

for when it has once prevailed in the Mind, neither Reason nor Justice perform their Offices. For out of an extravagant fear of disobliging any by Reprehension or Correction, they neglect to apply Remedies to their Subjects Crimes, and suffer many to go unpunished. They are deaf to the Peoples Clamours, nor do Publick Calamities affect them, while at the same time they are sensibly touch'd with pity for three or four Men who were the Promoters of them. They feel themselves disordered at other Mens Crimes; and accordingly for fear of any trouble upon their account, chuse to connive at, or pardon, rather than punish them. This is a weakness of Judgment, and defect of Prudence, to be remedied with time; but that with the same Moderation as we mentioned of Bashfulness, that part only of Commiseration is to be retrenched which so enfeebles the Mind, that it can't act with Vigour and Constancy. Reserving that compassionate Affection peculiar to Princes (14) where right Reason, without hazarding the publick Security, perswades. Both these Passions, as well that of Bashfulness, as Commiseration, are corrigible, and to be subdued by some contrary Actions, which may remove that too great tenderness and imbecillity of Mind, and delivering it from those servile Fears, render it capable of more masculine Actions. If a Prince now and then endeavours (though in matters of the least consequence) to keep his Mind firm and resolute, and considers his Power and Quality, he will easily afterwards be able to do the same in Affairs of greater moment. All's done, if he can but once acquit himself generously in it, and make himself fear'd and respected. There remain two other Passions considerably prejudicial to Youth; Fear and Obstinacy. Fear, when a Prince is so timorous, and in all things dissident of himself, that he dares neither act nor speak. Never approves any Action of his own, Fears to appear in publick, and Loves rather solitude

(14) *Principatus enim proprium est misere-ri.* Sc. Chrys.

and retirement. This proceeds generally from an effeminate and retired Education; as also for want of Experience, the only Remedy for this Distemper; that is, the Prince should use himself to give Audience to his Subjects as well as Foreigners; often appear in Publick that he may learn to know Men, and in general all other things as in themselves they are, not as his Imagination, or Master has painted them. Let there be always free access to his Apartments for those worthy Persons, that are his Father's Chamberlains, and all other Courtiers that are eminent for Valour, Ingenuity, and Experience. Which Custom was observed in *Spain* till the time of *Philip* the Second, who cautious of his Son *Charles's* underhand-dealings, abolished that Custom of free Access and Communication, and so declining one Inconvenience, fell into another equally dangerous to Princes, for so is it to be too much abstracted from Conversation; for this usually prompts them to rely too much upon some particular Favourite.

Lastly, Obstinacy arises partly from Fear, partly from natural Slothfulness, when a Prince won't Act at all, but resolutely rejects all Instructions that are given him. That Coldness of Mind is to be cured by the Fire of Glory and Incentives to it, as faults in Horses are usually corrected by the Spur. The Prince therefore is to be led gradually into the way, and the Progress he makes to be commended; though at first those Commendations be above his merit, and only for forms sake.

E M B L E M VIII.



IN the Unicorn Nature hath shewn a piece of admirable Skill and Providence, in placing Anger's Weapon exactly between the Eyes. 'Tis absolutely necessary to have both Eyes intent upon that Passion, which so imperiously tyrannizes over our Actions, and the Motions of the Mind. The same Flame that lights it, blinds it, and 'tis differenced only by its short continuance from Fury and Madness. A Man in a Passion is not the same as before, for he is thereby as it were put beside himself (1). Valour has no need of it; for what were more silly, than for this to require Aid from Anger, a thing stable from one inconstant, faithful from one false, sound from one diseased (2)?

(1) *Non desiderat fortitudo advocatam iram. Cicero.* (2) *Quid enim stultius est, quam hanc ab iracundia petere presidium, rem stabilem ab incerta, fidelem ab infida, sanam ab agra?* Senec.

'Tis

'Tis not this fickle pettish Passion obtains Victories, triumphs over Enemies, nor is that really Courage that is without Reason provoked. In a word, no Vice is more unbecoming a Prince, than that; for to be angry, supposes contempt, or an injury received; nor is any thing so disagreeable to his Place and Office, in as much as nothing so obscures the Judgment which should in a Governor be serene and clear. A Prince that is exasperated, and passionate upon any slight occasion, gives his Heart into the Hands of the Person who provokes him, and is subject to his pleasure. If not a wrinkle in a King's Coat can be disordered without offence, what will it be if he suffer any one to disturb his Mind? Anger is a kind of Moth which Purple breeds and nourishes. Pomp engenders Pride; Pride, Passion; and Impatience is as it were a Propriety of Power. The Sense of Princes is something too delicate a Looking Glass which the least breath sullies, a Heaven that with the least Vapour is clouded and breaks out into Thunder. A Vice that generally seizes great and generous Spirits; as the Sea, however vast and powerful, is with the least blast of Wind raised into horrid Disorders and Tempests, with this only difference, that they are of much longer continuance in Princes Minds than in the Sea; especially if their Honour be concerned, which they imagine 'tis impossible to retrieve without Revenge. What a trifling piece of incivility was that, *Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, put upon *Alphonfus* the Third, after the Battel of *Arcos*, in returning without taking leave of him? Which however this so highly resentted, that he could never forget it, or rest till he had got him out of his Kingdom. The Anger of Princes is like Gun-powder, which no sooner takes Fire, but has its effect; the Holy Spirit calls it the Messenger of Death (2); and barely on this account 'twere sufficiently reasonable to curb and restrain it. 'Tis very indecent for one in Authority to submit to this Passion. Let Princes

(2) The Wrath of Kings is as Messengers of Death, *Prov.* 16. 14.

member that nothing is put in their Hands for a Scepter, with which they can hurt. And if sometimes a naked Sword is carried before Kings, 'tis in token of Justice not Revenge; and then 'tis carried in another's hand to intimate that between Anger and Execution there ought to intercede a Command. The publick Safety depends on Princes, which will easily be in danger, if they hearken to so rash a Counsellor, as Anger. Who can escape its hands? For 'tis like a Thunder-bolt when it comes from Supreme Power. *And because,* says King *Alphonso,* *Anger is stronger in a King, and more dangerous than in others; in that he can more readily satisfy it, he ought to be more prepar'd to curb and correct it †.* If Princes in a Passion could look upon themselves, they would find a Countenance unbecoming such Majesty, whose Tranquility and agreeable Harmony, both of Words and Actions, ought to please rather than terrify, to acquire Love rather than Fear. A Prince therefore should quench the Heat and Violence of Anger; if he can't do so, at least to defer the Fury and Execution of it for some time: For as the same King *Alphonso* has said, *A King ought to keep in his Anger till it is over, this will be of great advantage to him, for so he will be able to judge truly, and act justly in all things*.* The Emperor *Theodosius* experienced this in himself; and for this reason enacted a Law, That Capital Punishments should not be executed till thirty Days after Sentence pass'd. Which *Tiberius* had before him decreed, though for only ten Days, and without giving the Senate power to revoke the Sentence once pronounced (4). Which indeed had been commendable, if his design had been to make room for Pardon, or give time for a second hearing of the Cause. But *Tiberius* was a Man of too much Cruelty and Rigor to give that Indulgence (5.) It was the

† L. 10. tit. p. 2. * L. tit. 5. p. 2. (4) *Idque vite spatium damnatis prorogaretur, sed non sententiæ libertas ad pœnitendum erat. Tac. 3. Ann. (5) Neque Tiberius interjectis temporis mitigabatur. Tac. 3. Ann.*

Counsel of *Athenodorus* to *Augustus Cæsar*, to determine nothing in a Passion till he had repeated the Twenty four Letters of the *Greek Alphabet*.

Since then, Anger is a short Madness, directly opposite to mature Deliberation; there is no better Antidote against it than prudent Reflection; that the Prince be not too hasty in Execution, before he has had Council to examine a matter throughly. King *Abasuerus*, when his Queen *Vashti* refused to come at his Command, though he had reason to think himself contemned, and highly resented the Affront, yet would not be revenged till he had first called a Council, and taken the Advice of his Noblemen (6). To talk of an Injury received, inflames Anger more; hence that of *Pythagoras*, *Stir not Fire with a Sword*, for Motion increases the Flame; nor is there any more effectual Remedy for Anger than Silence and Solitude. By its self it insensibly consumes and wears off; whereas the most softning Discourse is often like the Water Smiths use to make their Fire burn fiercer. Farther, Anger has its seat in the Ears, or at least keeps watch there; these therefore a Prince is to secure, that they be not too ready to hear ill Reports, that may enrage him (-.) This I imagine was the reason the Statue of *Jupiter Cretensis* had no Ears, because they do more mischief to Governors than good. However, I think them necessary for Princes, provided they be cautious and ruled by Prudence, and let not themselves be moved at the first hearing of every trifling Story. Anger is to be commended when kindled by Reason, and moderated by Discretion; without such as that, there can be no Justice (8). Too much Indulgence gives license to offend, and makes Obedience bold. To endure all things with content, is ignorance, or shews a servile Temper of one who has a mean Opinion of himself. To continue in Anger when

(6) Esth. 1. 2. (7) Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath. James 1. 19. (8) *Nunc I aser convenit, j sstia causâ*. Sob. Serm. 20.

'tis to punish Offences, or make Examples of such as affront Regal Authority is no Vice, but a Virtue, and by no means derogates from Mildness and Clemency. Was any one more meek than *David* (9), a Man after God's own Heart (10)? So mild in Vengeance, in Anger so moderate; that when he had *Saul*, his greatest Enemy, in his power, was satisfied with cutting off the Skirt of his Robe, and even that afterward repented of (11). Nevertheless with severity did he revenge the Injury King *Hamm* did to his Ambassadors. *David* had sent them to comfort the King for the Death of his Father, but he groundlessly suspecting they came rather to spy out the State of his Kingdom, sent them away with the one half of their Beards shaved off, and their Garments obscenely cut off in the middle. *David*, a Man otherwise very peaceable, could not brook this Affront, but made War against him, and all the Cities of his Kingdom which he took, he utterly demolished; and the People that were therein, (to use the Scripture words) he brought forth and put them under Saws and under Harrows of Iron, and under Axes of Iron, and made them pass through the Brick-kiln (12). This may seem to be Cruelty, and an Excess of Anger, to any one that knows not that the Wounds injuries make, are sometimes to be so cured, as not so much as Scars should be left. *Artaxerxes* threatned Fire and Sword to some Cities, if they obey'd not an Edict he had published, resolving, if they refused, to make so severe an Example of their Contempt and Disobedience, as should extend to Brutes as well as Men (13). The most Just God taught us this piece of Policy, when with the utmost Rigour, yet without prejudice to his Infinite Mercy, he punished the *Syrians* Army for blasphemously

(9) Lord remember *David* and all his Afflictions, *Lat. Vers. Mansuetudinis ejus*. *Psal.* 131. 1. (10) I have found *David*, the Son of *Jesse*, a Man after mine own heart. *Acts* 13. 22. (11) And it came to pass afterwards that *David's* heart smote him, because he had cut off *Saul's* Skirt, 1 *Sam.* 24. 5. (12) 2 *Sam.* 12. 31. (13) *Esth.* 16. 24.

calling him the God of the Hills (14). The Supreme Authority and Power of Princes makes a part of a Commonwealth, so that they can't put up Affronts and Injuries at all times.

That Anger too is praise-worthy in Princes, and profitable to a State, which kindled by Incentives of Glory, elevates the Mind to difficult and noble Enterprizes, for without it nothing extraordinary, nothing great, can be undertaken, much less perfected and accomplished. That, that is it which nourishes the Heart of generous Spirits, and raises it above its self to despise Difficulties. The Academicks called it the Whetstone, *Plutarch* the Companion of Virtue. But particularly, in the beginning of his Reign, the Prince ought to lay aside Anger, and forget past Injuries; as *Sancho*, Sir-named the Brave, did when the Succession of the Crown of *Castile* fell to him. With Government, a Prince changes as 'twere his Nature, why should he not also his Affections and Passions? 'Twere an Abuse of Government to take Revenge of one who already acknowledges himself your Subject. Let the Person offended think he has Satisfaction in having got Authority over him, who before injured him. Fortune could not give him a nobler kind of Revenge. So *Lewis XII.* King of *France*, thought, and therefore when some perswaded him to revenge the Injuries he had received, while Duke of *Orleans*, he made answer, *That it did not become the King of France to revenge the Quarrels of the Duke of Orleans.*

Particular Injuries done to his Person, not Dignity, a Prince ought not to vindicate with his utmost Power; for though they seem inseparable, yet 'tis convenient to make some Distinction between them, least Majesty become odious and too formidable. To this tended

(14) Because the *Syrians* have said, the Lord is the God of the Hills, but he is not God of the Vallies; therefore will I deliver this great multitude into thine hand, and ye shall know that I am the Lord, 1 *Kings* 20, 28.

that of *Tiberius*, when he said, That if *Piso* had committed no other Crime, but the rejoycing at *Germanicus's* Death, and his grief for it, he would revenge those Injuries done him as a private Person, not as a Prince, and in a publick Capacity (15). On the other side, those done to his Dignity or Publick Station, he ought not to vindicate as a private Person, so as in a transport of Passion to think his Honour and Reputation lost, except he have immediate Satisfaction, especially when it were fitter to be deferred; for Anger should not be a Motion of the Mind, but of the Publick Good and Advantage. King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, undoubtedly had this before him, when the King of *Granada* refused to pay him Tribute, as his Ancestors had done; and withal, insolently sent him word, that they were long since dead; that in his Mints they laboured not to Coin Silver or Gold, but Forge Swords and Launces †. *Ferdinand* concealed his Resentment of this Liberty and Arrogance for a time, and made a Truce with him, deferring Revènge till his Affairs were more quiet and settled; in which he consulted more the Publick Good, than his own Particular Affections (16). Nor is it less prudent to dissemble Anger, when one has reason to presume, that a time will come when it will be for our disadvantage to have shown it. For that reason, King *Ferdinand*, the Catholick, though highly affronted by the *Grandees* of his Kingdom; yet, when he abdicated that of *Castile*, and retreated into *Aragon*, very discreetly concealed that Indignation of Mind, took no notice of the Injuries he had received, but shewed himself friendly and affectionate to all, as if he then foresaw he should be

(15) *Nam si legatus officii terminis, obsequium erga Imperatorem exiit, ejusdemque morte, & luctu meo latatus est, cedere: seponamque à domo meà & privatas inimicitias, non Principis, ulciscar.* Tac. 3. Ann. † *Marian. Hist. Hisp. lib. 24. cap. 16.* (16) A Fool's wrath is presently known; but a prudent Man covereth shame. *Lat. Vers. Injuriam dissimulat. Prov. 12. 16.*

sometime restored to his Kingdom, as indeed it afterwards happened. A generous Mind hides its Repentments of Injuries, and strives not by the impetuoufness of Anger, but rather by noble Actions to smother them; the best certainly, and a truly heroical kind of Revenge. When King *Ferdinand*, the Holy, besieged *Sevil*, a certain Nobleman reproached *Garcias Perez de Vargas* for wearing a waved Shield, which was not allowed his Family; he then pretended to take no notice of the Affront, till the Siege of *Triana*, where he fought with so much Valour, that he brought his Shield back stuck with Darts, then returning to his Rival, who was then in a secure Post, and shewing him the Shield, *You have reason*, says he, *to think much that I wear this Shield, that expose it to so many Dangers; without doubt no one deserves it beyond your self, who would take so much care to preserve it.* Those ordinarily bear Affronts most patiently, who are the least subject to give them; nor is it a less Virtue to Conquer this Passion, than an Enemy. To kindle a Prince's Anger is no less dangerous than to set Fire to a Mine or Petard; and though it be done in our own behalf, 'tis prudence to moderate it, especially if against Persons in Power: for such Angers generally fall on the Author's own Head. This was the reason the Moors of *Toledo* took so much pains to pacify King *Alphonso* the Sixth's Wrath, against the Archbishop of that place, and the Queen, who had taken without his Order, their Mosque from them. From which I draw two Precepts: One is, that Ministers ought, when the Duty of their place requires them, to tell the Prince of any thing that may create Distast or Anger, to represent them in the most softening terms imaginable (17); for it often happens that an incensed Mind vents its Fury upon the Person who gave the first Information of

(17) *Cuncta tamen ad Imperios em in mollis relata.* Tac. 4. Ann.

62 *A Prince's Prudence seen in concealing, &c.* Vol. I.
the thing, however Innocent he may be, however good his Design was in doing it. The other is, That they endeavour not only to moderate Princes Anger, but cover and conceal it handsomely. Those Seraphims (Ministers of Love) which stood above God in *Isaiab's* Vision, *with two Wings covered his Face, and with two covered his Feet* (18). Least his angry Countenance should strike such as were guilty of any fault with such Terror and Despair, that they would wish the Mountains to fall on them, rather than see the Face of an avenging God (19). The heat of Anger is no sooner cooled, but Princes are sorry and vexed to have had any Witnesses of it, or Spectators of its Effect, for both are equally disagreeable to the Dignity of a King. And God himself for this reason turned *Lot's* Wife into a Pillar of Salt (20).

(18) *Isaiab* 6. 1. (19) *Revel.* 6. 16. (20) *Gen.* 19. 26.

E M B L E M IX.



'TIS to its own damage that Envy opposes the Trophies and Glory of *Hercules*. To what end does it attempt to bite his sharp pointed Club, but to make its Jaws bloody? In short, 'tis its own avenger. It seems to me like a Sword which from the same Blood it spills gathers Rust, and by that is afterwards eat up. All other Vices take their rise from some appearance of Good, or from Pleasure; on the contrary this proceeds from an inward Grief and Dissatisfaction at the good of another. Other Vices their Punishment follows, this it even preceeds. Envy sooner exerts its Fury upon its own Bowels (1), than on the Honour of its Neighbour. 'Tis the shadow of Virtue; he that would avoid that, must fly the light of this. The Owl's Sight being by

(1) Envy is the rottenness of the Bones, *Prov.* 14. 30.

Nature strong enough to bear the Sun's Rays, is probably the reason other Birds hate and envy her: Whereas would she be confined to her private Places, and conceal her self in the darkness of Night, she need not fear their Persecutions. Between Equals there's seldom Emulation; when one's Fortune, the other's Envy encreases. Men are naturally apt to look with an ill Eye on upstart Happiness, and desire to reduce the Fortunes of none more than those whom they have once seen upon the Level with themselves (2). Envy is like the Tare which never seizes Corn till it be considerably grown, and its Fruit begins to ripen (3). He must therefore fly Fame, Dignities, and honourable Employments, that would not be exposed to Envy's Darts. A mean Fortune is least dangerous (4). *Regulus* in the midst of *Nero's* Cruelty lived secure, because, says *Tacitus*, his Gentility was of a small standing, and his Estate inconsiderable (5); but this fear would be unworthy a generous Beast. Others envying us, shews we excel them, but to be absolutely free from Envy is a very ill sign. 'Tis assuredly better to endure it, than be looked upon by all with indifferency. Envy is the Sting of Virtue; as the Thorn preserves the Rose, so does that Virtue. This would easily be neglected, were there none malicious and detracting. Many has Emulation advanced, many Envy made happy. That Emulation of *Carthage* raised the *Roman* Glory, as that of *Francis*, King of *France*, did the Fame of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth. 'Twas Envy gave the *Roman*, nay, the Universal Church to *Sixtus Quintus*, thence came all his fortune. There's nothing better in this Case than Scorn, and being always endeavouring to mount

(2) *Instita mortalibus natura, recentem aliorum felicitatem agris oculis introspicere, modumque fortunæ à nullis magis exigere, quam quos in equo videre.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) But when the Blade was sprung up, and brought forth Fruit, then appeared the Tares also, *Math.* 13. 26. (4) *Ex mediocritate fortunæ pauciora pericula sunt.* Tac. 14. Ann. (5) *Quia nova generis claritudine, neque invidiosis oculis erat.* Tac. 14. Ann.

higher till the envious Man's Eyes fail him, and he lose sight of you. The Shadow of the Earth reaches the Moon, that lowest of the Cœlestial Orbs, so near the Elements, and over-casts its Splendor; the higher Planets it does not in the least injure: The force of the Sun, when at height, scatters and dispels Clouds. Where's great Inequality, there's no room for Envy, and consequently this is the only remedy against it. The more expeditiously a Man advances himself, the less will he be expos'd to Envy. No Smoak comes from a Fire soon lighted. Whereas, while Merits wrestle, as it were, with one another, Envy grows and takes up Arms against the Person prefer'd. Pride and Superciliousness are things which in good Success provoke Envy, and stir up hatred. On the other side, Modesty quells it; for no one envies him as happy, who looks not upon himself as such. For this reason, *Saul* immediately after his being anointed King, betook himself to his House; and to shew he was not exalted with Royal Dignity laid aside the Scepter for a time, and set his Hand to the Plough (6). There's yet another Remedy, which is not to enlarge one's Fortune at Home, but in a Foreign Country; for 'tis very obvious for one, who before knew another to be of a mean Extraction, but now sees him in a high degree of Dignity, to envy him this happiness; this Evil insinuates its self more by the Eyes than Ears (7). Many eminent Men have declined Honours to avoid being envied. The Consul *Tarquinius* voluntarily chose Exile to escape the sight of this Fury. *Valerius Publius* set his own Houses on Fire, because their Magnificence procur'd him Envy. *Fabius* abdicated the Consulship, saying, *Now I hope Envy will cease to trouble the Fabii* (8). They were however in my opinion in the wrong, for

(6) 1 Sam. 10. 11. (7) *Ut effugiamus nomen invidie, quod verbum ductum est, à nimis intuendo fortunam alterius.* Cic. in Tul. (8) *Non enim poterimus ullâ esse invidiâ spoliati epibus, & illâ senatoria potestate.* Cic. ad Att.

this is rather to put the Sword in the Enemies hands, and give further occasion to Envy; which when it has once undertaken to persecute any one, never leaves him, till it has driven him to the extremity of Misery. The Sun casts no Shadows so long as 'tis in the Zenith; but as it declines and comes nearer us, they proportionably increase and grow longer. In the same manner Envy pursues him with the greater force, who is near ruin, or begins to fall; and as it generally lodges only in mean spirited Persons, is always afraid he should raise himself upon his Legs again. Even after *Daniel* was thrown among the Lions, *Darius* thought him not yet secure enough from those who envied him the King's Favour; and so fearing more Mens Envy than the Wild Beasts Cruelty, he sealed the Stone which was laid upon the Lions Den with his own Signet, and with the Signet of his Lords, that no mischief might be done him (9). Sometimes to avoid Envy, and its Inconveniences, 'twere advisable to embark those in the same Fortune, whose Emulation may be feared. Thus the *Remora*, which sticking to the outside of the Ship stops its Course, loses its strength when taken in (10).

Envy does not always gnaw lofty Cedars; sometimes she tires her Teeth, and bloodies her Lips with the lowest Thorns, which Nature her self seems to have in a manner hated. Infomuch as not to look on even the Miseries and Calamities of others without Spite and Indignation; whether it be, that her Malice is wholly mad and unreasonable, or because she cannot endure the Sufferer's strength of Mind and Constancy, or the Fame Fortune's Injuries usually beget. There are to be found in the Person of the present Author, many things to make his Case deservedly deplorable; none,

(9) That the purpose might not be chang'd concerning *Daniel*. Lat. Vers. *Ne quid fieret contra Danielelem*. Dan. 6. 17. (10) *Peculiariter miratum, quo modo adhaerens tenuisset, nec idem polleret in navigium receptus*. Plin. lib. 32. c. 1.

or very few, to render him envied; nevertheless there are some who envy him these continual Cares and Fatigues, though little acknowledged or requited. There seems to be something of fatality in this Emulation against him; it produc'd it self without any reason, and often asperses him with things, he had by hear-say from others, before he could have so much as imagined. Notwithstanding his mind so full of Candor, and mindful of his Duty, is so far from being disturbed at these things, that he rather loves that Envy and Indignation, perceiving it to awaken his Courage, and daily excite it to make a further Progress.

Princes therefore, who are so far in Degree and Dignity superior to others, ought chiefly to endeavour to despise Envy. He that has not Spirit enough for that, how will he have enough to be a Prince? To go to subdue it by kindness or rigour were plain Imprudence. All other Monsters *Hercules* tamed; against this neither Force nor Obligations were to any purpose. Nothing can silence the Peoples Clamours; for whatever Favours you confer, they take for Debts; nay, always promise themselves greater than they receive. Obloquy and Detraction ought not to quench in a Prince the desire of Glory, nor deter him from executing his Enterprizes: Dogs bark at the Moon, but she easily despises them, and proceeds in her Course. The principal Art of Government is to be able to endure Envy. Envy is not very prejudicial to Monarchies, but rather generally enflames Virtue, and makes it more illustrious; especially, if the Prince be Just and Constant, and don't too easily give credit to Calumnies. But in Republicks, where each Man goes for a part, and can execute the Desires of his Passions with the help of Friends and Relations; 'tis very dangerous raising Discord and Clandestine Conspiracies, whence afterwards arise Civil Wars, which are the Causes of all Revolutions in States. 'Twas that in former times ruined *Hannibal*, and many other great Men; and in this our Age has called in question the unperish'd Fi-

delity of *Angelo Baduero*, that famous *Venetian*, whom you may deservedly call the Glory and Ornament of that Commonwealth: A Man so desirous of, and passionate for the Publick Good, that even while under banishment, and unjustly oppressed, and persecuted by envious Men, he was in all things strangely sollicitous for the Preservation and Welfare of his Country.

The most Sovereign Remedy against Envy in Republicks, is an Equality of all the Members of them, so as that all Pomp and Ostentation be prohibited; for nothing so excites Emulation as the Splendor and Plenty of Riches. This made the *Romans* take so much care to regulate and reduce the superfluous Expences of Feasts, and to divide their Lands and Possessions, that their Citizens might be all equal in Strength and Estate.

Envy in Princes is very unbecoming their Eminency and Grandeur, as well for its being the Vice of an Inferior towards his Superiors, as because it must be but a very inconsiderable Glory which can't shine without obscuring others. The Pyramids of *Egypt* were reckoned among the Seven Wonders of the World for receiving Light on all sides of them, without casting the least Shade on any Bodies near (11). 'Tis a sign of weakness to want that which we envy in others. But nothing is more unworthy a Prince, than to envy the Excellence and Prudence of his Ministers, for they are in a manner Parts and Members of him; the Head envies not the Feet for being so strong as to support the Body, or the Arms, because they can labour; it glories rather in being furnished with such Instruments. However, self-love sometimes is the reason, that as Princes are Superior to others in Power, so also they are desirous to surpass them in the Gifts of Mind and Body. Even the fame of *Lucan's* Verses was a disturbance to

(11) *Pyramides in Egypto, quarum in suo statu se umbra consumens, ultra confectionis spatia nulla parte respicitur.* Cassiodor. l. 6. Var. Epist. 26.

N in the midst of all his Grandeur (12): Wherefore tho' he have to do with Princes, ought to be very cautious, not to seem to enter into a Dispute with them for Knowledge or Ingenuity; or if at any time they are by some accident obliged to it, submit rather, and voluntarily yield them the Victory; this being not only Prudence, but Respect due to Princes. The Cherubims (those Spirits of Knowledge and Wisdom) which stood before the Throne of God in *Ezekiel's* Vision, with singular Modesty covered their Hands with their Wings (13). This I wish indeed, that the Prince would be jealous of that Veneration, which some to get the greater Interest in him too ambitiously demand, and accordingly moderate a little the excess of those his Favours. Yet, by what Charm I know not, this love and kindness enchants a Prince's Mind, and blinds Envy. *Saul* could not but look upon *David* with an ill Eye, when he saw his great Exploits, though done for his Service, more applauded than his own (14). Whereas *Ahasuerus* could easily suffer *Human*, that great Favourite of his, to be worshipp'd and honour'd by all as a King (15). No Envy has more danger in it than that between Noblemen; care should therefore be taken that Honours and Great Places seem not to be Hereditary to particular Families, but be transferr'd from one to another; yet, so as that the wealthiest of the Nobility be employ'd in Places that require Pomp and Expence; the poorer sort in those by which they may raise their Fortune, and maintain the Splendor of their Birth. There is some Emulation that is glorious, I mean such as envies the Virtue and Merit of another, but

(11) *Lucanum propriis causa accendebant, quod fiamm carnium eius premebat Nero.* Tac. lib. 15. Ann. (12) And the Cherubims, the form of a Man's hand under their Wings, &c. *Ezek. 10.*
 (13) And *Saul* eyed *David* from that day and forward. *1 Sam. 18.*
 (14) And all the King's Servants that were in the Court, bow'd and reverenced *Human*, for the King had to command concerning him. *Ezra. 3. 2.*

grieves to want them it self, and endeavours by all the Efforts both of Valour and Wit to acquire them; this, I say, is commendable; nor is it to be reputed a Vice, but a kind of spark of Virtue proceeding from a noble and generous Mind. The Honour *Miltiades* got by his Victory over the *Persians*, kindled such Flames in *Themistocles's* Breast, as immediately consumed all his Vices; he like another Man ran about *Athens*, crying, *The Trophies of Miltiades would not let him Sleep.* As long as *Vitellius* had Competitors, he abstained from Vices; but as soon as he was without them, both he and his Army abandon'd themselves to Cruelty, Lust, Rapine, and Licentiousness (16). This is the Emulation Commonwealths should encourage, by proposing Rewards, erecting Trophies or Statues; for that is the Soul and Spirit by which they are preserved, and grow daily more flourishing. And this I take to be the Reason the Republick of *Switzerland* takes so little pains to extend its Limits, and why it produces so few famous Men; though otherwise Nature has been by no means niggardly of Valour, and Strength of Mind to its Inhabitants; for their principal Design is to establish a general Equality, which puts a stop to all Emulation; and consequently all noble and Military Virtues are buried like burning Coals in Ashes. But though this Emulation among Ministers may seem useful, yet 'tis not wholly without Danger, in that the People who suffer no Man to be without a Rival are variously affected (17); hence, while these favour one, those applaud another, there arises a Contention between both Parties, and these Factions breed Tumults and Seditious. Besides that, the heat of Ambition, and desire of advancing themselves above others, usually puts them upon unlawful Tricks and Artifices; and that which at first was honourable

(16) *Tum ipse, exercitusque, seviria, libidine, rapti in extremos mores proruperunt.* Tac. 2. Hist. (17) *Scientia militis & rumore populi, qui necunem sine amulo sunt,* Tac. 14. Ann.

Emulation, degenerates at length into Hatred and Envy. *Metellus* offended that *Pompey* was nominated to be his Successor in *Farther Spain*, and envying the Glory of this Great Commander, disbanded the Soldiers, weakened the Army, and carelessly neglected all Provisions. *Pompey* did afterwards the same, when he understood *Marcus Pompilius* was to succeed him in the Consulship, and for fear, possibly, the Honour of Conquering the *Numantines* might redound to him, made a Peace with them very dishonourable to the *Roman* Name. In our own times, *Grol* was lost upon no other account but a Dispute that arose among the Officers, that were sent to relieve it, about Preheminence. In short, nothing is so pernicious to Princes, nothing more needs a Remedy. Nor is here connivance to be admitted, but both are to be punished, as well he that seems to be Innocent, as the Person in Fault. This forgiving the occasion; that because he renounced not his Right, and let slip an opportunity of managing Affairs to advantage. Which Rigour, if it seems to any one excessive, will be excused, by considering the Emolument of the Publick Good, and of the Example it will leave to Posterity. There's no great Resolution without some mixture of Injury. A Subject ought to look upon the Duty he owes his Prince, before his own Honour; let him demand Satisfaction for the Injury received afterwards, and think he has acquitted himself of his Duty to his Prince, in having a little while put it up. Patience in such a Case, shews extraordinary Courage; for a generous Mind ought to prefer the Service of the King before its own Passions; and lay aside private Feuds when the Publick Interest is concerned (18). *Aristides* and *Themistocles* were bitter Enemies, yet being both sent on an Embassy together, when they came to the City-gate, *Aristides* said, *Let us here, Themistocles, leave for a little time our private Grudges, and at our return resume them again.*

(18) *Privata odia publicis utilitatibus remittere*, Tac. 1. Ann.

The same did *Henry Guzman* Duke of *Medina*, who though otherwise an Enemy to *Rodrigo Portre*, Marquis of *Cadiz*, yet out of Love of the Publick Good went to his Assistance at the Siege of *Alhaisa*. But because 'tis much easier to prevent these Dangers than remedy them afterwards; the Prince must take care not to put two Ministers of equal Authority in the same Office, for 'tis very difficult to make Power and Agreement subsist in the same place (19). *Tiberius* being to send another Minister into *Asia* of equal Quality with the then Governor of that Province, thought that might be of dangerous consequence; and therefore chose *M. Aletus*, a Prator, lest their equality might breed Emulation, and that occasion some Impediment (20).

(19) *Arduum eodem loco potentiam, & concordiam esse. Tac. 4. Ann.*

(20) *Delestus est M. Aletus è pratoris, ne Consulari obtinente Asiam, emulatio inter pares, & ex eo impedimentum oriretur. Tac. 2. Ann.*

EMBLEM X.



THE Faulcon's no sooner let fly, but he strives with his Beak to get off the little Bells that are hung at his Feet, knowing them to prejudice his Liberty; for their tingling shrill sound is like a Voice, which with the least motion raised, presently calls the Faulconer, and so is the occasion that the poor Bird is brought again to Confinement, how far soever it hid it self in the thickest Woods. Alas! how many Men has the noise of their Virtues, and brave Exploits, been mischievous to? How many has Fame brought into Envy and insupportable Slavery? Nor is great or good Fame less dangerous than bad (1). *Miltiades* had never ended

(1) *Nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

his Days so unhappily in Prison, had his Valour been conceal'd and unknown, or moderating his high Spirit, he had been content with a fortune equal to that of other *Athenian* Citizens. But the Reputation of his Victories increasing, and the Eyes of Envy being not able to bear Fame's so bright Rays, this Republick began to mistrust what merited Esteem and Recompence; they feared, forsooth, their own Necks might at length be obliged to bear the Yoke he had put on that of their Enemies; and dreaded more the future and uncertain Danger of *Miltiades's* Infidelity, than that present, and far greater one which threatned them from those, who openly designed the Ruin and Destruction of their City. Suspicion never admits Reason into its Council, nor does such fear stand to weigh the Importance of things, or suffer Gratitude to get the better of it. That Commonwealth chose to let one, though the most deserving, of its Citizens lie in Prison and Infamy, rather than all the rest should live in continual Jealousies. The *Carthaginians* took the Government of *Spain* from *Sappho*, under pretence, indeed, of administering the Commonwealth at home; but the true Reason was, that they could no longer suffer his Power and Authority. Thus they banished his Successor, *Hanno*, who was so eminent for his Navigations, only because he had more Ingenuity and Industry than they thought safe for a free People. He was the first Man they ever saw stroke a Lion, and make it tame, and began to apprehend he would at last subdue them, who had vanquished the Savage Beasts. Thus Commonwealths are used to recompence Services and great Actions. No one of the Citizens takes himself in particular to be honoured, or obliged by any good Office is done to the Community; as to Offences and Suspicion, every one thinks himself concerned. If any one's to be rewarded, very few give him their Votes; on the contrary, to find a Man guilty all are zealous. He that is more excellent than others, is thereby in danger; for his Zeal for the Publick Good accuses their negligence; his

his Prudence their Ignorance. Hence 'tis so dangerous to be serviceable and obsequious to Princes; hence Virtue and Industry become like Vices, odious. *Sallust*, who had a Capacity fit for the most important business, to avoid Envy, feigned himself to be idle and drowsy (2). But the worst of all is, that sometimes a Prince is displeas'd at being awakened by a vigilant Minister, whom he would rather have as careless as himself. To remedy this, as there is an Hypocrisy which counterfeits Virtues, and dissembles Vices; there is need of another to conceal Valour and Excellency of Mind, and to stop the mouth of Fame. 'Twas undoubtedly nothing but the fear of Envy made *Agricola* so careful to hide his, that they who saw in him so much Humility and Modesty, unless they had otherwise heard of his Fame, could never guess at his Renown by his Person (3). Time made *Germanicus* sensible of this inconveniency, but he chose to bear rather than amend it, when after the Conquest of so many Nations, he erected indeed a Trophy, but for fear of Fame put not his Name to it (4). *St. John* conceal'd his, in the relation of the signal Favour our Saviour shew'd him at his last Supper (5), which if 'twas not humane Policy, was at least prudent Modesty. Even meer Dreams about ones own Promotion breeds Envy amongst Brothers. *Joseph* almost hazarded his Life, when with more Ingenuity than Discretion, he told his the Dream he had of the Sheafs of Corn that made obeisance to his that stood upright among the rest; for the very Shadow of Eminence, nay, the bare possibility of excelling makes Envy solicitous. Glory is dangerous, as

(2) *Cui vigor animi ingentibus negotiis par laborat, eo magis, ut invidiam amoliretur, somnum & inertiam ostentabat.* Tac. 5. Ann. (3) *Viso aspectoque Agricola quærentes fumum, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in Vic. Agr. (4) *Debellatis inter Rhenum, Albiisque nationibus exercitum Tiberii Cæsaris ea Monumenta Marti, & Jovi, & Augusto sacravisse, de se nihil addidit, metu invidiæ, an verus conscientiam falsi esse suis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (5) Now there was leaning on Jesus's bosom, one of his Disciples whom Jesus loved. *John* 13. 23.

well because of our own Virtues, as other Mens Vices (6). Vice is not so feared in Men because it makes them Slaves, as Virtue that makes them Masters; for Dominion is by nature her self given to it, and this Republicks won't suffer to be lodged in the Person of one, but would have equally divided among all. Virtue is a kind of voluntary tyranny over Mises, has no less influence on them, than Violence it self, or Compulsion; and indeed, to excite Republicks to Imitation, 'tis the same thing absolutely whether the People be induced by Reason or by Force, constrained to obey one only; for the first Tyranny, the juster 'tis, the more dangerous and irresistible. This very thing gave rise to the Ostracism, or Ten Years Banishment, to which *Aristides*, among others, was condemned; whose only Crime, was his having the Reputation of a good and just Man. The Peoples Favour is a very dangerous Friend to Virtue; for their Applause and Approbation is punished as a fault, as you may see in the Person of *Galerian* (7). So *Germanicus* learned by experience, that the *Roman* Peoples love was fickle and unfortunate (8). Neither Princes nor Commonwealths much desire Ministers of extraordinary Excellency, but such as have a competent Skill to manage Affairs, and this reason *Tacitus* gives why *Poppæus Sabinus* was continued Four and twenty Years in the Government of the most considerable Provinces (9). 'Tis therefore a piece of great Prudence to know how to conceal ones Fame, and consequently to beware of all Ostentation of Wit, Valour, or Excellency, and cover all sublime Thoughts, as they say, with Ashes; though I confess, 'tis difficult for a noble Mind to confine to the narrow compass of its own Breast, a Flame that breaks out on

(6) *Agricola simul suis virtutibus, simul vitis aliorum in ipsam gloriam præceptis agebatur.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (7) *Nihil ausus, sed nomen insigne, & decora ipsi juvena, rumore vulgi celebrabantur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (8) *Breves & infustos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. Ann. (9) *Nul- lam ob eximiam artem, sed quod par negotiis, neque supra erat.* Tac. 6. Ann.

all sides, and daily requires new Fuel to increase it, and make it shine with the greater Lustre. But this we may be persuaded to by the Examples of these Illustrious Heroes, who heretofore from the Dictatorship returned to the Plough; and of those that after a Triumphant Entry into the City of *Rome* by Breaches, because the Gates were not large enough; that after the Conquest of whole Nations, have retreated to poor despicable Cottages, whither afterwards the Commonwealth has come to find them out. Nor had that ever brought them so soon into play again had it not seen they were not ambitious of Honour; for that like a Shadow flies him that pursues it, follows him that flies it. His Fame and Reputation is greatest, who strives to conceal it. *Rubellius Plautus* was thought to deserve the Empire because he lived retired (10); but 'tis not so in Monarchies, where one ascends higher by having begun to ascend. A Prince has Men of Courage and Bravery in great esteem, Republicks fear them rather; that animates them by Rewards and Presents, these discourage them by Ingratitude: Nor is fear of their Liberty always the reason of it, but 'tis also a pretence to Cloak their Envy and Emulation under. If any one be the Object of all Mens favour and applause, he is usually suspected and envied; which rarely happens in Princes, who don't easily envy their Subjects Glory; but if they do any thing commendable, they attribute it to themselves, as being the Execution of their Orders. This has been observable in the Emperor *Otho* (11). Prudent Ministers ought therefore to attribute to the Prince the happy Success of things; taking warning by the Example of *Silius*, who incurred *Tiberius's* Displeasure by boasting that he alone kept the Legions to their Duty; and using to say often, that *Tiberius* was

(10) *Omnium ore Rubellius Plautus celebratur, cui nobilitas per matrem ex Juliâ familiâ, ipse placita majorum colebat, habitu severo, castâ & secretâ domo, quantoque metu occultior, tanto plus fama adeptus. Tac. 14. Ann.* (11) *Gloriam in se trahente, tanquam, & ipse felix bello, & suis ducibus, & suis exercitibus Remp. auxisset. Tac. 1. Hist.*

indebted to him only for his Empire: For *Cæsar* thought at this rate his Fortune would be destroyed, and that he was unable to make return to so great Merit (12). Nor was *Vespasian* displeas'd with *Antonius Primus* for any thing, but too frequently mentioning his own Merits (13). *Agricola* was far more prudent, who never magnified his Exploits for his own Fame, but attributed all his Success to his Superiors (14). *Joab* has left an Illustrious Example of this to all Generals; who, when he had forced any City to Surrender, sent word before to King *David* to bring up new Forces, that the Surrender might be ascribed to his Conduct (15). The Ancient *Germans* were above others commended for this, who lay under a strict Obligation, not only to defend and preserve their Prince, but also to attribute the Glory of their own brave Actions to him (16). For these reasons a Person is much securer of a Recompence for the Services he does a Prince, than those done a Commonwealth; and will with more ease get the Favour of the one than the other (17). Besides, that there's less danger in offending that than this; for the Multitude knows not what Connivance, Mercy, or Danger are; it is equally rash in its Resolutions, whether the thing to be attempted be dangerous or unjust; for either the Fear or Blame is divided among many, and each Man perswades himself the danger is not like to fall on his Pate, that the Infamy belongs not

(12) *Destruï per hæc fortunam suam, Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Nimius commemorandis quæ meruisset.* Tac. 4. Hist. (14) *Nec Agricola unquam suam famam gestis exultavit, ad auctorem & ducem, ut Minister, fortunam referebat. Ita virtute in obsequendo, verecundia in prædicando extra invidiam, nec extra gloriam erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (15) Now therefore gather the People together, and encamp against the City, and take it, least I take the City, and it be called after my name. *Lat. Vers. Et nomini meo ascribatur victoria.* 2 Sam. 12. 28. (16) *Principem suum defendere, tueri, sua quoque fortia facta gloriæ ejus assignare, præcipuum Sacramentum erat.* Tac. lib. de Germ. (17) *Tarda sunt quæ in commune expostulantur, privatam gratiam statim mereare, statim recipias.* Tac. 1. Ann.

to him (18). A Community has no Forehead to blush, as a Prince has, who is with great reason solicitous for his own Person chiefly, as well as for his Reputation, and that of his Posterity. All Men flatter a Prince, setting before him the things that lead to Glory, in Republicks few are concerned for the Publick Honour, almost all for Security (19). A Prince has his Subjects to content, in a Community that care and trouble ceases; for what it undertakes or does, is by the Common Counsel of all, and so every one is thought to be concerned in it. And hence I imagine it comes to pass, that Commonwealths (I mean not such as are in a manner Kingly) are so unconstant and false in the Observation of Treaties; for that only is just with them, which seems to be for the Interest of their Preservation, Grandeur, and the Liberty they so much advance, in which they are extremely Superstitious. They imagine they worship true Liberty, and with a fervile Submission adore infinite tyrannical Idols. Every one thinks he Commands, and all Obey; they are all provided with an Antidote against the Poyson of Monarchy, and the Sovereignty of many they greedily and securely swallow; they fear nothing more than the Tyranny of Foreigners, take no notice of that at home. Liberty is talkt of every where, found no where. All are possessed of it in Imagination, none in Reality. Let the *United Provinces* now make a Comparison between the Liberty they formerly had, and that they enjoy at present, and diligently examine which of the two has the Advantage; whether they ever underwent the same Slavery then, suffered those Losses and Taxes they at this day sensibly experiment. Let the Subjects of some Commonwealths, nay the Magistrates themselves, in whose Hands the Government is, think whether it were possible for any Tyrant to enslave them more than those very Persons

(18) *Ita trepidi, & utrinque anxii coeunt; nemo privatum, expeditis consilio, inter multos, societate cuipae tutior.* Tac. 2. Hist. (19) *Paucis decus publicum cura, plures tuta differunt.* Tac. 12. Ann.

they have set up to Assert their Liberty, when there is not one that really enjoys it in his Actions. They are all miserable Slaves to their own Jealousies; the Magistracy is its own Tyrant; and it may be truly said of both, that they live without a Master, but not with Liberty (20); for the more they strive to disengage themselves from the Bonds of Slavery, the faster they are bound with them (21).

(20) *Magis sine Domino, quam in libertate.* Tac. 2. Ann. (21) *Sed dum veritati consulitur, libertas corrumpatur.* Tac. 1. Ann.

E M B L E M XI.



THE Tongue is an Instrument, by the help of which the Mind discovers its Sentiments, for it expresses it self either by that, or by the Pen, which like

like a silent Tongue sometimes supplies its place, drawing on Paper the Words which should have been uttered by the Voice. From both the one, and the other, one may draw a probable conjecture of a Man's Parts and Capacity. For by Speech, *Wisdom shall be known, and Learning by the Word of the Tongue* (1). Hence King *Alphonso*, the Wise, speaking in his Laws how a Prince ought to carry himself in his Conversation, what Moderation he should use in speaking; among other things says, Multiloquy makes their Words unregarded, and if a King be not a Man of good Sense, his Tongue soon discovers the defect; for as an Earthen Pot is tried by the Sound, so is a Man's Sense by his Words †. A Comparison which he seems to have borrowed from this Passage of *Persius*:

————— *Sonat vitium percussa malignè,*
Respondet viridi non cocta fidelia limo.

Speech is the minds Countenance; by that is discovered whether it be sound or not (2). To represent this, I have made use of another nobler Emblem, and more accommodated to the Subject; 'tis a Bell, the true Emblem of a Prince; for as that is hung up in the most eminent place of the City, it times, and regulates all the Citizens Actions; and if the Metal be not good, or it has any other fault in't, 'tis by its Sound presently discerned (3). So a Prince is a kind of general Clock to all his Subjects, who in a great measure depend, as I may say, upon the Motion of his Words, and by them he either gets or loses a Reputation, every one giving himself to guess at his Genius, Wit, and Inclinations, by his Discourse. Not a Word escapes his Hearers, each one makes a deep Impression on their

(1) *Eccles. cap. 4. 29. † L. 5. tit. 4. p. 2. (2) Oratio vultus animi est, si circumfusa est & fucata, & manifesta, stentis illum non sincerum, & habere aliquid fracti. Sen Epist. 115. (3) Vas vitio suu & sono, hinc sermone probatur. Metell. Serm. 42. Tom. 5. Bibl.*

Memory, they are repeated to others, and exposed to the Censure of all, who usually put various Constructions upon them, as they think fit. Nay, even, what comes from him in private and unawares, passes for profound and mysterious, and not for casual and accidental. It were therefore very proper for them not to be extemporary but premeditated (4), not spoken without a previous Consideration of all the Circumstances of Time, Place, and Persons. For—*Nescit vox missa reverti*, —as *Horace* says, seconded by King *Alphonso*, *For this reason all Men, especially a King, ought to take great care of his Words before he utters them, for when they are once out of the Mouth, there is no Man can recal them* †. Whence may arise very great Inconveniencies, for the Words of Kings are the principal Instruments of Government (5). Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue (6); as also the Honour and Ignominy, the Prosperity and Ruin of Subjects. This made *Aristotle*, when he sent *Callisthenes* to *Alexander* the Great, advise him to talk little with him, and only upon agreeable Subjects; for that 'twas a dangerous thing to Treat with one who carried the Power of Life and Death at his Tongues end. There's not a Word comes from a Prince's Mouth without a peculiar Emphasis: Is it about Business, they are Commands; if of Crimes, they are Sentences; if of Promises, Obligations; by his Words he is either obeyed or disobeyed. Let Princes therefore take care how they use this Tongue of theirs, which Nature has not meerly by chance fenced and inclosed with, as it were, a Wall of Teeth; nor is there less need of a Bridle for the Tongue, than for a Horse (7). 'Tis, it is true, one of the least Members of the Body, but 'tis like the Rudder of a Ship, on whose Motion the loss or safety of the whole Vessel de-

(5) A Fool travaileth with a Word, as a Woman in labour of a Child. *Eccles.* 19. 11. † L. 1. tit. 4. part. 2. (5) Where the Word of a King is, there is power. *Eccles.* 8. 4. (6) Death and Life are in the Power of the Tongue, *Prov.* 18. 21. (7) *Eccles.* 28. 29.

pends. The Tongue is placed in a wet place, and so easily slips, unless stai'd by Prudence. Hence that Prayer of David; *Set a Watch, O Lord, before my Mouth, keep the Door of my Lips* (8).

For a Prince to condescend to a familiar Conversation with any one, lessens his Character, prostitutes his Authority, and brings many other Inconveniences upon him, unless he do it for Information; for every Man desires to have a wise Prince, and one that understands his Affairs very well; which is next to an impossibility, for a Prince can't know all things (9); and if he answer in the least from the purpose, he shall be presently condemned for Insufficiency or Negligence. Besides, that Princes Talents and Endowments very rarely answer the generally received Opinion of them; therefore to avoid the danger of this, the *Roman* Emperors chose to Treat with their Subjects by Notes, and give them Answers in Writing, as well to get time for Deliberation, as because the Pen is less subject to mistake than the Tongue; for this can't handsomely defer an Answer, that can. *Sejanus*, however great a Favourite of *Tiberius's*, conferr'd only with him by way of Memorial (10). There are, however, some Affairs which may be better treated of by Word of Mouth; particularly, when there's something of danger in leaving ones Sentiments in anothers hands, which are a kind of perpetual Evidence, and more liable to be wrested to different meanings than Words, which as they quickly pass, and stick not deep in the Memory, are not so easily actionable. But whether a Prince gives his Answers this, or the other way, he should always remember, that brevity is the most prudent, and most becoming a Prince's Majesty (11). Hence *Tacitus* gives that Epithet Imperial to Brevity (12).

(8) Psalm 140. 3. (9) Neque posse principem sua scientia evicta complecti. Tac. 3. Ann. (10) Compositis ad Casarem codicillis: unum quippe tum erat quamquam prosperam scripto adit et Tac. 4. Ann. (11) Multum brevi sermone inest prudentie Sophocel. (12) Imperatoris brevitate. Tac. 1. Hist.

84 *A Prince is to be Cautious in his Discourse*, Vol. I.
You should use the Tongue as your Sword, that is, not lay your self too open to your Adversary; he that discloses his whole Mind, exposes himself to Danger. Concise Discourses have the greatest Efficacy, and leave most room for Reflection. Nothing's so like a King, as to talk little, and hear much. Nor is it less requisite for him to know how to be silent, than how to speak. In this, Men are our Masters. In that, God himself, who always enjoyns Silence in his Mysteries. He resembles the Divinity most, who has learnt to hold his Peace. *Even a fool when he holdeth his peace is counted wise, and he that shutteth his Lips is esteemed a Man of understanding* (12). *The heart of fools is in their mouth, but the mouth of the wise is in their heart* (14). This is Prudence to avoid both Extreams, for each has its danger:

*All to Talk, or none,
Are distant, and yet neighbouring Faults.*

Auson.

'Tis then only convenient to speak, when Silence prejudices either the Prince or Truth. Majesty by a Nod only sufficiently explains its self. Silence well-timed, is in Princes great Eloquence; and a grave and modest Carriage are usually more significantly expressive of one's Thoughts than Words themselves. But if one's obliged to use these at any time, they ought to be sincere, and with liberty in thinking becoming a King.

Your free Conceptions dress in plain Words.

Tass.

For by too many Asseverations, Oaths, and unnecessary Proofs, they either quite lose their Credit, or at least are rendred suspicious; they ought then to be Grave without Moroseness; Graceful without Affectation; of Force without Roughness; lastly, Common

(12) Prov. cap 17. (14) Eccles 21. 29.

not Vulgar. Even with God, Words well ordered, seem to have most weight and influence (15).

But the Tongue and Pen require no where more prudent Moderation than in Promises, in which Princes either out of a natural Generosity, or to obtain their Ends with more ease, or to avoid a Danger, are usually extravagant; which when they can't perform, they lose their Credit, and procure themselves Enemies, so that it had been better not to have been so lavish of them. There have been more Wars occasioned by the Breach of Promises than by Injuries. For Interest is seldom in these so much concerned as in them. And Princes are generally moved more by their own Advantage than by Injuries received. To make large Promises, and not keep them, is interpreted by a Superior, an Affront; by an Equal, Injustice; by an Inferior, Tyranny (16). The Tongue therefore should not be too forward to promise, without assurance that the Promise can be performed (17).

In Threats also, the Tongue easily goes beyond its Limits; for the Heat of Anger soon puts it in Motion and when Revenge can't equal the Passion, of necessity Prudence; nay, and Supreme Power must lose not a little of their Credit. 'Tis therefore much more advisable to dissemble Injuries, that the Effects of Satisfaction may be considered before the Prince threatens it. He that uses Menaces before his Hands, designs either to make them the only Instruments of his Revenge, or to give his Enemy warning. There's no more terrible threatening than Silence. If mine's already let off, no one is afraid; those are always more formidable that lie still conceal'd under-ground; for the Effects of the Imagination are usually greater than those of the Senses.

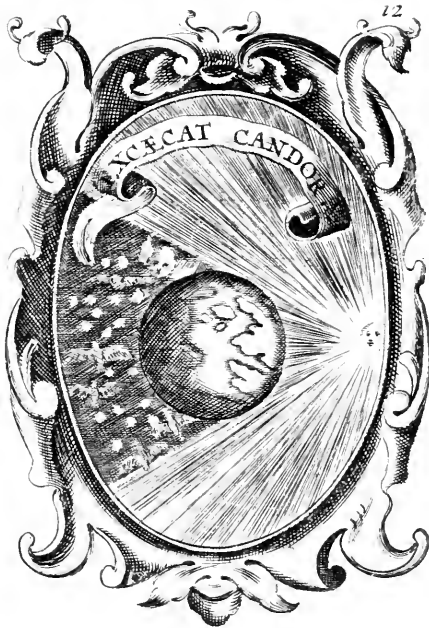
(15) Job 41. 3. (16) Better is it that thou shouldst not vow, than that thou shouldst vow and not pay. *Eccles. 5. 5.* (17) Be not hasty in thy Tongue, and in thy Deeds slack and remiss, *Ecl. 4. 29.*

Detraction has in it a great mixture of Envy and Ostentation; it is always almost of an Inferior towards his Superior, and consequently much below a Prince, by whose Lips no Man's Honour ought to be brought in question. If he sees Vices, he should punish them; if other small Defects, correct or connive at them.

The praise of brave Actions and Services is a part of their Reward; excites the Person commended to, as it were an Emulation of himself, and is a Spur to others. However, to commend all Subjects indifferently, is not without danger. For the Judgment they pass on them being various and uncertain, and that Praise, a kind of definitive Sentence, time may discover to have been rashly given; in the mean time, the Prince's Honour will oblige him not to retract easily what he has once approved. As well therefore for this reason, as not to give occasion to Envy, great Circumspection is required in praising Persons, which is also one of the Holy Spirit's Oracles, *Judge no one blessed before his Death* (18). It was a principal Maxim among the *Stoicks*, to commend no one rashly, because scarce any thing can be affirmed with certainty, and we are often deceived in things that appear to us most praiseworthy.

(18) Vid. Lat. Verf. *Ante mortem ne laudes hominem quenquam.*
Eccles. 11, 30.

E M B L E M XII.



THE Heart of Man, Nature, that skilful Architect, has hid in the most retired part of the Breast; however, least probably, seeing it self thus concealed, and without Witnesses, it should do any thing against the Law of Reason, she has withal given Man that native Colour or Fire of Blood, for Modesty to inflame his Countenance withal, and accuse his Heart, if it deviate from Honour in any thing, or think otherwise than the Tongue speaks, both which ought always to have the same Motion, and a mutual Agreement in all things. But Malice by degrees effaces that Mark which is used in Children to shew its self. Hence the *Romans* well-knowing the importance of Truth for the establishment of Society, and maintaining Commerce in the Commonwealth; and desiring nothing more than

than to preserve the shame of deserting it among Men, hung about their Childrens Neck a Golden Heart, (which they called *Bulla*) an Hieroglyphick, says *Ausonius*, invented by *Pythagoras*, to signify the Ingenuity Men ought to profess in Conversation, and the Sincerity they should observe in Truth, wearing at their Breast, a Heart uncovered, as it were, and open, the Genuine Emblem of that Truth. And this we commonly mean, when speaking of a Man of Veracity, we say he carries his Heart in his Hands, or that he is open-hearted. The same the *Egyptian* Priests signified by the Sapphire they put upon their Princes Breasts, to represent emblematically the same Truth; as their Ministers of Justice also used to wear about them some Figure of it. Nor should any one imagine, that for the Prince to be so sincere, and professed a Lover of Truth, would perhaps but give an occasion to Deceit and Cozenage; for on the contrary, nothing is more effectual in preventing those Cheats, and driving away Lyes, which never dare look Truth in the face. The same Observation I take that advice of *Pythagoras* to allude to, never to speak with one's Back towards the Sun; thereby intimating that nothing ought to be uttered repugnant to Truth; for a Liar can't bear the bright Rays of Truth, signified by the Sun upon a double account, both because of the Sun's Unity; as for that it disperses Darkness, and drives away Shades, restoring to all things their true Light and proper Colours, as the present Emblem shews; where as soon as that Luminary is got above the Horizon, the Obscurity of Night immediately flies, and the Nocturnal Birds retire to the Woods dark Coverts, which in that's absence, and favoured by the Silence of Night, use while others sleep, to seek their Prey. What Confusion is the Owl in, if by chance she comes into the Sun's presence? In that glittering Light she Staggers to and fro, and is confounded, that Splendor quite blinds her, and frustrates all her Tricks. Can any one have so much Subtilty and Craft, but they will presently fail him when he comes before

before an ingenuous Prince, and one that is a particular Friend to Sincerity and Truth (1)?

There's no force able to penetrate into the Designs of a candid Mind, if that Candor want not some Retirements for Prudence. Is there any thing more open and evident to the Eyes of the World, any thing more resplendent, more opposed to Shadows and Darkness than the Sun? Nevertheless, if any one will look steadfast upon its Rays, he will discover I know not what Abuses, as 'twere, and Obscurities of Light, which so darken the Eyes, that what they saw, they can't tell. Thus Knavery is blinded with the Light of Truth, and its Foundations overturned, nor can it find any more a way to delude with its Artifices. 'Tis a Victory truly worthy a Prince, to conquer Frauds and Cheats with Ingenuity, Lyes with Truth. To lye is a slavish Vice, and consequently very unbecoming the generous Mind of Princes, who above all Men should endeavour to render themselves like God, who is Truth it self (2). *Whence Kings, (says King Alphonso) who keep its place upon Earth, and to whom it particularly belongs to guard it, ought to take special care not to contradict it by falsity; if a King should once give himself to Lying, he will not be believed, even when he speaks truth, and will farther give encouragement to others to follow his Example. This inconveniency Tiberius experimented, who often pretending to restore Liberty and the Consular Government to the Commonwealth, and to remit the Management of Affairs to others, caused the People to mistrust him when he meant really and honestly (3).*

The greater Monarchs are, they are the more exposed to Vanity and Lyes (4). The Rays of a plentiful Fortune easily contract the Clouds of Detraction.

(1) *Magni presentia veri.* Virgil. (2) Excellent Speech becometh not a Fool; much less do lying lip a Prince. *Prov. 17. 7.*
 (3) *Ad vani & toties irrita revolutus de reatenda Repub. utque consules, seu quis alius, regimen susciperet. uti quoque & honesto fidem dempsit.* Tac. 4 Ann. (4) *Cuncta magis imperii objectari solitus.* Tac. 4. Ann.

In great Empires all things have the worst Construction put upon them, and are obnoxious to Reproaches. What open Force can't do. Calumny by secret Mines attempts, in which thing he that hath the Rule over others, has need of great Courage, not to change his Course, or suffer himself to be stopt by the Clamours of Cavillers. This constancy and firmness of Mind has always eminently appeared in the Kings of *Spain*, to whom it has been, in a manner, natural to despise Envy and Calumny; by which means alone, many Clouds of that Nature have been dispell'd, which as Majesty raises, so it also by the force of Truth dissipates, as the Sun's Heat does Vapours. What infamous Libels, what manifest Fables, what forg'd Stories, what Calumnies have malicious Men often spread against the *Spanish* Monarchy? Nor for all this, could that Envy be able to cast the least Blemish upon its so just Administration of the Kingdoms 'tis possessed of in *Europe*, because that is open to the World, and visible to all. Among other things, by new contriv'd Devices, and studied Lyes to render its Government odious, and so make the Rebellious Princes less desirous of a Reconciliation: I know not what Author, under the Name of the Bishop of *Chapa*, has published a Book, wherein he gives a large Account of the Inhumane and Barbarous Usage the *Indians* received from the *Spaniards*; and that those Lyes might have a more easy Credit; the Book was first spread about in *Spain*, as Printed at *Sevil*, afterwards Translated into other Languages. An ingenious Invention indeed, and accute piece of Malice, and of more consequencé than perhaps can be believed, for upon some easy Minds it had very ill Effect, though most of the more prudent soon discovered the Cheat; in as much as all those things are abundantly confuted by the extraordinary Zeal for Religion and Justice, the *Spanish* Nation always with great Constancy exercises and maintains all over the World, nor is it unlike its self in the *Indies* only. I won't however deny, but at the first Invasion of

America,

America, some things happened not altogether to be approved, but this was only by their fault, who thinking this Known World too little for their vast Minds, had the boldness by the Permission, rather than Command, or Choice of their King to try their Fortune in other Parts, and discover New Countries hitherto unknown, where they found a barbarous People, Idolatrous to Superstition, more Savage than Beasts, who brutally lived on Man's Flesh, whose Inhumanity was incorrigible but by force and utmost rigour. But it was not long before their Catholick Majesties provided a Remedy against these Disorders, for they sent to those Coasts Commissaries to punish those severely they found had been guilty; and to maintain entire Justice among the *Indians*, they gave afterwards many Paternal Orders for their Preservation, of which it was none of the least to exempt them from those severe Labours they daily underwent in the Mines, and in other things before the Discovery of those Countries. They sent besides, Divines with great Zeal to teach them the Mysteries of the Christian Faith; founded Bishopricks at their own Expences, and those of the Crown, and maintained Religious Convents for the benefit of that new planted Church, without suffering them from the time those vast Countries fell into the *Spaniards* hands, even in the absence of their new Masters, to want any any thing which 'tis a King's Duty to supply his Subjects withal. In which the Government of this State, and the Vigilance of its Ministers, may in a manner seem to surpass that of the Sun it's self, of the Moon and Stars, and the Influence they have over things below; for but a few hours, in which the Sun's presence lightens one Hemisphere; the other is in Confusion, while Malice cloaths and covers its self with the Darknes of Night, and under the Mask, as it were, of that Obscurity commits Murders, Robberies, Adulteries, and every thing that's ill, the Sun's providence not being able to prevent them, though, indeed, even in the Night he spreads some Twilight above the Horizon, or

in the interim leaves the performance of his Office to the Moon as his Vicegerent, and the Stars as his Ministers, and communicates to them the Authority of his Rays. From this our World, the Kings of *Spain* govern that other in Justice, Peace, and Religion, with the same Political Happiness the Kingdoms of *Castile* enjoy to their satisfaction. But least the Envious and Enemies of the *Spanish* Monarchy should triumph with these their Artifices, and that all the Calumnies of that Book may be entirely overthrow, let us suppose all those Evils, which Malice has feigned the *Indians* to have suffered, to be true; and compare them to what have been really undergone in our own time in several Wars, as well against *China*, as in *Germany*, *Burgundy*, and *Lorraine*, and 'twill appear clearer than light, that that lye comes far short of the truth of these. What cruel Torments have Tyrants ever invented against Innocence, which in these our times we have not seen put in practice, not against inhumane and barbarous People, but civilized Nations; and those not always Enemies, but even their own Members, without respect to Propinquity of Blood, or Piety towards their Country? How often have we seen Auxiliary Forces turn their Weapons upon them that sent them? Defence been more bloody than open Offence? Protection become immediate Destruction; Friendship, Hostility? Not a stately Edifice, not a Sacred Place, has been spared by Fire and Sword: In a little time we have seen an infinite number of Towns, Forts, and Cities, buried in their own Ashes; and Countries very populous changed into most Solitary Deserts. Nor yet, could that Thirst of Humane Blood be quench'd or satisfied. 'Twas no new thing then to try Pistols and Swords upon Mens Breasts, as Bodies of Trees, and that not only in the heat of Battel, but in cool Blood, 'twas then a very agreeable Spectacle to see the deformed Looks, and trimbling Limbs of Men expiring. How often have Mens Bellies ript open served for Mangers? Sometimes in those of Women ('tis dreadful to mention it) their tender Embryo's

were mixt with Straw and Oats, and made Provender for Horses. At the Expence of Life, 'twas try'd, how much Water a Man's Body would hold, or how long one could live without Sustenance. Nuns were violated, Daughters of good Families dishonoured, Wives ravished in the very sight of their Parents and Husbands. Women, as all other Spoil or Plunder, were either sold or exchanged for Cows or Horses, and Labourers were put to Chariots, and compell'd to draw them as Horses; and to make them discover where their Riches lay, hung by the Feet and Members, and thus let down into hot Furnaces. There Children were barbarously murdered before their Eyes, that Paternal Affection might in the Grief of these their dearest Pledges effect what self-love could not oblige them to. In Woods and Forests where Wild Beasts find refuge, Men could not; for the Blood-hounds chased them thence, and brought them to the Stake. The deepest Lakes were not secure from so Ingenious Covetousness and Rapine; the Effects of these wretched People were rak'd thence with Hooks and Nets. Not so much as dead Mens Bones were suffered to rest, Tombs and Grave-stones were thrown down to search under them for Treasures. There's no magical, no devilish Art which they put not in practice to discover their Money. Many thousand Men perished by Cruelty and Covetousness, not by their own Baseness, as the *Indians*, whose Extirpation Divine Justice permitted, for having been so many Ages Rebels to their Creator. I mention not these things to accuse any Nation in particular; for I am assured most, if not all, have acted their Parts in this Barbarous and Inhumane Tragedy; but only to vindicate that of the *Spaniards* from Calumny. The sweetest and best fram'd Mind is sometimes in danger of transgressing its Limits. 'Tis the weakness of our frail Nature, to be subject to commit the most brutish Action, if it want the Bridle of Religion and Justice.

EMBLEM XIII.



1 **T**HE Moon supplies the Sun's absence, in presiding over Night; upon the various Motions, upon the Increase and Decrease of that, depend the Vigor and Conservation of things here below; and although that is as much more beautiful as these be obscure, and of themselves weak, as receiving their Being from its Light; yet there's no one, either upon that account, or for its other innumerable Benefits, takes much notice of it, even, at the height of its Splendor. But if it be at any time by the Interposition of the Earth Eclipsed, and discover the defects of its Body, not as before illuminated by the Sun, but dark and opacous, immediately all Mens Eyes are upon it, all observe it; nay, this Accident Curiosity long before anticipates, and measures its Steps every moment. What are Princes, but

but a kind of Terrestrial Planets and Moons, on which that Divine Sun of Justice diffuses its Rays for the Government of the Earth? For if those Stars have Power over things, these have over minds. This I imagine made the *Persian* Kings endeavour by a sort of false Rays to imitate the Form of the Sun and Moon, to make themselves esteemed equal to those Planets. *Sapor*, one of them in a Letter to the Emperor *Constantius*, called himself Brother to the Sun and Moon (1). Princes, their Dignity makes conspicuous among other Men, as placed in the highest Orbs of Power and Empire, and so exposed to all Mens Censures. They are *Colossi*, or vast Statues, whose Parts can't bear the least Disproportion one to another, but others Eyes will presently be upon it. They ought therefore to be very circumspect in their Actions, since they are the Objects of the whole World's Attention; and tho' their good ones pass sometimes without Remark, their Faults will never escape Observation. Curiosity employs a hundred Eyes, and far more Ears, to penetrate Princes most Secret Thoughts. They seem like that Stone in *Zachariah's*, upon which were Seven Eyes (2). For which reason, in the highest Grandeur there is least Liberty (3).

The Prince's Hand keeps time in that Musical Comfort, which good and prudent Government makes; if this time be not regular and even, there arises a Confusion of Voices, and the Harmony is disordered in others, in that all follow the Motion of that. Hence 'tis, that States generally resemble their Princes, and sooner the ill than the good; for as Subjects use so carefully to observe their Vices, they make an Impression on their Minds, and are easily afterwards imitated out of Flattery. For Vicious Princes not only commit

(1) *Rex Regum Sapor, particeps siderum, & frater solis, & Lunæ, Constantio fratri meo salutem.* Ammian. Marcell. lib 4. (2) *Zach. 3. 9.*
 (3) *Qui magno imperio præditi in excelsis statem agunt, eorumque facta cuncti mortales norere, ita maximè fortunâ minima licentiæ est.* Salust.

Vices themselves, but infuse them into their People, and are more blameable for the Example than the Fault; and experience tells us, that bad Habits commonly do more mischief than the very best do good; for such is the perverse Inclination of our Nature, that it rather studies to imitate Vices than Virtues. How Great, how Excellent, were those of *Alexander* the Great? Yet, the Emperor *Caracalla* strove to resemble him in nothing but that Habit he had of leaning his Head on his Left Shoulder. Though, indeed, some of a Prince's Vices prejudice himself only; others affect also the Commonwealth, as *Tacitus* has observed in *Vitellius* and *Otho* (4). Yet they are all extremely prejudicial to Subjects by the Example they give. Our easy Tempers are bias'd by Princes (5); we follow their Example, whether they be Good or Evil, like those Wheels in *Ezekiel's* Vision, which in all things exactly followed the Motion of the Cherubims (6). Each Action of Princes seems to be a Command to be obeyed by Imitation (7). Subjects imagine they do their Prince an agreeable piece of Service in imitating his Vices, and seeing these are Masters of the Will; Flattery easily persuades her self this must be the way to gain it. Thus *Tigellinus* grew daily more Bold and Confident, thinking his ill Practices would be less unacceptable, if he could engage his Prince (*Nero*) to be his Associate in them (8). By this means 'tis the Commonwealth is disordered, and Virtue confounded. Princes should therefore lead such a Life, so form their Manners, that all may learn by them to be Virtuous and Honest; which advice they have given them by King *Alphonso*, in the Sixth of his Law.

(4) *Vitellius ventre, & gula sibi ipsi hostis: Otho luxu, severitia, audacia Reipub. exitiosior ducebatur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (5) *Flexibiles in quancunque partem ducimur à principibus, atque, ut ita dicam, sequentes sumus.* Plin. in Paneg. (6) *Ezek. 10. 15.* (7) *Et conditio principum, ut quicquid faciant, præcipere videantur.* Quintil. (8) *Validiorque indies Tigellinus, & malas artes quibus pollebat, gratiores ratas, si principem societate sceleris obstringeret.* Tac. 14. Ann.

For if Vices extinguish the Lamp of Virtue in a Prince, who ought like a Beacon to give Light to all, and shew them the securest Course to Sail in, he cannot avoid dashing against Rocks the Vessel of the Commonwealth; it being impossible for that Government to be well ordered, where the Prince has abandoned himself to Vice: *For, says King Alphonso, the Nature of Vice is such, that the more a Man uses it, the more he loves it.*

The People easily slight and contemn Laws, if they see him that is the very Soul of them not observe them. Thus, as the Moon's Eclipses prejudice the Earth, so the Prince's Faults are the Destruction of his Kingdom: For the Punishment due to them, God Almighty generally inflicts upon the Subjects too, and that deservedly, for that in following his Example, they make themselves Accessary to the same Crimes; as 'tis related in Scripture of the People of *Israel* under *Feroboam* (9).

The bare Shadow of an ill Action, which obscured King *Roderigo's* Fame, kept the Liberty of all *Spain* in Darkness for many Years; wherefore that barbarous Custom of the *Mexicans* is in some measure excusable; who at the Inauguration of a New King, obliged him to take an Oath he would Administer Justice, not oppress his Subjects; that he would be in War strenuous and valiant: In a word, that he would † take care the Sun continued his Course, and preserved his Splendor; that the Clouds should give Rain, and the Rivers Water, and that the Earth should produce its Fruit plentifully. For the Sun himself obeys a Holy Prince, as *Jesusa* experienced for a Reward of his Virtue, and the Earth is more than ordinary Fertile out of Gratitude, in a manner to the Justice of Kings towards their People. This is what *Homer* would signify by these Verses:

(9) And the Lord shall give *Israel* up, because of the Sins of *Feroboam*, who did sin, and made *Israel* to sin: *2 Kings* 14. 10.

† Lop. Gamat.

*The King, who takes Religion for his Guide ;
 Who does for's Subjects wholesome Laws provide ;
 For him the willing Earth shews all its Stock,
 Corn, Wine, and Fruit ; for him the teeming Flock
 Brings double Births ; the Sea opens all its Cells :
 Where Justice reigns, their Peace and Plenty dwells.*

The goodness of a Year is not to be judged of so much by good Fruit, as the Justice of the Prince (10). And 'tis very much the Opinion of the Vulgar, that those who Govern them, are the only Cause of their Happiness or Misery ; nay, they often impute to the Prince, even Casualties, as the *Roman* People did to *Tiberius* (11).

Let not a Prince persuade himself that his Vices will be less censured, for suffering them to go unpunished in others, or having them in common with the People, as 'tis related *Witiza* did : For though Subjects love Libertinism, they hate the Author of it ; which was the reason it cost him afterwards his Life, being by all Men hated for his scandalous way of living. What we usually Censure in others as highly Base and Infamous, in our selves we scarce allow to be Infirmities of Nature. The greatest Defect in our selves we easily connive at, but in a Looking-Glass can't suffer the least Spot. Such a one is a Prince, in whose Person his Subjects have a view of themselves, nor is any thing more unpleasant to them, than to see him sullied with Vice. *Nero* was not at all less infamous for having many Companions in his Debaucheries ; however he thought thereby to avoid Scandal (12).

Nor should Princes imagine themselves secure from a self-consciousness of their good Actions ; for when-

(10) *Annum bonum non tam de bonis fructibus, quam de jure regnantibus existimandum.* Boetius. (11) *Qui mos vulgo fornicata ad culpam trahentes.* Tac. 4 Ann. (12) *Ratus, ut dedecus emoliri, si plures scilicet, Tac. 14. Ann.*

ever the People can't inform themselves of their Actions, they begin nicely to examine them, and always put the worst Interpretation upon them; wherefore 'tis not enough for them to do well, but necessary, also, that the means they use have no appearance of Evil. And how will that Man have any thing secret, who can't be without his own Grandeur, and a Retinue of Courtiers, nor do any thing alone; whose Liberty draws with it so many Fetters and Golden Chains, whose noise every one hears? This was signified in the Person of the High-Priest, by those little Bells that hung round the bottom of his Garment, least he should forget that his Steps were expos'd to all Mens Ears (13). All the Guards both within and without a Prince's Palace, all the Courtiers that attend him in his Chamber or Closet, are so many Spies of his Words and Actions; nay, and very Thoughts, attentively observing all his Gestures, and the Motions of his Countenance, that discoverer of the Heart. Thus, according to the *Psalmist's* Expression, *Their Eyes look unto his Hands* (14). But if they observe any failing in a Prince, though they pretend to conceal it, yet they love to discover it, either to get the Reputation of Persons discreet, and well acquainted with the Government, or that of Zealots. Here they look on one another, and no one daring to open his Mouth, they speak most by their Silence. The Secret boils and bubbles within them, agitated by the fervent desire they have of revealing it, till at last it overflows (15). Tongues run to Ears. This Man discloses it to that, having first oblig'd him by Oath to Secrecy; that in the same manner to another; so that while no body knows, 'tis known to all. Thus, as 'twere in a moment Calumny passes from the Closet

(13) And he compass'd him with Pomegranates, and with golden Bells round about, that there might be a sound, and a noise made, that might be heard in the Temple. *Ecc. 45. 9.* (14) *Psal. 122. 2.* (15) His word was in mine heart as a burning fire shut up in my bones, and I was weary with forbearing, and I could not stay, *Jer. 20. 9.*

to the Offices, thence to the Streets and Publick Places. But what wonder is it, if this happens among Domesticks, when Princes are not assured, even, of their own faithfulness, however desirous they are to conceal their Vices and Tyrannies; for their own Conscience accuses them; as it happened to *Tiberius*, who could not forbear disclosing to the Senate the Miseries which he suffered from his Crimes (16). However, Princes ought not to be discouraged, if by their Industry and Diligence they seem not to satisfy every one; for that is a thing impossible, nor will ever Passion, Envy, and the so different Judgment of the Mob concur to commend him, much less can this our frail Nature in all things act without Fault and Error. Is any one more careful and solicitous in giving Light to this World, any more perfect than that Eye of it, that Prince of Light, the Sun, who gives Being, Colour, and Beauty to all things? Yet notwithstanding the Splendor of his Rays, Curiosity discovers therein I know not what Spots and Obscurities. This care of the Prince to regulate his own Life and Actions, ought to be extended to those also of his Ministers, the Representatives of him, in as much as both God and Men hold him to be no less obliged to do the one than the other. 'Tis not the Moon's defect, what it suffers in an Eclipse, but that of the Earth, which interposes its Shadow betwixt it and the Sun; nevertheless every one imputes it to the Moon; and this Shadow only is sufficient to darken its Rays, and create so much prejudice to things here below. Prince's Vices we only attribute to his depraved Will; but to let Crimes in his Ministers go unpunished, is esteemed baseness of Mind. The vehemence of the Passions and Affections is some excuse for our particular faults, but to indulge them in others, is wholly inexcusable. A Vicious Prince may have Virtuous Ministers; but if he begin to connive with them, both he and they

(16) *Quippe Tiberium non fortuna, non solitudines protegabant, quin commenta pectoris, suasque ipse penas fatereitur. Tac. 1. Ann.*

will be bad. Hence it sometimes happens, that an ill Prince's Government may be good, provided he take care others follow not his Example: For that Rigour suffers not any Action to be mimick'd out of Flattery, nor lets that natural Inclination of the Will prevail, by which every one loves to resemble Princes by imitating their Actions. Grant such a Prince bad for himself, he will be good for the State. To give absolute Liberty to Ministers, is wholly to abandon the Reins of Government. Wicked Princes are as difficult to be cured as tainted Lungs; in that Remedies can't be applied to them. For these consist in hearing and seeing, both which they are equally averse to; nay, love not that others should hear or see; at least, their Domesticks and Ministers, who rather applaud Princes Vices, don't suffer it; but as the Ancients were used to make a great noise with Brass and Cymbals, while the Moon was in Eclipse (17); so they make it their business with Musick, and other Divertisements, to amuze the Prince's Mind, chiefly to keep his Ears continually employed, lest the Peoples Clamours, or the Voice of Truth, which discovers Cheats, should reach them: And lastly, that the Prince being plunged in the same Vices with themselves, there may be none to Reprove and Correct them.

(17) *Igitur avis sine tubarum, cornuumque concertu strepere, proas splendens, obscuriorum latari aut moerere. Tac. 6. Ann.*

E M B L E M XIV.



THERE's scarce any one Instrument can by its self make a Work of Art entirely perfect. What the Hammer can't, the File finishes. Yea, faults of the Loom the Shears (the Body of the present Emblem) correct, and give an additional neatness and beauty to Cloath. The Censure of others rectifies our Manners; they would be full of Knots, did not the Tongue clip them off: Those whom the Law its self can't Curb or Reform, oftentimes fear of Blame only restrain, that being the Spur of Virtue, and Bridle to keep it in the right way. Reproofs upon the obedient Ears of a prudent Prince, are (as Solomon says) *like Ear-rings of Gold and glittering Pearls* (1), wonderfully Ornamental and great

(1) Prov. 25. 12.

Accomplishments to him. There's no more mortal Enemy to Vice than Censure, it has far more Efficacy than Exhortation and Instruction; for Exhortation proposes at a distance future Fame and Glory; Censure immediately accuses what is Base and Dishonourable, and inflicts present Punishment, by divulging the Infamy. That incites us to do well; this not to do ill, and the Mind more easily abstains from what is Ignominious, than it enterprizes a thing Difficult and Honourable. In effect, 'tis with reason Honour is reputed to consist in the Opinion of others, that we may dread that Opinion, and seeing our Actions depend upon each Man's Judgment, make it our business to satisfy all. Thus, although Murmur be bad in its self, 'tis however good for the State; in that there's nothing has more Power and Influence over Magistrates and Princes. What would not Power dare, did not Blame resist it? What Crimes would not that fall into, were there no such thing as this? There's no better Counsellors in the World than Murmurs, for they proceed from experience of Evils. Could Princes hear them, undoubtedly things would succeed better. Satyrs and Libels I dare not altogether approve, for they generally either exceed the bounds of Truth, or give rise to Scandals, Tumults, and Seditions; however possibly some allowance ought to be made therein, in consideration of the good Effects they have. Obtréctation is a sign of Liberty in a Commonwealth, for in that which Tyranny oppresses, 'tis by no means tolerated. 'Tis a happy time when you have liberty to think what you please, and speak what you think (2). 'Twould be unjust in him that governs to desire to put a Door upon his Subjects Lips, and forbid them to complain under the Yoke of their Slavery. Let them Murmur, let them Revile, while they let us Reign, said Pope *Sixtus V.* to those who told him how ill *Rome* spoke of him. Indeed, not

(1) *Rara temporum felicitate, ubi sentire que velis, & que sentias dicere licet.* Tac. 1. Hist.

to be concerned or moved at all by Detraction, were to have cast off all Sentiments of Honour; than which nothing is worse in a Prince, for he then makes a Pleasure of Infamy; he ought therefore so to resent them, as thence to learn something, not with a design of Revenge. How will one be able to put up greater things, who can't connive at such inconsiderable Trifles (2)? 'Twas no less Virtue in the Great Captain † to suffer the Complaints and Clamours of his Army at the River *Garigliano*, than undauntedly to withstand so eminent a Danger. 'Tis impossible to repress this License and Liberty of the People. Those Princes are mistaken, who think by their present Power to extinguish the Memory of the following Age, or imagine their Majesty is able to gild bad Actions (4). Not all *Nero's* Liberality, nor feigned Piety could wash away his Infamy, for having set the City on Fire (5). Flattery, 'tis true, can take care that Slanders come not to the Prince's Ears, but can't help but there will be Slanders. A Prince, who forbids his Actions to be spoke of, renders them suspected; and as the Commonalty are apt to presume the worst, they are published for bad. These things are least aggravated, which are not much valued. *Vitellius* forbid any one to mention his bad Actions; hence many, who, if they had been at liberty, would have said otherwise, meerly because of the Prohibition, spoke more to his disadvantage (6). A Prince ought to pass over Commendations and Invectives, so as not to be tickled with them, nor by these dejected. If Praises please him, and he give ear to them, every one will try to make himself Master of

(3) *Magnarum rerum curas non dissimulaturos, qui animum etiam levissimis adverterent.* Tac. 13. Ann. † *Gonsalvo of Cordova.* (4) *Quo magis scordiam eorum irridere libet, qui presenti potentia, credunt extingui posse etiam sequentis aevi memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (5) *Non ope humana, non largitionibus, aut Deum placamentis decedebat infamia, quin iustum incendium crederetur.* Tac. 13. Ann. (6) *Prohibiti per civitatem sermones, eoque plures, ac si liceret, vera narraturi, quis verabantur, et ociosa vulgaverant.* Tac. 3. Hist.

his Mind by Flattery; if Murmurers be a disturbance to him, he will decline difficult and glorious Enterprizes, and become sluggish in his Government. To be vainly puffed up at ones Praises, is a sign of a slender Judgment; to be offended at every thing, is for private Men. To connive at many things is the part of Princes; to pardon nothing, that of Tyrants. This, those Great Emperors, *Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius*, very well knew when they commanded *Ruffinus*, their Captain of the Guards, not presently to punish the Peoples Clamours against them; for, said they, if they proceed from Inconstancy, they are to be despised; if from Madness or Folly, to be pitied; if from Malice, and a design to injure us, to be pardoned (7). Once, while the Emperor *Charles the V.* was at *Barcelona*, an Accusation was brought him in Writing against some, who had traduced his Actions, in order to consult with him about the Sentence to be passed upon them; but he enraged at the Person who presented it, threw the Paper immediately into the Fire, by which he then accidentally stood and burnt it. It belongs, I know, to a Prince to inform himself of all things, but nicely to examine each Word, is unworthy a generous Breast (8). In the *Roman* Republick, Actions only were punished, not Words (9). There's a wide distance between inconsiderately speaking and maliciously acting (10). The Crown would be too Thorny, did the least thing prick it thus. That Injury, which the Person against whom it was designed, don't look upon as such, is very little, if at all offensive. 'Tis too much easiness in the Prince, and a sign he has a mean Opinion of himself, to be moved at every trifling Report; and 'tis an ill Conscience that incites Men to punish Detractors; a Mind pure and undefiled despises things of that Nature.

(7) *Quoniam si id ex levitate processerit contemendum est; si ex insania, miseratione dignissimum, si ab injuria, remittendum.* L. unica C. si quis imoerat. Maled. c. (3) *Omnia scire non omnia exequi.* Tac. in Vit. Agr. (9) *Facta arguebantur, dicta impune erant.* Tac. 1. Ann. (10) *Vana à sceleratis, dicta à malefictis discerunt.* Tac. 3. Ann.

If the Asperſion be true, the Prince's Amendment muſt wipe it off; if falſe, it will of its ſelf diſappear. For Contempt makes ſuch things wear off; Reſentment is a ſeeming acknowledgment of them (11). The Roman Senate commanded *Cremutius's* Annals to be burnt; which made the People more eager and deſirous to read them. 'Twas the ſame with the Scurrilous Pamphlets of *Vejentus*, which were eagerly ſearch'd for, and frequently read, while not to be had without danger, but by being licenſed, ſoon forgot (12). Curioſity ſubmits to no Judges, fears no Punishment. What is moſt forbid, it chiefly engages. The very Prohibition inhances the Value of Satyrical Pieces; and when Men of Wit are puniſhed, their Authority increaſes (13). Nor have thoſe Kings, who have uſed ſuch Rigour, procur'd themſelves any thing but Diſgrace, but to the Author's Honour and Eſteem (14). Now, as 'tis much for a Prince's advantage to know what Ill others ſpeak of him, ſo it is not a little prejudicial to be too ready to hear Defamers: For as we eaſily believe what is accused in others to be true; 'tis very obvious for the Prince, either to be deceived, make ſome unjuſt Reſolution, or err in giving Judgment. This is a thing very dangerous, eſpecially in Courts, where Envy, and the gaping after Preferment, and the Favour of Princes, are Whet-ſtones to Defamation; and Courtiers are uſually like thoſe Locuſts in the Revelations, having Mens Faces, but Lions Teeth, with which they gnaw and feed on Honour as Ears of Corn (15). The Holy Spirit compares their Tongues to a ſharp Sword (16); as alſo to Arrows that privily ſtrike the Innocent (17). *David* deſtroyed them as Enemies (18). No Court,

(11) *Namque ſpreta exoleſcunt, ſi irascere agnita videntur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (12) *Conquiſitos leſtituſque donec cum periculo parabantur, max licentia habendi oblivionem attulit.* Tac. 4. Ann. (13) *Punitis ingeniis glificit Authoritas.* Tac. 4. Ann. (14) *Neque aliud externi Reges, aut qui eadem ſecutia uſi ſunt, niſi dedecus ſibi, atque illis gloriam peperere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (15) Rev. 9. 5. (16) *Pſal.* 56. 5. (17) *Pſal.* 10. 2. (18) *Pſal.* 100. 6.

where they are tolerated, can be at rest; and their Whispers will give the Prince no less trouble than Publick Affairs. The Remedy is, not to hear them, setting two Porters at the Ears, Reason and Judgment, that they be not opened without considerable occasion. A Guard is no less necessary at the Ears, than the Palace-Gates; and yet Princes are mighty sollicitous about these, take little or no care about them. He that gives ear too easily to Detractors, makes them audacious. No one traduces others, but before one who loves to hear it. It would do well also to bring these Bablers, and the Person accused, face to face, telling him what they say, that for the future they may be ashamed to be the Authors of Discord. This, if I mistake not, is meant by the Holy Spirit in these Words, *Hedge thy Ears about with Thorns* (19): That he that should put his Mouth to them, to tell malicious Stories, might there find his Punishment. The Prince has reason to be jealous of one, who dares not publicly speak what he is not afraid to whisper (20); and although this care may conceal abundance of Truths from the Prince, which, indeed, 'tis for his advantage, there being many Domestick things, 'twere better for him to be ignorant of than to know, and the best way to banish all Defamation in general; yet, when Accusations proceed not from Malice, but a kind of Zeal to serve the Prince, 'tis by all means requisite to hear, and well examine them, looking on them as Informations absolutely necessary, not only for good Government, but his own Security also. Hence the Emperor *Constantine*, in a Law for that purpose, assigns a Reward to those who would accuse his Ministers and Domesticks of any real Crime (21).

(19) Eccl. 27. 23. Lat. Vers. (20) *Et hanc velim generalem tibi constituas regulam, ut omnem qui palam veretur dicere, suspectum habeas.* S. Bern. l. 4. de Conf. ad Eug. c. 6. (21) *Si quis est cujuscunque loci ordinis, dignitatis, qui se in quemcunque Judicium, Comitum, Amicorum, & Palatinorum meorum aliquid veraciter & manifeste probare posse confidit, quod non integre, atque juste gessisse videatur, intrepidus, atque securus audiat, interpellat me, ipse audiam omnia, ipse cognoscam, & si fuerit comprobatum, ipse me vindicabo.* L. 4. C. de Accus.

This is absolutely necessary, that the Prince may know all that passes in his Palace, at his Council-Board, and in the Courts of Judicature, where Fear stops the Mouth, and the Favours of the Prince conferred by his Ministers make the Persons gratified dumb, and not dare to discover their Faults, as if, forsooth, this were to acknowledge the good Office, and to shew their Gratitude, which is rather to be esteemed Disloyalty and Treason: For that Obligation they lie under to undeceive their Prince, and if they observe his Ministers to be faulty to inform him, is a natural Obligation of Fidelity, and more binding than any other. 'Tis an infinite prejudice for a Prince to distribute his Favours by the Hands of his Favourites; for these buy, as it were, others at the price of them, who are assisting to the neglect of their Duty, at least approve and defend it; and thus deluding the Prince, are the reason he continues his Affection to them. The Ancient Republicks very sensible how conducive Satyrs were to restrain Vice by the fear of Infamy, allowed them upon Publick Theatres; but these from a general Censure of Mens Morals insensibly degenerated into particular Reflections, not without considerable Injury to the Honour of some; hence proceeded Factions, and from them popular Insurrections: For as the Holy Spirit says, a backbiting Tongue disturbs the Peace, and is the Ruin of whole Families and Cities (22). So, lest the Correction of Manners should depend on the Malice of the Tongue or Pen, there were instituted Censors, who by Publick Authority took cognizance of every one's Behaviour, and corrected their Vices. That Office was in those times of great use, and continued long in Vogue, because its Jurisdiction was upheld by Modesty; however in ours 'tis impossible to be executed: For Pride and Libertinism would presently make all the Opposition to it imaginable, as they now resist the Magistracy, however armed

(22) Curse the whisperer, and double tongued; for such have destroyed many that were at Peace, *Eccles.* 28. 13.

with the best Laws in the World and Publick Authority, and consequently Censors would be ridiculous, not without great danger to the State; there being nothing more hurtful, nothing that makes Vice more arrogant and insulting, than for such Remedies to be applied to it, as Delinquents turn into Contempt and Ridicule. But as the Office of Censor was introduced for the Reformation of Manners, so was it also to Register the Goods and Estates of every Citizen, and to take the number of them; and although that Custom prevailed a long time, both among the *Greeks* and *Latins*, with great Advantage to the Commonwealth, yet at this day 'twould be very odious and subject to vast Inconveniencies; for to know so accurately the Number and Effects of Subjects, is of no use, but to burthen them with more Taxes and Impositions. That numbring of the People of *Israel* under King *David*, God punished as a most heinous Crime (23): For what is so hard and inhuman, as by publishing and proclaiming every ones Estate at once, to discover the advantages of Poverty, and expose Riches to Envy, Avarice, and Rapine. But if in those States, the Office of Censor, could heretofore be executed without these Inconveniencies; 'twas because its being newly instituted made it generally received and approved, or else because People were then less proud and assuming, less Rebels to Reason, than in these our Times (24).

(23) 2 Sam. 24. 10. (24) *Quid enim tam durum, tamque inhumanum est quam publicatione pompæque rerum familiarium, & paupertatis detegi utilitatem, & invidiis exponere divitias. L. 2. C. quon. & quib. quam. pars.*

EMBLEM XV.



HOW I wish I could read on all Princes Breasts; the Symbol of the present Emblem, and that as Balls of Fire flying in the Air imitate the Splendor of the Stars, and shine immediately from their being thrown out of the Hand, till they turn to Ashes; so in them also (for the Holy Spirit compares them to a bright Fire (1)) would continually burn the desire of Fame (2); nor should they much care, for that Flame's wanting Matter to feed on, or that what burns most fiercely, is withal soonest consumed. For though length of Life be the common desire of Man and Beast, yet have these no other end than meer living, but Man of living uprightly. 'Tis no happiness to live but

(1) Eccles. 50. 9. (2) *Ex mens honeste gloria.*

to know how to live, nor does he live most, who lives longest, but who lives best; for Life is not measured by time, but the use that's made on't. He, whose Life like a Star in the midst of a Cloud, or like the Full Moon, shines upon others with Rays of Bounty and Munificence in its Season, does undoubtedly live long (3): As on the contrary, he who lives only to himself, though he lives to a great Age, lives but little. The Benefits and Improvements which flow from a Prince upon the State, number the Days of his Life (4), those who live without them, Oblivion deducts from the Sum (5). *Titus Vespasian*, the Emperor, calling to mind once at Supper, that he had done nothing for any one that Day, pronounced that remarkable and justly admired Sentence, *Friend, I have lost a Day*. And 'tis reported of *Peter*, King of Portugal, that he was wont to say, *That he deserves not to be a King, who does not each day bestow some Favour or Benefit upon the State*. No Man's Life's so short, but it affords time enough to execute some glorious Exploit. A brave Spirit in one Moment resolves, and in few more executes its Resolutions. What matter's it if he falls in the attempt, if the Memory he left behind raises him to Life Eternal. It only can be called Life which is bounded by Fame, not that which consists in Body and Vital Warmth, which no sooner begins, but begins to die too. Death is naturally equal to all, but is distinguished by the Glory or Oblivion we leave to Posterity. Who dying makes Renown a Substitute for Life, lives still. Strange force of Virtue, which even against Nature, makes that which is of its self fading and perishable, Immortally glorious. *Tacitus* did not think *Agricola's* Life short, though he was snatch'd away in the prime of his Years: for his Glory prolong'd his Life (6). Let no

(3) He was as the Morning Star in the midst of a Cloud, and as the Moon at the Full. *Eccles. 50. 6.* (4) *Eccles. 41. 16.* (5) The number of years is hidden to oppressors. *Job 15. 20.* (6) *Quinquaginta modo in spatii irreg. & aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam longissimum suam peregit.* Tac. in *Vit. Agric.*

one despise or slight Posthumous Fame, for in as much as the Mind covets it, 'tis an acknowledgement that one time or other 'tis to be enjoyed; but they are in the wrong, who think it sufficient, if they leave it behind them in Statues, or in Posterity; for in one 'tis fading, in t'other 'tis none of theirs. That only is their own which springs from Actions, which if not extraordinary Merit no Praise; for Fame is the Daughter of Admiration. To be Born, only to make One in the World, is for the Vulgar Rout; 'tis for Princes to appear perspicuously eminent among others. Others study what they think their own Interest, but the utmost and only aim of Princes should be Glory (7). Avarice, and desire of Riches, fill their Breasts; but a Prince should be inflamed by an Ambition of Fame (8).

A heavenly Heat inspires our Prince's Veins.

Virg.

A generous Spirit knows no mean; 'twill be either *Cæsar*, or no body; either a shining Star, or a dark Cinder; nor will this, if honourably extinguished, shine less gloriously on Obelisks, than t'other. Nor, indeed, is that Soul truly great, which, like the best Gunpowder fired, does not immediately burst the Body that includes it. The Breast is too narrow to contain a brisk and active Soul. *Garci Sancho*, King of *Navarre*, going to engage the Enemy, trembled all over, yet in the Fight behaved himself bravely and couragiously. His Body dreaded that great Multitude of Enemies, into which his Courage prepared to carry it. Let it therefore be the whole Aim of a Prince to live gloriously, that he may be a Light in this

(7) *Ceteris mortalibus, in eo stare consilia, quid sibi conducere putent, Principum diversum esse sortem, quibus præcipua rerum ad famam dividendæ. Tac. 4. Ann.* (8) *Argentum quidem, & pecunia est communis omnium possessio, at honestum, & ex eo laus, & gloria Deorum est aut eorum, qui à diis præconi censentur. Polybius.*

World (9). All other things will come with ease, but Fame not without Affiduity and Application (10). But if in the beginning of his Reign he loses his Reputation, he will very difficultly recover it; for what the People once conceive of him, they will never afterwards forget. He, who sets too great a value upon Life, avoids Toils and Dangers, without which two, Honour can never be attained. This *Tacitus* observed in King *Marabodo*, who quitting his Kingdom, lazily and shamefully spent his Days in *Italy*, losing much of his Reputation through a too fond desire of Life (11). Let a Prince so steer his Course, be the Sea Calm or Tempestuous, as still to keep his Eye upon that shining Beacon of Glory; ever and anon calling to mind (that he may admit, or think of nothing unworthy himself) that History will publish his Fame, his Exploits and Glorious Achievements to all Ages, and to all Nations. Princes have no other Superior than God, and Fame; they alone by the fear of Punishment and Infamy oblige them to Act honourably; for which reason they often fear Historians more than their Enemies, and are more aw'd by the Pen than the Sword. King *Balthasar*, though he saw only the Hand and Pen, as yet not knowing what they would write, was so disorder'd, *That he quaked all over, and the Joints of his Back were loosened* (12). But if they neither regard God nor Glory, nothing Glorious or Honourable can be expected. For who e're slights Honour, despises Virtue. A generous desire of Glory avoids the blemish of Vice or Injustice. Nor is there a more Savage Brute than that Prince, who is neither moved by remorse of Conscience, or desire of Glory. Nor is there, nevertheless, no danger in Glory; for its brightness often dazzles Princes, and leads them headlong into

(9) Let your Light so shine before Men, that they may see your good Works, *Matth.* 5. 12. (10) *Cetera Principibus suam adesse et unum insatiabiliter parandum, prosperam sui memoriam.* Tac. 4. Ann. (11) *Consensitque, multum immutata claritate, ad omnium vivendi cupidinem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) *Dan.* 5. 6.

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Rashness and Temerity. That which seems Honourable and Glorious to them, is Vanity or Folly, sometimes Pride or Envy, and oftentimes Ambition and mere Tyranny. They propose great matters, egg'd on by the Flatteries of their Ministers, who set before them many things under the appearance of Glory, concealing in the mean time the unjust and inconvenient Means by which they are to be attained; by which being seduced, they oftentimes find themselves deluded and ruined.

That Glory is safe which springs from a generous Spirit, and keeps within the Bounds of Reason and Possibility. Since therefore Honour and Infamy are the strongest Excitements to good Actions, and that both are by History delivered down to Posterity; 'twould be convenient by Rewards proposed to excite Historians to write, and to countenance Typography, the true Treasury of Glory, where the Rewards of great Actions are deposited to future Ages.

E M B L E M XVI.



'TIS an old saying, *Purple is to be judged by Purple*; by which the Ancients signified, that things were then best distinguished, when one was compared with the other, especially if they were such as could not easily be distinguish'd by themselves. Thus Merchants do, who compare Colour to Colour, that they may shew each other, and that a surer Judgment may be given of both. In the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, there was a Cloak (a Present of some King from *Persia*) of such an excellent Grain, that the Robes of the *Roman Ladies*, nay, even of the Emperor *Aurelian* himself, compared with it, look'd as faint as Ashes. If your Royal Highness, when raised to the Crown, would examine, and know the true worth of the Royal Purple, expose it not to the false Light of Flatterers and fawning

Knives, for that will never shew you its true Colour: Nor rely too much upon self-love, for that is like an Eye, that sees all things but its self. 'Twill be therefore necessary, that as Eyes are known by their own Species, like Forms represented in a Glass; so your Highness would compare the Lustre of your Diadem to that of your Glorious Predecessors, seriously reflecting if any Virtues shine more bright in theirs than yours, by viewing your self in them as in a Glass (1). Let your Highness, I say, compare your own Actions to those of your Ancestors, and you will easily see the difference between yours and theirs, that you may either give a true Colour to their Actions, or rejoyce in the Worth of your own, if in any thing you happen to have out-done your Predecessors. Let your Royal Highness therefore please to consider, whether you Equal your Father in Courage, your Grandfather in Piety; *Philip* the Second, in Prudence; *Charles* the Fifth, in Greatness of Spirit; *Philip* the First, in Affability; *Ferdinand* the Catholick, in Policy; in Liberality, that *Alphonso*, who was Nick-named from his broken Hands; in Justice, King *Alphonso* the Eleventh; and lastly, King *Ferdinand* the Holy, in Religion: And that moreover, your Highness would be stir'd up by a generous Emulation, to a glorious Desire of imitating these Great Men. *Quintus Maximus* and *Publius Scipio*, were used to say, that when e're they beheld the Images of their Ancestors, their Souls were fired and excited on to Virtue: Not that they were moved by the meer Wax or Stone, but that comparing their own Actions to those of others, they could not rest till they equall'd them in Glory and Renown. Elogies inscribed on Tombs, speak not to the Dead, but to the Living: They are certain Summaries, which for Memory's sake, the Virtue of the Predecessor leaves to the Successor. *Mattathias* said, That by calling to mind the Actions

(1) *Tanquam in speculo ornare, & comparare vitam tuam ad alias virtutes*, Plutarch.

of their Ancestors, his Sons should acquire present Glory and eternal Renown (2). For which Cause also, the High Priests, who were Princes of the People, wore upon their Breasts the Virtues of the Twelve Patriarchs, their Predecessors, engraven upon as many Stones (3). In effect, it becomes a Prince to vie with his Ancestors in Glory, not with his Inferiors, for 'tis no praise to excel them, and to be out-done by them, the greatest Scandal. The Emperor *Tiberius* observed as Law, all the Sayings and Exploits of *Augustus* (4). Moreover, let your Highness compare the Purple you wear at present, to that you wore formerly; for we are oftentimes desirous to forget what we have been, for fear of upbraiding our selves with what we are. Let your Highness consider, whether you are grown better or worse, for we find it often happens, that at the beginning of their Reigns, Princes minds are gloriously bent upon the Execution of their Office, in which afterwards they grow more remis. Almost all begin their Reigns with Great and Glorious Spirits; but at last by degrees, either they sink under the Weight of Affairs, or grow Effeminate by Luxury and Ease, with which they easily suffer themselves to be taken, forgetting they are obliged to keep and preserve their once gotten Glory. This very thing *Tacitus* remarks in the Emperor *Tiberius*, that at last, after a long Experience in Affairs, he was altered and rained by the mere force of Government (5). A long Reign creates Pride, and Pride the hatred of the People; as the same Author observes in King *Varrinus* (6). Many begin

(2) Call to remembrance what Acts our Fathers did in their time, so shall ye receive great Honour, and an everlasting Name, *1 Macc. 2. 52.* (3) And in the four Rows of Stones, was the Glory of the Fathers graven, *Wisd. 8. 24.* (4) *Quæ omnia ipse detraque eius vice legis observem.* *Tac. 4. Ann.* (5) *An cum Tiberio ad exercituum rerum experientiam et dominatibus convulsus, et mutatus sit.* *Idem 2. Ann.* (6) *Prima Imperii etate clarus acceptus pro populis, mox dilatationem, in superbiam mutat, et cito oculorum simul ac moris defectus circumvenit.* *Tac. 12. Ann.*

their Reigns with extraordinary Modesty and Justice, but few continue so; because their Ministers are Flatterers, by whom they are taught to Act boldly and unjustly. As it happened to *Vespasian*, who in the beginning of his Reign was not so much bent upon Injustice, until by the Indulgence of Fortune and Advice of Evil Counsellors, he learnt it (7).

Let your Highness compare not only your own Virtues and Actions, but those of your Ancestors with one another, by confronting the Purple of some stain'd with Vices, to that of others glossy and shining with great and noble Actions: For Examples never move us more than when they are confronted one with another. Let your Highness compare the Royal Robe of King † *Hermenigildus*, with that of *Peter* the Second, King of *Arragon*; one glittering with Stars, and died with Blood, which he had gloriously spilt in the War against *Lewvigildus*, his Father, who was infected with the *Arrian* Heresy; the other trampled under the Feet of Horses in a Battle at *Girone*, when he brought Succours to the *Albigensians* in *France*.

Let your Highness cast your Eyes back upon past Ages, and you will find *Spain* ruined by the licentious Lives of the Kings, *Witiza* and *Roderick*, but recovered again by the Piety and Courage of *Pelagius*. You'll see *Peter* deposed, and killed for his Cruelty; and his Brother, *Henry* the Second, advanced to the Crown for his singular Mildness. You'll see the Glorious Infant, *Ferdinand*, blessed by Heaven with many Kingdoms, for that he would not accept of that of his Grandson, King *John* the Second, although there were those who freely offered it him: On t'other side, the Infant *Sancho* accused by his own Father of Disobedience and Ingratitude, before Pope *Martin* the Fourth, for that he would have usurped the Throne in his life-time. This

(7) *Ipsè Vespasiano, inter initia Imperii ad obtinendas iniquitates haud perinde obliuato, donec, indulgentia fortunæ, & pravis Magistris, didicit, aususque est.* Tac. 2. Hist. † *Marian. Hist. Hiip.*

Comparison your Highness may follow as a sure Guide in the Management of your Affairs; for, though by Discourse and Conversation you may know the Lustre and Brightness of Heroick Exploits, as also the Baseness and Infamy of Ill Actions; yet all these move us not so much, considered in themselves, as in those Persons, whom they have made Glorious in the World, or Despicable.

EMBLEM XVII.



A Tree bedeck'd with Trophies, is still a Trunk as afore; those which were an Honour to others, are but a burthen to it. So truly, the glorious Exploits of Ancestors are but a Shame and Disgrace to the Successor, unless he imitates the same. Nor does he inhe-

rit their Glory, but their Actions only, by an Imitation of which he will obtain the other. Just as light is reflected from a Diamond, because it finds substance, but quickly pierces Glass which is thin and transparent; so if the Successor be Stout and Brave, the Glory of his Predecessors adds yet a greater Lustre and Brightness to him; but if like thin and paulty Glass, he can't withstand the Lustre, it serves only to discover his vile and abject Soul. The Actions of Ancestors, which are only Examples to others, are Laws to the Successor, for the whole Esteem and Prerogative of Nobility is grounded upon this Supposition, that the Descendants will imitate the Actions of their Forefathers. He, who vainly boasts of these without imitating them, only shews the difference between himself and them. No one is to be blamed for not equalizing the Actions of them to whom he bears no relation. For this Reason, the Nobility of *Rome* were wont to place before their Doors the Statues of the Illustrious Men of their Families, that they might shew to Posterity what Obligation they lie under. *Bodislaus* the Fourth, King of *Poland*, always wore his Father's Picture in Gold about his Neck; and whenever any Affair of great consequence was to be determined, he put it to his Mouth, and kissing on't, with Veneration us'd to say, *God grant I may never do any thing unworthy your Royal Name.* How many such Medals of your Heroick Ancestors might your Highness find? Which would never permit you to act any thing beneath their Royal Blood; nay, would rather encourage and excite you to out-do them in glorious Exploits? Now, if this Emulation of Ancestors enflame the Minds of the Nobility, they certainly deserve the principal Employments in the State. For 'tis likely those should be best who proceed from the best (1); as also Presumption and Experience teach, for Eagles hatch Eagles, and Lions beget Lions. And oft-times self-worth and fear of Infamy stirs up noble

(1) *Far est meliores esse eos qui ex melioribus.* Arist.

Thoughts in the mind. Yet, I grant that this Rule holds not always good, either because Nature can't do what she would (2), or because of ill Education and Effeminacy; or because Mens Souls themselves are not equally noble and generous, but act differently according to the Affection of the Body, in which they are as 'twere drowned. There are some too, who seem only to inherit the Trophies and Glory of their Ancestors, without their Virtues, and are in all things wholly different from them. Of this we have an Example in the Eagles themselves, who altho' they commonly breed Eagles; yet there are some, who think that Ostriches are a certain Species of them, tho' wholly degenerate, having neither the generosity, strength, nor swiftness of an Eagle; this fine Bird being transformed into a loathsome dull Animal. 'Tis scarce credible how prejudicial 'tis to the Publick Good, without any discretion or regard to Merit, to elect only the Nobility into Publick Offices, as though the Experience and Virtue of Ancestors ran in the Blood to Posterity. Industry will languish, Virtue will grow sluggish and lazy, if only grounded upon Nobility, which will look upon Rewards as its just due; nor will the hopes of obtaining, or the fear of losing them, be a means to make them act honourably: Which very Argument *Tiberius* used to the Senate to perswade them not to assist the Family of *M. Hortalus*, which tho' very Ancient, was fallen to Poverty (3). In time of Peace, indeed, Men of Great and Noble Families may be well preferred to Places of the greatest Authority, in which the Splendor and Reputation of the Family is of great advantage. In Military Offices the case is alter'd, for these require activity and strength both of Mind and Body: But if these are found in the Nobility, though not in altogether so

(2) *Nam ut ex homine hominem, ex b. illis belluam, sic ex bonis bonum generari putant; at hoc quidem natura sepe efficit, non tamen potest.* Arist. 1. Pol. c. 4. (3) *Langueret aliqui industria, interea tunc seculum, si nullus ex se metus, aut spes, et securi omnes aliena subjuncta expectabant, sibi ignari, nobis graves.* Tac. 2. Ann.

great Perfection as in others, the Merits of their Ancestors, or the common Esteem and Respect of Men will easily compensate for the rest, yet can they by no means supply an intire defect. For this reason *Tacitus* deservedly ridiculed the Election of *Vitellius*, when he was sent to Command the Legions of *Lower Germany*; not considering his Incapacity for such an Office, it seem'd enough that he was the Son of *Vitellius*, who had been for three times Consul (4). *Tiberius* acted not so in the beginning of his Reign, he conferr'd Honours respecting both the Nobility of the Family, the Excellency of the Person in the Art of War; as also his worth in time of Peace, that it might appear he did not without Reason prefer one before another (5). I grant that the Esteem and Authority of Nobility may do much in War; but 'tis not that, but Bravery and Industry that routs the Enemy. The *Germans* formerly chose their Kings for their Nobility, but their Generals for their Valour (6). Then Arms flourish when Valour and Virtue are in esteem, and in possession of the greatest Posts in the Army; in which they may either acquire Nobility, or enlarge and illustrate that which they have already. The hope of this furnisht past Ages with brave Heroick Generals; but where this is wanting, Art Military is neglected and slighted; for nothing but the Honour of Preferment in the Army can recompence the Inconveniencies and Perils of War. Nor is it true as some suppose, that the greatest Respect and Obedience is paid to those of the noblest Families; for if they are not qualified with these two great Qualities, Conduct and Valour, all the deference paid to their Blood will be only meer Ceremony, not real Respect. The Heart values and admires only such a Virtue and Greatness of Soul, as is the Maker of its own Fortune.

(4) *Censoris Vitellii ac ter Consulis filius, id suis videbatur.* Tac. 1. Hist. (5) *Mandabatque honores, nobilitatem majorum, claritudinem militie, illustres domi artes, spectando, ut satis constaret, non alios potiores fuisse.* Tac. 4. Ann. (6) *Reges ex nobilitate, Duces ex virtute sumunt.* Tac. de mor. Germ.

Columbus gave Laws to the Ocean, and *Herman Cortez* to the New World; these, though they did not spring from Illustrious Families, yet did they procure a Nobility for their Posterity, equal to those of the greatest Rank. The most noted Rivers take their rise and beginning from the smallest Rivolets, and a little after take their Name and Glory from the Channel: In War, where Courage and Bravery are most esteem'd, 'twill be expedient to promote those to the highest Honours who have merited it by noble Exploits, though they are perhaps but of mean Extraction; yet, in time of Peace, 'twill be very dangerous for a Prince to commit the Government to mean and worthless Persons; 'twill immediately incense the Noble and Brave against him for slighting and mistrusting their Integrity (7). Which then chiefly happens, when the Subject is not endowed with good Natural Parts, not when he is cried up and admired by all, the obscurity of Birth being sufficiently brightned by the excellent Endowments of Mind. We see many, who seem to be born of themselves, as *Tiberius* used to say of *Curtius Rufus* (8). To such as these *Claudian's* Praise of a good choice of Ministers is well adapted.

*Mirrit, not Birth, he does prefer †;
Nor cares he whence, but what they are.*

But if the Nobility be corrupted by Ease and Luxury, 'twere adviseable to reform it by Rewards and Exercise, rather than to institute an entire new set. Silver and Gold are easily purified and clean'd, but to make Gold out of Silver, is a vast labour beyond the Art of Chymistry to perform. *Henry* the Fourth, was therefore very ill advised by some to ruin all the Grandees of his Kingdom, and to promote those of mean Fortune,

(7) *Si Remp. gravis, & non magni pretii hominibus committas, illi & nobilium ac strenuorum iram in te provocabis ob contemptum eorum fidem, & maximis in rebus damna patiens.* D. C. Cassio. (8) *Videntur mihi ex se nati,* Tac. II. Ann. † *Claud.*

Though the Licentiousness and Disobedience of the Nobility may sometimes require that it be a little humbled; for too much Greatness begets Pride, and an Aversion to Subjection and Obedience (9). The weakest always seek Justice and Equity, but the stronger trouble not themselves with it (10); and the People are generally more quiet, when there are no Great Ones to protect them, and to foment their Innovations (11). For this reason, the Laws of *Castile* don't allow two Great and Noble Families to incorporate, that so the Estate might be more divided, and that it might not create Jealousy and Envy among others (12). There are ways under the pretext of Honour and Favour to remedy excess of Riches, in giving opportunity of employing it to the Service of the Prince and People. But Prodigality and Luxury are now grown to that height, that there is no occasion for such means; for all the Nobility are so much straitned by Debts, and necessary Expences, that they want means to execute such Thoughts, or to attempt Innovation. While they would be great beyond what they can, they become even less than what they are. 'Tis certain, that the noblest and most renowned Families are ruined by a desire of Grandure and Magnificence (13). But as too much Riches are dangerous, so also is extream Poverty. For when any of these Great Ones have squandred away their Estates, they presently set up for Innovation (14).

(9) *Et revocante Nobilitate, cui in pace diutius servitium est.* Tac. 11. Ann. (10) *Nam Imbecilliores semper equum, & justum quarunt, potentioribus autem id nihil curæ.* Arist. Pol. 6. C. 2. (11) *Nihil ausuram plebem principibus amotis.* Tac. 1. Ann. (12) *Commodum est etiam, ut hereditates non donatione, sed jure agnationis tradantur, utque ad eundem una, non plures hereditates perveniant.* Arist. Pol. 5. c. 8. (13) *Dites olim familie nobilium, aut claritudine insignes, studio Magnificentie prolabebantur.* Tac. 3. Ann. (14) *Sed cum ex Primariis aliqui bona dissiparunt, hi res novas moluntur.* Arist. Pol. 6. c. 12.

EMBLEM XVIII.



VIRTUE has given Empire to many, Vice to few. In these the Scepter was a violent and dangerous Usurpation, in those a just Title and lasting Succession. Virtue by a certain occult and secret Force, does as 'twere compel Men to love and admire it. The Elements obey the Heavens for the Perfection and Excellency of them; so Men too think none worthy the Sovereign Power, but those of Sovereign Justice and Virtue. For which cause, *Cyrus* thought no one was fit to govern, but he who was better than those he governed (1). Subjects pay more Reverence to a Prince, in whom they discern more than ordinary En-

(1) *Non censebat convenire cuiquam Imperium qui non melior esset iis quibus imperaret.* Xenoph, lib. 8.

dowments of Mind; the greater they are, the greater is their Respect and Esteem, for all believe that to such a Prince, God is more propitious and ready to assist him in all things, and to direct his Government. 'Tis this alone made *Joshua's* Name celebrated all the World over (2). All the Actions and Counsels of a good Prince the People receive with Joy, and through a certain zealous Confidence promise themselves Success from them; but if it fall out otherwise, they persuade themselves that for some supernatural and unknown Reasons 'tis convenient it should be so. For the same cause among some Nations, the High Priests were Kings (3), that the People receiving Holy Ceremonies and Divine Worship from them, might acknowledge in them a certain more sublime Nature, more allied and familiar to God himself, which as a Mediatrix they might make use of in their Prayers, and against which they durst not attempt any thing (4). The Crown upon *Aaron's* Mitre attracted the Eyes and Desires of all (5).

Jacob worshipped *Joseph's* Scepter, on the top of which was a Stork, the Emblem of Piety and Religion (5).

Let none imagine that the time is lost, which a Prince employs in the Exercise of Goodness and Virtue; nay, God does then chiefly dispose and direct the Events of things. *Ferdinand Antoline* was at his Devotions, while *Count Garcias Fernandez* fought the Moors at the River *Duero*, and an Angel in his likeness supplied his place in the Fight, by which he not only escaped the

(2) So the Lord was with *Joshua*, and his fame was noised throughout all the Country, *Josh. 6. 27.* (3) *Rex enim Dux erat in bello, & Judex, & in iis quæ ad cultum Deorum pertinerent, summam potestatem habebat.* Arist. Pol. 3. 13. (4) *Minusque insidiantur iis, qui Deos auxiliares habent.* Arist. Polit. (5) He set a Crown of Gold upon the Mitre, wherein was engraved Holiness, an ornament of Honour, a safety-work, the desires of the Eyes goodly and beautiful. *Eccl. 45. 12.* (5) And he worshipped leaning upon the top of his Staff, Vid. Lat. Vers. *Et adoravit fastigium virgæ ejus.* Heb. 11. 21.

discredit of not being at the Battel, but also gained the chiefeft Praise of Honour of the Victory. Something like this is related of that Renowned General, Count *Tilly*, that true Christian *Jeshua*, not less Holy and Religious, than Warlike and Brave, that while he was at Prayers, the Army was drawn up by another in his shape. The Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second, had more Standards and Trophies presented to him in the time of Divine Service, than many of his Ancestors had gained from the Enemy (7). The *Israelites* stood still, and God wrought Wonders for them (8). That Crown, which like *Ariadne's* shines with refulgent Stars of Virtue, shall last to Eternity (9). The Emperor *Septimus* told his Sons as he was dying, *That he left them a firm and lasting Empire if they were good; if wicked, but of short continuance.* King *Ferdinand*, who from his great Virtues, was surnamed the Great, did by these wonderfully increase the Glory of his Kingdom, and establish it to Posterity. His Piety was so great, that when the Body of St. *Isidore* was carried by *Sevil*, he and his Sons, barefoot, carried these Holy Relicks from the River *Durio*, quite to St. *John's* Church in the City. For 'tis God by whom Kings Reign, and upon whom all their Power and Felicity depends; they could never err, if they would make him their only Object. The Rays of the Sun never forsake the Moon; she, as if she knew she received all her Light from the Sun, looks on him continually, that she may be enlightned by him; which Princes must so imitate, that they may always have their Eyes fixt upon that Eternal Light, which affords Light and Motion to the World, and from which Empires take their encrease and decrease, as is intimated in the present Emblem by the Scepter,

(7) Fear ye not, stand still, and see the Salvation of the Lord, which he will shew you to day, *Exod. 14. 13.* (8) And the Lord God of *Israel* fought for *Israel*, *Josh. 10. 42.* (9) And that turn not aside from the Commandment, to the right, or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midst of *Israel*, *Deut. 17. 20.*

on the top of which is the Moon looking towards the Sun, the true Emblem of God, as well because no other thing comes nearer his Omnipotency; as also; because that alone gives Light and Being to all.

*Which 'cause it solely all Surveys,
Is properly call'd Sol.*

Boet.

For *there is no Power but from God* (10). Kings are crowned in his Eternal Mind before they are here on Earth. He, who gave the Orbs Cœlestial first motion, gives it also to Empires and Republicks. He, who has appointed a King over Bees, has not left meerly to Chance or Humane Choice, these Second Causes of Princes, who are his Vice-Roys upon Earth, and as like him as may be (11), being represented in the Revelations by those Seven Planets, which God held in his Hand (12); upon them he darts his Divine Rays, the Reflection of which gives them the utmost Power and Authority over their Subjects. Without that Splendor, all Power, how great soever, is in a manner dark; the Prince who slighting this Light, shall follow another, an appearance may be of some good, which his own convenience, not right reason offers, will soon see the Orb of his Power eclips'd and darken'd. What e'er avoids the Sun, must necessarily be in darkness. The Moon, although it finds its self oftentimes quite dark, does not therefore turn away from the Sun, but looks on't with so much the more eagerness, till at last tis again enlightned by it. Let a Prince hold his Scepter fixt and steady, having always a regard to Virtue, as well in Prosperity as Adversity: For the same Divine Sun, which either for Punishment or Exercise of his Virtues, permitted his decrease, as a recompence of his Constancy will again promote and encrease his great-

(10) Rom. 13. 1. (11) *Principes quidem instar deorum esse.* Tac. 3. Ann. (12) And he had in his right hand seven Stars, Revel. 1. 16.

ness. Thus 'twas with the Emperour, *Ferdinand* the II^d who was often reduced to that extremity of Fortune, that his Empire and Life too seem'd desperate. Yet he was resolv'd never wholly to despair, nor to turn his Eyes from that Eternal Sun, the Maker and Governor of all things, whose Divine Providence freed him from all Perils, and advanced him far above all his Enemies. *Moses's* Rod, which was the Emblem of a Scepter, did Wonders whilst he held it in his Hand upright t'wards Heaven; but as soon as he cast it upon the Ground, 'twas turn'd into a venomous Serpent, dreadful even to *Moses* himself (13). Whilst the Scepter, like *Jacob's* Ladder, touches Heaven, God himself supports it, and Angels descend to its assistance (14). This the *Egyptians* knew, who on the top of their Scepters were us'd to engrave the Head of a Stork, a Religious Bird, and Pious t'wards its Parents; but on the bottom, the Foot of a Sea-Horse, an impious and ungrateful Animal, which Plots to kill his Father, that he may the more freely enjoy his Mother. By which Hieroglyphick they meant nothing, but that Princes ought always to prefer Piety to Impiety. *Machiavel* would have his Prince to learn this Hieroglyphick, but in quite another Sence, for he would have Piety and Impiety placed at each end, that he might turn it as he pleas'd, and hold that upwards which tended most to his Preservation and Advantage: For which reason, he thinks 'tis not necessary for a Prince to be Virtuous, 'tis enough if he pretends to be so; for to be really so, and to act according to the Dictates of Virtue, would, he says, be pernicious; but that 'tis most advantageous to be thought so; for by this means he will be so dispos'd, as to know how to shift upon occasion, and so to act in all things as advantage or opportunity shall require: And

(13) And he cast it on the ground, and it became a Serpent, and *Moses* fled from before it, *Exod.* 4. 3. (14) And he dreamed, and behold, a Ladder set upon the Earth, and the top of it reached to Heaven; and behold, the Angels of God ascending and descending on it. *Gen.* 28. 13.

this, he says, is principally necessary for Princes newly come to the Crown, who ought to be quick and ready to spread their Sails to every breath of Fortune, and as necessity requires. Impious and foolish Counsel, that would insinuate that Virtues need not be real and genuine, but only counterfeit and imaginary, for how can the Shadow be as effective as the Substance? What Art or Pains can bring Chrystal to that perfection, as it shall equal the Diamond in lustre and brightness? Won't any one at first sight discover and laugh at the Cheat. A true Glory takes root and flourishes, that which is not, falls like Blossoms; nor can any thing be lasting that is counterfeit (15). There's no Art or Cunning so great, as to make a vicious Inclination appear truly good and virtuous. For if we so easily fall in real Virtues so agreeable to our Nature and Inclination, what shall we do in false and imaginary ones? How will the Subjects, when they discover the Cheat, be able to endure the Stench of this Sepulchre of abominable Vices, without any ornament of Goodness? How can they turn their Eyes from that inward Wound, when the Patch under which it lurk'd being drawn off, 'tis openly expos'd to the sight of all (16)? Whence a Prince will be contemptible and ridiculous to his own People at home, and suspected by Foreigners abroad. He will be surely odious to both, for neither can live securely under him. Nothing renders Tyranny more grievous than when the Prince dissembles Virtue. For from thence oft-times greater Vices spring, for this Reason many were afraid of *Orbo*, when he stood Candidate for the Empire (17). When a Prince is known to be wicked and vicious, 'tis easy to beware

(15) *Vera gloria radices agit, atque etiam propagatur; fœta omnia celeriter tanquam fœculi decidunt, neque simulatum quidquam potest esse diuturnum.* Cic. lib. 2. de Off. cap. 32. (16) And all our righteousnesses are as filthy rags, *Isaiab* 64. 6. (17) *Orbo interim, contra sperem omnium, non deliciis, neque desidia torpescere, dilata voluptates, dissimulata luxuria, & cuncta ad decorem imperii composita, eoque plus formidinis offerebantur falsæ virtutes, & vitta reditara.* Tac. 1. Hist.

of him, but not so when he dissembles. Open Vice may be imputed to frailty of Nature; but pretended Virtue is only Cheat and Design; not accidental, but premeditated Injustice; so that 'tis more pernicious than open Vice. As *Tacitus* remarks in *Sejanus* (18), there is no greater Villainy, than under pretence of Virtue to exercise Vice (19). 'Tis a certain weakness to be openly wicked, but to counterfeit Virtue is true Villainy. Men more easily dispence with other Vices, but all loath Hypocrisy; for by them we only deceive our selves, but by this, others too. Nay, good Actions are despised if artificial, and not the Product of Virtue. *Vitellius* did many things to curry favour with the People, but those things which would have been really acceptable, had they proceeded from a Principle of Virtue, were (by the memory of his former Course of Life, and because every one saw that they were feigned and forced) look'd upon as base and vile (20). And, pray, who would dissemble Virtue, if it cost the same pains to do so, as to be really virtuous? If Virtues themselves, by reason of the wickedness of Manners, have scarce strength and power to subsist, how then should the false and counterfeit? Who e'er puts more confidence in these Tricks than in Divine Providence, denies that he receives his Crown and Preservation from God, and that he is the Disposer of Rewards and Punishments. If a Prince's Vices proceed from Weakness, and not from Affection, 'tis best to conceal them, that they may not give ill Examples; for to conceal them on that account, ought not to be accounted Hypocrisy, or a design to Cheat others; but rather Prudence, and an Esteem and Respect due to Virtue. There's no curb or restraint to that Power which does not veil its Tyrannies with some pretence or other. The Senators

(18) *Haud minus noxiæ, quoties, parandis regni finguntur.* Tac. 4. Ann.

(19) *Extrema est perversitas, cum proفسus justitia vaces, ad id niti, ut vir bonus esse videaris.* Plat. (20) *Quæ grata sane & popularia, si à virtutibus proficiscerentur; memoria vitæ prioris, indecora, & vilia accipiebantur.* Tac. 2. Hist.

never feared *Tiberius*, more than when they saw him without Dissimulation (21). Yet *Tacitus* writes of *Piso*, that he was cried up by the People for Virtues, or something resembling them (22). I don't mean by this, that Virtues are the same in a Prince, whether feigned or real; but that the People are sometimes deceived, and take Hypocrisy for Virtue. Therefore how much more firm and lasting would *Piso's* Fame have been, had it been supported by real and solid Virtues. The same inconveniences arise if a Prince is possess'd of real Virtues, but such as he will easily change for his conveniency; for that cannot be Virtue, which is not a firm and constant habit of the Mind, nor will it inhabit such a Breast with fears, not upon any prospect of advantage to turn it into Vice, and joyn with Villainy. And how can this ever be convenient for a Prince?

And what Case or Circumstance can require it, especially in these our times, when Rule and Empire are established upon sure Laws; not depending as in the *Roman's* time, upon the Election and Insolence of the Soldiers. No danger can be so great, that a Prince by prudent Virtue may not avoid without having recourse to Vice. If at any time a Prince renown'd for Virtues be vanquished, 'tis not because he was good, but because he knew not enough how to be good. A Just Prince is not obliged hastily and rashly to confront and oppose Vice, where there is no prospect of Advantage, but certain and manifest Danger from this over-diligence; nay, 'tis a piece of great prudence to permit and suffer that quietly, which by Opposition can't be prevented (23). Let him dissemble the knowledge of their Vices, till he finds a convenient time to remedy

(21) *Penetrabat Pavor, & admiratio, callidum olim, & regendis sceleribus obscurum, huc confidentiæ venisse, ut tanquam dimotis parietibus ostenderet Nepotem sub verberibus Centurionis, inter servorum ictus, extrema vitæ alimenta frustra orantem. Tac. 6. Ann. (22) Claro apud vulgus rumore erat per virtutem, aut species virtutibus similes. Tac. 15. Ann. (23) Permittimus, quod nolentes indulgemus, quia pravam hominum voluntatem ad plexum cohibere non possumus. S. Chrysoft.*

them; and in the mean time reward the Good, and punish the Bad, and use such other means as prudence shall suggest; but if these are not sufficient, let him leave it to his Successor, as *Tiberius* did, when he saw he could not reform the Manners of his time (24). For if through fear, a Prince should by doing ill conform himself to the Life and Manners of ill Men, he would not only not bring them into the way of Virtue, but would at the same time mislead the Good, so that both would grow worse; Virtue in a Prince is never dangerous, but rash Zeal and Severity often is. Villains don't hate a Prince for being good, but, because, for his too strict Severity they can't be wicked and lewd. There's no body but desires a Just Prince; the worst have need of such a one, that Justice may flourish, by which they may live not only secure from others, but from one another too. This *Seneca* meant, when, that he might persuade *Nero* from incestuous Conversation with his Mother, he threatned him that the Incest was divulg'd by his Mother, who gloried in't, and the Soldiers would not endure so vicious a Prince (25). Nay, so necessary are Virtues to a Prince, that without some Vices themselves can't subsist. Nor did *Sejanus* endear himself to *Tiberius* by other means, than by mingling Virtues with Vices (26). Such a mixture of Virtues and Vices one might see in *Lucinius Mucianus*; in *Vespasian* also, there were many notable Vices as well as Virtues (27). This is certain, *Sejanus's* favour with *Tiberius* had been much more secure; and *Vespasian* and *Mucian*, had been much more accomplished Princes, if subtracting their Vices, their Virtues only had re-

(24) *Non id tempus censurae, nec si quid in moribus labaret defuturum corrigendi auctorem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (25) *Perculgatum esse incestum, gloriante matre, nec toleraturos milites profani Principis Imperium.* Tac. 14. Ann. (26) *Corpus illi laborum tolerans, animus audax, sui obrengens, in alios criminator, justa adulatio, & superbia, palam compositus pudor, intus summa adipiscendi libido, ejusque causa, modo largitio, & luxus, saepius industria, & vigilantia.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) *Ambigua de Vespasiano fama.* Tac. 1. Hist.

maintained (28). If it be convenient for a Prince to be vicious, that he may distinguish the good from the bad, 'twill be sufficient only to know how to be so, without being practically so. Let him therefore be virtuous, but let him be so circumspect and prudent, that no Cheat or Knavery may scape him, no Villany but which he may see through; so by thoroughly observing each Man's Manners, and way of Life, he may Govern them the better. And in this Sense may their Opinions be taken, who think that Princes are so much the more secure, by how much they are more wicked than their Subjects (29). This sort of Vice relating to the knowledge of wickedness, is very expedient to know how to chastise, and also to bear with humane Frailties: Without that knowledge, severe Virtue is too rigid and dangerous for Government. Whence 'tis, that in a Prince manly Virtues are most requisite, such as are appropriated to Empire, not those monastick Melancholy ones, which make him timorous, slow, and unsteady in his Resolutions, averse to Humane Conversation, and more intent upon his own private Perfections than the Government of the Publick. The greatest Perfection in a Prince, is to answer the Obligations laid upon him by God Almighty.

Machiavel would not have a Prince counterfeit Virtues at certain times only, but he endeavours also to establish a sort of Policy upon Vice, by shewing how by help of this, the other may be advanced to the highest pitch; and by asserting that Men are ruined, because they know not how to be wicked; as if there might be a certain Science to be form'd of it. This Doctrine has made many Princes Tyrants, and ruined them. Men are not ruin'd, because they know not how to be wicked, but because wickedness it self can't long defend its self; for there is no Villainy so cunning

(28) *Egregium Principatus temperamentum, si dempsis virtutibus utriusque vitii sole virtutes miscerentur.* Tac. 2. Hist. (29) *Eo Manitiores Reges censentur, quo illis, quibus imperitant, nequiores.* Salust.

and cautious, as to prevent its self from being caught at last in its own Snares. What skill can instruct a Man to keep a sound Judgment in his Vices, whose Sins trouble his Conscience, which though 'tis in us, yet by a certain Divine Impulse operates without us, being both Judge and Executioner of our Actions: whose Tyranny *Nero* felt after he had commanded his Mother to be kill'd, fearing that the Light which gave Life to others, brought his Death (30). The most resolv'd Spirit sometimes hesitates, and is confounded at the sight of Villainy: So it happened to *Sejanus*, when he plotted to extinguish the Family of *Tiberius*; he was confounded by the greatness of the Crime (31). *God taketh the wise in their own craftiness* (32). Vice is ignorance, opposed to Prudence; 'tis a Violence that toils to its own Ruin; 'tis a dangerous Building which falls upon his Head who built it. No Judgment is so great as to correct lesser Tyrannies by greater; and to what a vast Bulk might Men raise it? That very Example of *John Pagola* of *Peru*, which *Machiavel* makes use of to confirm his Assertion, makes it evident enough how dangerous 'tis to walk upon those Precipices, when though he had procured the Death of Pope *Julius* the Second, he could by no means accomplish his Villainy. The same also befel *D. Valentine*, whom he proposes as an Idea as 'twere to Princes; for he, that he might upon the Death of Pope *Alexander* the Sixth, secure his own Affairs, drank to some of the Cardinals of the contrary Faction in a Bowl of Poison, but the Cups being by mistake changed, he and *Alexander* drank the Poison, upon which the Pope died suddenly, and *Valentine* was so ill upon't, that he could not be present at the Conclave, (which mischance all his cunning could not foresee and prevent) whence it happen'd too, that

(30) *Sed à Cesare profecto demum sceleris magnitudo intellecta est; reliquo noctis, modo percipit patre surgens, & mentis in se operiebatur, tanquam exitium allaturam.* Tac. 14. Ann. (31) *Sed magnitudo facinoris metum, prolationes, diversa interdum consilia adhibebat.* Tac. 4. Ann. (32) *Job 5. 13.*

whom he desired was not elected, and he himself lost all that he unjustly possessed in *Romania*. Divine Providence does not permit Tyrants to thrive in their Designs (33): 'Tis Virtue only that has the Power to make God propitious to us, not wickedness. If any Tyrant has long enjoy'd his unjust Usurpations, 'tis the effect of some eminent Virtue or Natural Endowment, which hides his Vices, and makes him obey'd by the People. But Malice ascribes this to tyrannical Artifices, and from Examples of that Nature, picks out some impious and erroneous Maxims of State, to the ruin both of Princes and Empires. Besides, all don't Reign, who have the Scepter in their Hands, or the Crown upon their Heads; for Divine Justice, though it leaves them the Kingdom, takes away the Command, by permitting them to be Slaves to their Passions, and their Ministers, and to be oppress'd by Misfortunes and Seditions. So was *Samuel's* Prediction to *Saul* fulfilled, that as a Punishment for having disobeyed God, he should be no more King (34): For though he lived and died King, yet was his Reign but perfect Slavery.

(33) He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprise, *Job* 5. 12. (34) Because thou hast rejected the Lord, he has also rejected thee from being King, *1 Sam.* 15. 23.

EMBLEM XIX.



IN the Games of *Vulcan* and *Prometheus*, several Persons being placed in a Row employed themselves thus: The first came out with a lighted Torch in his Hand, which he gave to the second, and he to the third, and so from one to t'other; whence came the Proverb, *Cursu lampada trado*; apply'd to those things which pass as 'twere by Succession from one to another. In which Sense *Lucretius*,

Et quasi cursores vitai Lampada trado.

Which he seems to have borrowed from *Plato*, when perswading Men to Propagation, he says 'tis necessary, that Life which Men received from their Predecessors, they should like a flaming Torch deliver down to Posterity.

sterity (1). What else is a Scepter, but such a Torch as this, which passes by Succession from one to another? What is it therefore that Majesty assumes to its self in this so short and transitory Greatness? Many things are common to a Prince with other Men, there's but one thing, and that accidental too, which makes the difference. All those don't humble his Mind, yet does this single accident puff him up above others. Let him think that he is a Man, and that he governs Men; let him consider well that he comes upon this great Theatre of the World to act the part of a Prince; and that he having his discharge, another shall succeed to those Robes which he shall leave; and that of both of them only this will remain, that they once were. Lastly, Let him know that these Robes wherewith he is clothed, are not his own, but the States, which that only lends him, that he may be a while its Head, and may consult for the Preservation, Increase, and Prosperity thereof, as we have said before.

When therefore a Prince has once begun to run the Race of this Life, furnished with the lighted Torch of his State; let it not be his only business to prolong his Race, for the Goal is already fixt beyond which he can't go; and who knows but that he may be now very near it, the Flame being exposed to every blast of Wind. One single Gale wrenched it from the Hands of King *Henry* the First, er'e he was fourteen Years old. Also a fall from a Horse prevented Prince *John*, Son of their most Catholick Majesties from taking hold on't.

Let a Prince consider also the fitness of his hand, the occasion and right, that he mayn't rashly grasp at more of these Torches, than either Succession or lawful Election shall grant him. Had *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, considered this, he had never lost his Electoral Dignity, his Places, and Titles so unfortunately,

(1) *Ut vitam, quam ipsi à majoribus, accepissent, vicissim, quasi tandem ardentem posteris tradant.* Plato.

for being ambitious of the Kingdom of *Bohemia*. And truly *Charles*, King of *Naples*, had ended his Race more successfully, had he been contented with the Torch of his own Kingdom, and not attempted to grasp at that of *Hungary*, where he was therefore poisoned.

Let not a Prince too readily trust his Torch to another, nor suffer any one to touch it with so great Authority. For Empire admits of no Companion. The Infant *Sancho* attempted to snatch this Torch from his Father, King *Alphonso* the Wise, by the same Power and Authority which he receiv'd from him. Nor were there wanting Pretences for the Infant of *Portugal*, to attempt the same against his Father, *Dionysius*.

These Torches of Kingdoms lighted by ill Methods, are commonly soon extinguish'd, for no Power acquired by wickedness is lasting. King *Garcias* forc'd his Father, *Alphonso*, to quit his Kingdom, but could not enjoy the Crown so gotten above three Years. *Fruela* the Third, possess'd but fourteen Months the Kingdom which he had attain'd rather by Force than Election. Violent Counsels h'an't always their desired Success. *Ramon* hop'd certainly to inherit the Throne of *Navarre*, if he could make away with his Brother *Sancho*; but the People abhorr'd him who had conceiv'd such a horrid Villainy, and so offer'd it to *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, his Uncle.

Let not a Prince unadvisedly trust his Torch out of his own Hands in his Life-time, least, if he should afterwards repent, it should befall him, as it did King *Alphonso* the Fourth, who having once resign'd his Kingdom to his Brother *Ramiro*, could never afterwards retrieve it, though he desir'd it. Ambition while in Possession regards not Justice, having always Arguments and Pretences at hand to defend it self. And who will not be mov'd by the difference between commanding and obeying.

Though these Torches do pass from Father to Son, yet let Kings remember that they receive them from
God,

140 *A Prince should remember that he must* Vol. I.
God, and that when he pleases they are to Surrender them to him, that they may know to whose Gift they ought to ascribe them, and how strict an Account they are to give of them. This King *Ferdinand* the Great did, who with his last Breath pronounc'd these Words, *Thine, O Lord, is Power, Empire is thine; Thou art Supreme King of Kings; all things are under thy Providence. The Kingdom which from thy Hand I receiv'd, unto thee I resign.* The same Words did King *Ferdinand* the Holy, use at the point of Death.

'Tis a glorious, though laborious Race which Heaven has design'd for your Royal Highness, which must be run not with one, but with several Torchés of shining Diadems, which like the Sun, but without ever leaving us in the dark, will diffuse their extended Light from *East to West*. Furious Winds rising from each part of the Horizon, will perhaps threaten them; but since God has lighted them to precede the Standard of the Cross, and to give light upon the Holy Altars of the Church, it may well be hop'd that these may shine like that (2); especially if your Highness's Faith and Holy Zeal, would by holding them upright, make their Flame burn more clear and bright, its natural tendency being towards Heaven; and he who holds them obliquely, will make the Flame its self feed upon and waste them, but he who turns 'em directly downwards, opposite to Heaven, will immediately extinguish them; for the Matter which would else nourish them, will then extinguish them. Let your Highness therefore take care with these Lights to finish your Course with Glory, and Surrender them bright and flaming to your Successor, not meerly such as you receiv'd them, but illustrated and augmented with new Rays: For God weighs both Kingdoms and Kings when they begin to Reign, that he may afterwards require a just Account

(2) I will also give thee for a light to the *Gentiles*, that thou mayst be my Salvation to the end of the Earth, *Isaiah* 49. 6.

from them; thus he did with King *Balthazar* (3). And if *Orbo* thought himself oblig'd to deliver up the Empire to Posterity, such as he had receiv'd it from his Ancestors (4); your Highness must acknowledge no less an Obligation deriv'd to you from your glorious Predecessors. So the Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, resign'd his while he was yet living, to his Son *Philip* the Second: And though the wickedness of some can't attend the end of their Career, for fear of adverse Winds already rais'd, as was the Case of *Alphonso*, King of *Naples*, who seeing he could not resist *Charles* the Eighth of *France*, surrendred the Crown to his Son *Ferdinand*, Duke of *Calabria*; yet certain 'tis, that his design was to make a timely Restitution of his Crown to God, and prepare himself for another, not Temporal but Eternal one, which once obtain'd may be securely enjoy'd without fear of ever being lost.

(3) Thou art weigh'd in the balance, and found wanting, *Dan.* 5. 27.

(4) *Urbi nostra institutum, & à Regibus usque ad Principes continuum, & immortalem, sicut à Majoribus accepimus, sic posteris tradamus.*
Tac. 1. Hist.

E M B L E M XX.



AMONG the Ceremonies of the *Athenians* at their Marriages, a certain little Boy, with a Basket of Bread in his Hand, and a Crown of Thorns upon his Head, went before the Bridegroom; by which, I believe, they intimated that Matrimony was not instituted for Pleasure only, but also for Cares and Labours. By the same (if Emblems will admit Human Figures) might also be meant a Prince. For what thorny Cares does not he feel, who endeavours to maintain his State in Justice, Peace, and Plenty. What Difficulties does he experience? What Dangers is he liable to, who commands others (1)? His Fatigues should be the Peo-

(1) *Quam arduum, quam subiectum fortunæ regendi cunctis onus?*
Tac. I. Ann.

ples Rest, his Dangers their Security, his Vigilance their Sleep. But we have here represented the same thing by a Crown, fine, indeed, and charming to fight, but within full of Thorns and Briars; with this Motto of *Seneca* the Tragedian.

*False good! What Cares dost hide,
Under the appearance of a gay outside?*

Who viewing those Pearls and Diamonds, and those Flowers which adorn a Crown, would not fancy that the inside was much more fair and beautiful; yet is there nothing but sharp Thorns, which continually prick and scratch the Head and Breast? There is not a Pearl in a Crown, but which is Sweat; nor a Ruby, but which is Blood; nor a Diamond, without some asperity or roughness; 'tis a Circumference without a Center of rest, a perpetual Motion of Cares*; for this reason Kings anciently wore a Crown made like a Ship, to represent its Inconstancy, Trouble, and Dangers†. This he well knew, who, when a Crown was offered him, laid it down, with these Words, *Let him take thee up, who does not know thee.* Instead of Crowns they at first us'd Fillets, not as a Badge of Majesty, but only to bind and preserve the Head (2). So heavy are the Cares of a Crown'd Head, that it had need to be fore-arm'd; for to Reign is nothing but three continual Sighs and Toils, in preserving, acquiring, and losing. Therefore did the Emperor, *Mark Anthony*, say, *That Empire was the greatest of Troubles.* Princes are born to labours, let them therefore inure themselves thereto. The Kings of *Persia* had a Chamberlain, who wak'd them betimes in the Morning with these Words, *Arise, O King, to look after the Affairs of your Kingdom.* Some Princes now-a-days would not endure such disturbance, for they persuade themselves that Ease, Voluptuousness,

* Strabo. † Valer. Max. (2) Let them set a fair Mitre upon his Head, *Zuch.* 3. 5.

and Vices, are the Rewards of Princes, but that the Shame and Disgrace thereof belong to others. Whereas some Princes shamefully neglect their Duty, it is because (as we shall mention elsewhere) they take the Kingdom for their Inheritance and Propriety, which they may use as they please, and think that their Authority and Sovereign Power is subject to no Laws, but altogether free to act as it list; in which Flattery encourages them, insinuating that without that freedom and liberty of living, a Kingdom would be the worst of Slavery, more intolerable than the meanest Condition of Subjects. Whence resigning themselves to Luxury and Pleasure, their Strength and Spirits flag, and themselves become wholly unfit for Government. Hence, I believe, it is, that among so many Princes, there are so very few good Governors, not that they want Natural Parts, for in those they usually exceed others, as being born of better Blood; but because that through Ease and Luxury they don't make use of them; nor do their Courtiers suffer it, for they make their Fortunes with more ease under a negligent than careful Prince. The Remedy against these Inconveniencies consists chiefly in two Things; The first is, That a Prince, should from his Youth, as soon as he has the use of Reason, be accustomed to the Management of Affairs, even before the Death of his Predecessor; thus God did with *Joshua*. And if in Matters of Concern and Trust, it be not convenient, for Reasons which I shall shew in the last Emblem but one; yet in other things it is, that his Mind may be diverted from Debauchery. This made the *Roman* Senate introduce their Youth to their Consultations. By the benefit of this many Popes Nephews, though they have been admitted very young to the Administration of Affairs, have in a few years made experienc'd Statesmen. The other is, That those that are near the Prince, should dexterously endeavour to root out of his Mind certain vain Opinions of his Greatness, and let him know that 'tis the common Consent of all that gives Power and Authority to the

Scepter,

Scepter, for Nature made no Kings. That his Purple is an Emblem of Blood, which he should be ready upon occasion to shed for the People (4); that it was not given to breed and nourish the Moths of Vices: That he is born a Prince by chance; that Virtue only is the proper good of Man; that his Dominion is Government, not absolute Power, and that his Vassals are Subjects not Slaves. This Document the Emperor *Claudius* gave to *Meberdatus*, King of *Persia* (5). Let them advise the Prince so to do by those whom he Governs, as he would be done to were he a Subject; so *Galba* instructed *Piso* when he adopted him his Son (6). No Prince was ever elected only to be so, but that being so he might be serviceable to the rest. King *Antigonus* considering this, advis'd his Son not to abuse his Power, not to be proud or use his Subjects ill, *Know'st thou not, my Son*, said he, *that our Kingdom is but a noble Slavery* (7). Upon this the Woman grounded her Answer to the Emperor *Rodolphus*, who telling her he was not at leisure to hear her: *Then*, says she, *you are no more Emperor*. Subjects are not born for the King, but the King for the Subjects. 'Twould be too hard a Bargain for them to sell all their Liberty to the King, if in return they could not promise themselves Justice and Protection from him, to which end they voluntarily submitted themselves to his Command. The *Romans* in their Triumphs were crown'd with their own Shields (8), made into the circular Form of a Crown, whence were introduc'd the Diadems of the Saints, who were Victorious against the Common Enemy. A Prince deserves not a Crown, unless also he use it as a Shield to ward the Stroaks of adverse Fortune from his

(4) *Consulares fasces, prætextam, curulemque sellam, nihil aliud, quam pompam funeris putent; clavibus insignibus velut infulis velatos ad mortem distinguant.* Liv. 2. Hist. (5) *Ut non dominationem, & servos, sed rectorem & cives cogitaret.* Tac. 12. Ann. (6) *Cogitare quid aut malueris sub alio Principe, aut volueris.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *An ignovæ, fili mi, nostrum Regnum esse nobilem servitutem?* (8) With favour wilt thou compass him as with a Shield, *Psaln* 5. 12.

Subjects. To Reign is rather an Office than a Dignity, an Authority of a Father over his Children (9); and if the Subjects find not that Fatherly Care and Affection in the Prince, they owe him no Respect or filial Obedience. King *Ferdinand* the Holy, look'd upon his Government as an Office, which consisted in protecting his Subjects, in administering Justice, in chastising Vice, and procuring the Enlargement of his Territories; not sparing any pains for its Advantage, and according to this he always acted. Princes are (as we shall observe elsewhere) like Mountains, as well because they are nearer the Favours of Heaven; as because they should receive all Injuries of the Weather upon themselves, being Depositories of Ice and Snow, which melting, should flow thence, and water and refresh the drougthy Fields and Valleys beneath, and by the Shade of their Bodies defend them from the scorching Heat of the Sun (10). For this reason, the Scriptures call Princes Giants (11), for they that are born to sustain the weight of Government, had need be of a more than ordinary Stature: They are Giants which must undergo Fatigues and Groans (as *Job* says) under the Waters (12), by which are meant People and Nations (13). They are the Corners which sustain the whole Fabrick of the State (14). A Prince, who believes he is not born to do this for his Subjects, and does not prepare himself to shelter them from the Injuries of the Weather, dwindles from a Mountain to a Valley; nay, 'tis unlawful for him whom Heaven has design'd to Govern others, to regard his own ease and quiet.

(9) *Ut enim gubernatio patrifamilias est Regia quedam potestas domi; ita Regia potestas, est civitatis & gentis unius aut plurium quaedam domestica quedam gubernatio.* Arift. Polit. 3. cap. 11. (10) For thou hast been a strength to the poor, a strength to the needy in his distress; a refuge from the Storm, a shadow from the heat, *Ija.* 25. 4. (11) There were Giants in the Earth in those days; the same became mighty Men, *Gen.* 6. 4. (12) Vid. *Job* 26. 5. (13) And the Waters which thou sawest, where the Whore sitteth, are Peoples, and Multitudes, and Nations, and Tongues, *Revel.* 17. 15. (14) Vid. *1 Sam.* 14. 38.

Wamba being elected King of the *Goths*, and refusing the Crown, a certain Captain with his drawn Sword threatned to stab him unless he accepted it; *Shall you alone*, says he to him, *oppose the Will of the whole Nation, and prefer your own Private Ease to the Publick Good?* For this reason, the States of *Guadalajara* would not suffer King *John* to resign his Kingdom to his Son *Henry*, he being too young, and himself having a Constitution fit for Government. Hence 'tis evident, That Princes are a part of the Commonwealth, and that they are in some measure subject to it, as Instruments of its Preservation, so that their success or misfortunes respect it; as *Tiberius* told his Sons (15). Those who desired *David* for their King, told him, *We are thy Bone and thy Flesh* (16); intimating to him that he must with his own strength support them, and take upon himself all their Toils and Grievances.

A Prince ought also to be taught while he is young, to tame and govern the skittish Horse of Government; for should he let him have his Head, he would fall headlong with him: He should use therefore the Bridle of Reason, the Reigns of Policy, the Whip of Justice, and the Spurs of Valour, keeping always fast in the Stirrups of Prudence. He must not execute every thing that comes into his Mind, but only what is honourable and just, lest he should transgress Piety, Reputation, Modesty, or good Manners (17). Let not a Prince imagine that his Power is wholly absolute, but subject by the publick Good and Interest of his State. Not immense, but limited, and expos'd to many Casualties; one blast of Wind dissipated all *Philip* the Second's Naval Preparations against *England*.

Let the Prince also know, that his Authority is not so Sovereign, but that part of it remains in the Subject,

(15) *Ita nati estis ut bona malaque vestra ad Remp. pertineant.* Tac. 4. Ann (16) 2 Sam. 5. 1. (17) *Falsa que laedunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram, & ut generaliter dixerim, contra bonos mores sunt nec facere esse credendum est.* L. 15. F. de Condit. Instit.

which they either reserv'd to themselves from the beginning, or which Common Sense has since granted them for their defence against any Prince notoriously unjust and tyrannical. Good Princes are pleas'd at the Liberty of their Subjects; Tyrants only would be absolute (18). The Safety and Preservation of the Kingdom, depends upon the well-temper'd freedom of the People. 'Tis not that Prince who is most powerful, that is most secure, but he who is so with reason; nor is he less Sovereign who defends the just Rights and Privileges of his Subjects. 'Tis rather prudence to let them enjoy 'em freely, for they never derogate from the Authority of the Prince, but when he thinks his Honour affronted, and endeavours wholly to take 'em away. Let him be content to maintain his Crown by the same means his Ancestors did. It seems to be this which God would admonish Princes of, (though in another Sence) by *Ezekiel* the Prophet (19), when he said, bind the tire of thine Head to thee; if any one shall wear it too loose, 'twill be very apt to fall off.

(18) *Quomodo pessimis Imperatoribus sine fine dominationem, ita quamvis egregiis libertatis modum placere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (19) Bind the tire of thine Head upon thee. *Ezek.* 24. 17.

E M B L E M XXI.



JUSTICE is the Center from which the Circumference of a Crown is drawn. If we could live without one, there would be no need of t'other.

*In former times all Princes Judges were,
And to see Justice done, was all their Care.*

In the first Age there was no need of Punishment, for there were no Crimes; nor of Rewards, for Virtue and Glory were belov'd for their own sakes. But as the World grew older, Wickedness encreas'd with it, and made Virtue more reserv'd, which before liv'd freely and carelessly in the Fields. When Equality was laid aside, and Ambition and Force suppl'd the place of Modesty and Shame, then Government was also intro-

duc'd. For Prudence urg'd by necessity, and Common Prudence oblig'd Men to Civil Society, that they might exercise Virtues, which Reason prompted them to, and make use of Speech which Nature gave them, that by revealing to one another the Sense of their Minds, they might inform, assist, and defend each other (1). Society being thus by common Consent establish'd, there arose at the same time a certain Supreme Power necessary to the Preservation of its Parts, which by punishing Vice, and rewarding Virtue, might defend them in Peace and Justice. And because this Authority could not be diffus'd through the whole Body, by reason of the Confusion which would arise in the Execution thereof; and because 'twas also necessary that some should Command, and the rest Obey, they quitted their Pretensions to it, conferring it either upon one, few, or many, which are the three sorts of Government; Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy. The first of which was Monachy; for originally Men were govern'd by one in each Family; afterwards they chose from among the People, one, who excell'd others in Goodness and Virtue, whose Hand, as his Authority encreas'd, they honour'd with a Scepter, and his Head with a Diadem, as a Badge of the Power and Sovereignty which they had conferr'd upon him, which should principally consist in Justice, by which he should preserve and defend his Subjects in Peace; so that without that there is no Order of Government (2), and all Kingly Authority ceases, as it happened in *Castile*, which was reduc'd to the Government of Judges, the Kings being excluded for the Injustice of *Ordonno* and *Fruela*.

This Justice could not be well administer'd by the mere Law of Nature, without imminent Danger to the Commonwealth; for since 'tis defin'd to be a constant and

(1) *Sermo vero datus est homini, ad utile & inutile, ac proinde justum ac injustum declarandum.* Arist. Pol. 1. cap. 2. (2) *Nam Respub. nulla est, ubi leges non tenent Imperium.* Arist. Pol. 4. cap. 4.

perpetual desire of giving to every one their own (2), it would be very dangerous if it should depend upon the Opinion and Judgment of the Prince, and not be written; nor can mere natural Reason, though free from Affections and Passions, give true Judgment in such variety of Cases as happen continually. So that 'twas necessary for States to arm themselves with Laws, deduc'd from long use and experience, as well Penal as Distributive; these to punish faults, and those to give every one his own. Penal Laws are represented by a Sword, the Emblem of Justice, as *Trajan* intimated, reaching a Sword to the Captain of his Guards, with these Words, *Take this, and if I govern well, use it for me, if not, against me.* Equally sharp on both sides, as well for the Rich as the Poor; not with one Edge blunt, and t'other sharp; to spare one, and hurt another. Distributive Laws are represented by a Rule or Square, which measures indifferently the Actions and Rights of all (4). By this Rule of Justice things ought to be measured, not this Rule by things, as the *Lesbian* Rule was, which being made of Lead, easily adapted it self to all shapes of the Stone. The Prince ought to give Life and Vigour to both. King *Alphonso* the Wise said, That a King was the Heart and Soul of the State. And in another place he says, That *Rex* a King is the same with *Regula* a Rule. *Rex* a King, and *Lex* a Law, differ but in one Letter; and what else is a King but the Speaking-law, and the Law but a dumb King; so much King that could it exert it self it should govern alone. Prudence has as it were divided the Power of Princes, and yet in their Persons it remains whole, yet it has subtilly transferr'd part thereof to Paper, so that it has left Majesty written and expos'd to the view of all, for the exercise of Justice, so that Justice and Chastisement, by means of the Law, anticipating Crimes, the Sentence might not be ascrib'd to the Will,

(3) For Justice is immortal, *Wisd.* 1. 15. (4) *Legem scimus Justitiam injustique regulam esse, Seneca.*

Passion, or Interest of the Prince; and that he might avoid the Odium of his Subjects. The Law is an excuse for Rigour, a discountenancer of Favour, an invisible Arm of the Prince, with which he holds the Reigns of the Government. There is no better way to make Authority respected and obeyed; for which reason the Law should be punctually observ'd, nor should force be us'd in any thing which may be decided by Law (5). When once a Prince proceeds that way, the Laws will soon lose their force and efficacy (6): Crimes will be reckon'd Innocence, and Justice Tyranny (7): Nor is the Power of the Prince a little diminish'd, for that is ever more effectual with the Law than without it. 'Tis the Law that crowns, defends, and confirms a Prince (8), without it there would be no difference between Subjection and Command. True Policy is founded upon the Law, not upon Arbitrary Sway. They are the true Rule of Government, the Roads of Policy, by them as by certain Lines the Ship of the State sails securely; they are the Walls of Civil Power, the Eyes and Soul of the State, the Fetters of the Mob, and the Bridle (the present Emblem) which Guides and Curbs it (9). Even Tyranny it self can't subsist without them.

The Determination of Justice could not be safely committed to the inconstancy of the Will, which is subject to so many Affections and Passions, and of it self perfectly blind; but it was necessary that it should be restrain'd by certain fix'd Decrees and Statutes, founded upon Reason and Prudence, which should without distinction be Obligatory to all. Such are the

(5) *Nec utendum imperio, ubi legibus agi possit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Minui jura quoties gliscat potestas.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) The work of righteousness shall be peace, and the effect of righteousness, quietness and assurance for ever, *Isaiab 32. 17.* (8) *Inauditi atque defensi tanquam innocentes se intant.* Tac. 1. Hist. (9) *Fasta sunt autem leges, ut eorum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutique sit inter improbos innocentia, & in ipsis improbis reformidato supplicio refraxetur audacia & nocendi facultas.* *Ibid.* lib. 2. Etymol. l. legibus, C. de leg.

Laws which experience of past Accidents has provided for future ones; and since they can't explain themselves, but are mere Bodies which receive Soul, and understanding from the Judges, with whose Tongues they speak, and by whose Pens they are explain'd, and apply'd to particular Cases, it being impossible to comprehend all; let a Prince be very careful to whom he commits them; for in them he entrusts his very Being, and the chief Instruments of Government; but the choice being once rightly made, let him not hinder the free exercise and ordinary course thereof, but leave it wholly to the Magistrate; but if Princes will through Clemency or Arbitrary Power, intermeddle with the Exposition of the Laws; all this Politick Structure will fall, and those Laws which should prop and support it, rather cause its ruin. Tyranny is nothing else but an ignorance and contempt of the Laws, assuming to it self their Power and Authority. This *Rome* of old bewail'd as the chief cause of its Slavery, *Augustus* arrogating to himself the chiefest Offices in the Law, that he might the better play the Tyrant (10).

*When Cæsar to himself assum'd the Laws,
Poor Rome grew soon degenerate and base,
Forgot her War, and slept in servile Peace.*

Claud.

A Prince in obstructing the Laws encourages Vice, as it happen'd in the time of the Emperor *Claudius* (11).

Multiplicity of Laws are very dangerous to a State, for they destroy one another; being too numerous they create Confusion and Oblivion, or when they can't be observ'd are despis'd. A sure sign of a dissolute and corrupt State; one contradicts another, and makes room for sinister Interpretations, and different Opinions, whence arise Disputes and Contentions.

(10) *Insurgere paulatim, munia senatus, Magistratum, legum in se trahere.* Tac. 1. Ann. (11) *Etiam caussa legum, et Magistratum munia in se trahens Princeps,* materia prædandi præf. Tac. 11. Ann.

The greatest part of the People are taken up in Law, there want Men to manure the Ground; for Offices and War. A few good support many bad, and many bad lord it over the few good. The Courts of Judicature are Harbours for Pirates, and Receptacles for Thieves. Those very Men who should be the Assertors of the Peoples Liberty, are the heaviest Fetters of their Slavery (12). Too many Laws are not less pernicious to a State than Vices (13). He who makes many Laws, sets many Traps, in which all must be caught. So *Caligula*, when he had a design upon the Innocent, established many Laws, written in so small a Character, that they could be hardly read. And *Claudius* published Twenty in one day, which so puzzled the People, that 'twas more difficult to know than to observe them. Therefore *Aristotle* said, That few Laws were sufficient for the weightiest Cases, and that the rest ought to be left to natural Reason. Nothing is so prejudicial to State as multiplicity of Laws: Hence God threatened *Israel*, as a Punishment for their Sins, that he would multiply their Laws (14). To what purpose is it to make an Addition of new Laws upon every slight occasion, when there is no case which has not happ'ned before, nor any inconveniency which has not been already consider'd of, and by Observation and Experience provided for? Those which are now introduc'd into *Castile*, as new, may be all found in the Ancient Records. The Observation of these would be much more agreeable to the People, and would create less Odium to the Prince, than the Promulgation of other new ones. In those Judgment acquiesces, in these 'tis dubious and unsteady; those seem to be founded with care, the Authority of these is questionable; those may safely be renew'd, these can't be introduc'd with-

(12) *Deditque jura, quæ pace, & Principe uteremur, acriora ex eo vincula inditi custodes. Tac. 3. Ann.* (13) *Utque antehac fugitiis itæ nunc legibus laborabatur. Tac. 3. Ann.* (14) Because *Ephraim* hath made many Altars to Sin, Altars shall be unto him to Sin. *Scribamus ei multiplices leges meas*, says the Latin Version, *Hos. 8. 11, 12.*

out danger. To make Experiments of new Medicines is dangerous to Health and Life; many Herbs before the way of preparing them were known, were Poison. Better is that State govern'd, whose Laws, though imperfect, are settled, than that which is continually changing them. The Ancients to intimate that Laws, ought to be perpetual, wrote them upon Tables of Brass (15), and God engrav'd them with his Eternal Finger upon Stone (16). For this reason *Augustus* advis'd the Senate, that they should preserve their Laws intire without altering them; for that tho' they were bad, they were more beneficial to the State than new ones (17). There is no Kingdom but is provided with Laws sufficient; but care ought to be taken, lest the variety of Interpretations should render them ambiguous and obscure, and occasion Disputes and Controversies. This ought to be prevented, which might with ease be done in *Spain*, if some King, upon this account not less a Restorer than *Pelagius*, would abbreviate all Proccesses, and leaving the Civil Law, would make use only of those of the Kingdom, which are not less prudent and learned than just and reasonable. This King *Receswind* meant, when in one of his Laws he said,

Also King Alphonfus the Wise, commanded his Judges.

This their Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Joan*, afterwards confirm'd, as did King *Alarick*, who laid severe Penalties upon the Judges for admitting the Pleas of the *Roman* Laws. Nor does it a little derogate from Supream Jurisdiction to be govern'd by Foreign Laws. To this I

(15) *Usus aris ad perpetuitatem monumentorum jupridem translatus est tabulis aereis, in quibus constitutiones publicæ inciduntur.* (16) And he gave unto *Moses*, when he had made an end of communing with him upon Mount *Sinai*, two Tables of Testimony, Tables of Stone written with the Finger of God. (17) *Positas semel leges constanter servate, nec ullam earum immutate; nam que in suo statu eademque manent, etsi deteriora sint, tamen utiliora sunt Reipublicæ, his que per innovationem, vel meliora inducuntur.* Dion. l. 52.

foresee two Objections; first, that if these Laws were written in *Spanish*, the *Latin* Tongue would be lost, and the Lawyers would apply themselves wholly to the Study and Explanation of them only; besides, that without the knowledge of the Civil Law, from whence they are deriv'd, they could not be well understood. The other is, that since the Civil Law is Common to almost all *Europe*, according to which causes ought to be decided, and that the Rights and Privileges of Princes are often to be determin'd in Foreign Parliaments, and Courts of Judicature; it will be very necessary to have Men well vers'd in the said Law. Which inconveniences will be easily remedied by erecting and indowing some places for Civil Lawyers in the Universities; as (though upon different Motives) King *Ferdinand* did

But if this can't be effected, the foremention'd inconveniences may be thus remedied; first by prohibiting such a vast number of Books to be imported, which serve only to clear the Pockets, not the understanding, nor is Printing any thing else now-a-days, but Merchandize and Trade. This variety confounds the Senses, embarrasses and puzzles the Judgment. 'Twould be more adviseable, where the written Laws are not full enough for the Decision of any Controversy, to be guided by Reason, that living Law, rather than to grope for Justice in the obscurity of such diversity of Opinions, equally favourable to each side, and subject to Subornation and Passion. Next, by shortening the tedious Methods of the Law, as King *Philip* the Second design'd to do at *Milan*, when he consulted with the Senate about that Affair. In which he not only respected the good of the Subject, but also that in that State, which is the Bullwark of the Kingdom, there might be more Men of the Sword than the Gown. The same was attempted by the Emperors, *Titus* and *Vespasian*, *Charles* the Fifth, their Catholick Majesties, *Peter*, King of *Portugal*, *James* the first of *Arragon*, and *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France*; none of them being
able

able to effect it, nor can any one else hope to bring it about, since for the reforming the Practice of the Bench, the Judges themselves must be of Counsel, whose Interest it is to prolong Suits, as 'tis that of Soldiers to continue War. 'Twas pure necessity oblig'd the most Serene Queen *Isabel*, of her own accord, to make use of this Remedy, when being at *Sevil* harass'd with vexatious Appeals, she commanded all Suits depending, to be by the assistance of able and learned Men, decided in her presence, without the noise of the Bar, and that Accumulation of Informations and Processes, and truly successfully enough as experience has shewn. The Cantons of *Switzerland* are very prudently govern'd, because there are no Lawyers among them; the Witnesses are heard, and without writing down any thing, except the Judgment, the Causes are immediately decided. A quick Condemnation is more expedient for the Client, than a favourable Judgment after a tedious dependance. He who commences a Law-suit now-a-days, does as it were plant a Palm-Tree, which he can't expect to live to gather the Fruit of. In a State where Suits are long and tedious, the People can never live peaceably and amicably (18). Let there therefore be few Counsellors, Attornies, and Solicitors. How can that Government be quiet, in which there are so many who get their living by raising and promoting Feuds and Law-suits? What hopes of Restitution to the injur'd, when there are so many ready to fleece and strip him? Suppose them to be Persons of Worth and Integrity, yet is Justice ne'er the better administred for their number; no more than a Disease is better cur'd by many Physicians. Nor would it redound to the Common Good, if with the loss of the Publick Tranquility, and the Estates of the People, there should be made too nice a scrutiny into every ones Right: A moderate and moral Care is sufficient.

(18) *Non fuerint concordēs unquam, aut inter amantes civēs, ubi multae multae lites iudiciales sunt, sed ubi ex brevissima & paucissima.* Plato.

Nor does less damage arrive from an abundance of Penal Laws to prohibit Luxury in Cloaths, and superfluous Expences; for such Edicts are generally slighted, and not observed; the same Month in which they are establish'd, they are abolish'd. They are like the Responses of the *Sibyls*, written upon Leaves, and scatter'd by the Wind. And if once this disobedience takes place, it makes Luxury more insolent and secure (19). The Prince's Reputation suffers, when the Remedies which he prescribes are ineffectual, or not observ'd. The Edicts of *Margaret of Austria*, Dutchess of *Parma*, not being executed, derogated much from her Authority in *Flanders*. Therefore 'tis a question, whether moderate Luxury be not a more tolerable Inconveniency, than a Prohibition when not obey'd (20)? Or whether it be not better to wink at old and settled Vices, than by feeble Laws to shew that they are stronger than the Prince? If Laws are once broken, unpunished, there is no restraint or shame beyond. If a Prince would express these Laws and Edicts about Reformation of Manners in himself, perhaps Flattery, or the natural Propensity in Inferiors to imitate their Superiors, or the Subjects their Prince, would be more effectual than the rigour of the Law, and that without danger to Sovereign Authority. Frugality, which the Sumptuary Laws could not introduce, the Emperor *Vespasian* did, only by his Example (21). The Imitation of the Prince, is a Slavery sweetned by Flattery. 'Tis easier for Nature to err in her own Works, said *Theodorick*, King of the *Goths*, than for the Subjects not to observe the Manners of their Prince. In him, as in a Glass, the People adjust their Actions:

(19) *Tot à majoribus reperta, tot quas divus Augustus tulit, ille oblivione, hæ (quod flagitiosissimè est) contemptu abolita, securiorem luxum fecere.* Tac. 3. Ann. (20) *Num coercio plus damni in Remp. ferret; quam indecorum atterere, quod non obtineretur, vel retentum ignominiam & infamiam virorum illustrium posceret.* Tac. 3. Ann. (21) *Sed præcipuus adstricti moris autor Vespasianus fuit, antiquo ipse cultu, vi<uque obsequium inde in Principem, & amulandi amor validior, quam pænæ ex legibus, & metus.* Tac. 3. Ann.

—————The Nation follows still,
 The Fashions of the Court, and 't always proves,
 Example more than Law the People moves. Claud.

Customs are Laws, not written upon Paper, but in the Mind and Memory of all, and are more grateful when not forc'd, but a free choice and sort of liberty; and the same common Consent, which first introduc'd them, still observes them so strictly, that it won't permit them to be altered though they are bad, for common Opinion, by which, after they have been received by their Ancestors, the People are fully perswaded they are just and reasonable, does prevail more in this matter than the strongest Arguments; nay, than the Inconveniences themselves which are found in them. 'Tis therefore more prudent to bear with them, than wholly to remove them. A prudent Prince governs his State without altering its Customs (22). But if they are opposite to Virtue or Religion, they ought to be dexterously corrected, and the People by degrees prepared to know the reason. King *Froila* incur'd the odium of many by disannulling the Custom of the Clergy's marrying, which had been before introduc'd by *Witiza*, and confirm'd by the Example of the *Greeks*.

If the State be not well constituted, and the Peoples minds docil and corrigible, Laws will be of small use (23). Which I believe *Solon* meant, when being ask'd what Laws were best; he answered, those which the People observe. Medicines are of no use where the Disease is incurable. Lastly, Laws will be insignificant, unless the Prince by his Life and Example confirm and strengthen them (24). That Law seems pleasant and easy to the People, which the Legislator himself observes:

(22) *Mos hominum tutissime agere, qui presentibus moribus, legibusque etiam si deteriores sint, minimum variantes Rempub. administrant.* Thucid.

(23) *Quid leges sine moribus vane proficiunt?* S. Aug. (24) *Digna vox est Majestate regnantis, legibus alligatum se profiteri.* L. 4. C. de Leg.

*If you command, and hope to be obey'd,
 Observe your self those Laws your self first made.
 The People then will due Obedience shew,
 To you who make Laws, and observe them too.* Claud.

The Laws made by *Servius Tullius*, were not only for the People, but also for the Prince (25). By them Controversies between the Prince and People ought to be determined: As *Tacitus* relates of *Tiberius* (26). *Tho' (said the Emperors, Severus and Antoninus) we are free from the Laws, yet we live by them.* A Prince is not oblig'd by the strict Letter of the Law, but by the Reason on which 'tis grounded, for that is natural and common to all, not peculiar to Subjects only for their good Government; for in such case the Observation of the Law belongs to them alone, tho' 'twill be very necessary, if the Case will allow, for him to conform himself to them, that so they may seem the more pleasant to others. This was the meaning of God's Command to *Ezekiel*, that he should eat the Roll (27). That others seeing that he had first tasted the Laws, and found them sweet as Honey, all might imitate him. The Kings of *Spain* are so subject to the Laws, that the Treasury in cases of the Royal Patrimony, runs the same fortune with any other Subject, and in a doubtful case is condemn'd. So it was enacted by *Philip* the Second; and once when his Grandson, *Philip* the Fourth, your Highness's Father, was present in Council, upon a Debate of a Case relating to the Exchequer, neither the Judges wanted Integrity to give it against him, nor his Majesty Temper to hear it without Resentment. Happy is that State, in which the Prince's Cause is the worst (28).

(25) *Quibus etiam Reges obtemperarent.* Tac. 3 Ann. (26) *Siquando cum privatis disceptarent, forum & jus.* Tac. 4. Ann. (27) Eat this Roll, and go speak unto the House of Israel; so I opened my Mouth, and he caus'd me to eat the Roll, *Ezek.* 3. 1, and 2. (28) *Que gloria tua est principum, sepe vincitur Fiscus cujus mala causa nunquam est, nisi sub bono principe.* Plin. in Pan.

EMBLEM XXII.



THough the Peoples Consent confers the Power of Justice upon Princes, they receive it immediately from God, as being his Vicars in Temporal Affairs. They are the Royal Eagles, the Ministers of *Fove* (1), who Administer his Thunder, and supply his place in punishing Vice, and administering Justice; in which they have need of three Qualities of the Eagle, sharpness of Sight to inspect Crimes, swiftness of Wing for Execution, and strength of Talons, that they main't fail therein. The Injury done by a certain Nobleman to a poor Peasant, though in the remotest Corner of Ga-

(1) For he is the Minister of God to thee for good; but if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the Sword in vain, *Rom. 13. 4.*

licia, could not escape the quick sight of King *Alphonso* the Seventh, call'd Emperor, who disguising himself, went immediately to punish him with such speed, that he apprehended him before he knew any thing of his coming. O lively and ardent Soul of the Law! to be himself Judge and Executioner, to satisfy an Injury done to a poor Peasant, and to punish the unjust Oppression of the Grandee. The same did King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, who being at *Medina*, went privately to *Salamanca*, and seized *Roderigo Maltonado*; who exercis'd great Oppressions in the Castle of *Monlecon* (2). Who would ever transgress the Laws, if he always fear'd such a surprize? One such as this would frighten and reform a whole Kingdom. But it is not always expedient for Majesty it self to imitate such Examples. When the State of the Kingdom is well settled, when the Courts of Judicature are open, and the fear of the Law is fresh and lively, 'tis sufficeint for a Prince to see Justice administer'd by his Ministers. But when all is in Confusion, when Obedience staggers; when the King's Authority is slighted, as 'twas in those times, then some such suddain and severe Punishment will be seasonable, that the People may know the Power of their Prince, and understand, that as in a Humane Body, so in a Kingdom, the Soul of Majesty is all in all, and all in every part. Yet 'twill be very necessary to moderate this severity, when the Distemper is inveterate, and the Kingdom confirm'd in Vice; for if Virtue should be too severe upon Vice; and endeavour to reform all at once, 'twould be esteem'd rather Cruelty than Justice. Time must recruit that which time has weakned; to precipitate a Cure is dangerous, and may make the Prince experience the Rage of the incens'd Multitude. Connivance and Dexterity is often more effectual than force. In this King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was excellent; and by this King *Peter* was deceiv'd, who relying wholly

(2) Mar. Hist. of Spair.

upon Severity, got the Name of Cruel. Though Justice be one single Virtue, yet has it various Effects, according to the difference of time. Sometimes the People wholly reject it, and become more Insolent; sometimes they acknowledge the damage of their excess, and co-operate with the Prince to remedy it, and suggest the most severe means against their own Liberty, by which the Prince acquires the Name of Just without danger.

Let not a Prince remit the Punishment of such Offences against the Government, in which few are concern'd, but pardon those in which many are involv'd. *Agrippa* being put to Death, in the Isle of *Planasia*, by the Order of *Tiberius*, a certain Slave who was very like him, stealing away his Ashes, pretended that he was *Agrippa*; the *Romans* believ'd it; the Report spread, and caus'd a Tumult, with evident danger of a Civil War. *Tiberius* caus'd the Slave to be apprehended, and put to Death privately, and though many Gentlemen and Senators of his own Family, were said to have assisted him with Money and Advice (3), yet would he suffer none to speak in his behalf. Thus Prudence triumph'd over Cruelty, and by Silence and Connivence he appeas'd the Disorder.

Let a Prince pardon small Offences, and punish great ones; sometimes let him be content with Repentance, which *Tacitus* commended in *Agricola* (4). He is not the best Governor who punishes with most Severity, but he who pardons with such Discretion and Circumspection, as not to give any occasion to the Delinquents to transgress again. No body commends a Chirurgeon for cutting off many Legs and Arms; no body hates a Prince for punishing, provided he does it with Reluctancy and Grief; but him who de-

(3) *Et quanquam multi ex ejus domo equites ac senatores sustentasse cribus, juvisse consilia, dicerentur Tac. 2. Ann.* (4) *Parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commendare; nec poena semper, sed sapientia penitentia contentus esse. Tac. in Vit. Agric.*

lights in it; and eagerly carps at all opportunities of doing it. To punish for Example, and amendment is Mercy; but to do it through Passion or Avarice is Tyranny. Let not a Prince suffer any one to think himself so great, and free from the Laws, as to dare to oppose the Ministers of Justice, and those who represent its Power and Authority, for so the Pillar of Justice can't stand secure (5), when such boldness once takes place, contempt will by degrees undermine it, and bring it to the Ground. The chief Foundation of the *Spanish* Monarchy, and that which has rais'd it to such an height, and keeps it so, is the inviolable Observation of Justice and Rigour, by which its Kings have always taken care to make it respected and esteem'd of all. No Violation of it goes unpunish'd, though great be the Dignity and Authority of the Delinquent. A certain Judge at *Corduba*, was by the Command of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, enquiring into some Misdemeanor, whom when the Marquis of *Fuego* had arrested, the King so resented it, that all the Signal Services of that Family of *Corduba*, could not hinder him from punishing him very severely; afterwards he put himself wholly into his Majesty's Hands, by the Advice of the Great Captain, who seeing the heinousness of the Crime, which would not admit of Pardon, wrote to him to cast himself at the King's Feet, by which he might perhaps expiate his Crime, but if not he would certainly be ruined (6).

Nor ought a Prince only to punish Crimes committed against his own Person, or during his Reign; but those also which were acted in the last, though the State were then under the Power of an Enemy. For Presidents of Disobedience and Contempt of Authority being conniv'd at, or rewarded, are dangerous even to successors. Dignity is ever the same, being always

(5) *Hanc P. C. curam sustinet Princeps, hanc omitti funditus Remp. trahet.* Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Mar. Hist of Spain.*

espoused to him who possesses her. Wherefore he defends his own Cause, who takes care of his Predecessor's Honour, though 'twas not wounded in his time. A Prince ought not to leave behind him the Memory of one, who has been so impudent as to affront Authority unpunish'd; for if once Subjects are perswaded that they may raise their Fortunes, or satisfy their Passions, by the Death or Abuse of the Prince, none will be able to live secure. The Punishment of Impudence to the Predecessor, is the security of the Successor, and a warning to all from daring to attempt the like. For which reason *Vitellius* put all those to Death, who petition'd him for Rewards for the Murther of *Galba* (7). Every one is treated as he treats others. *Julius Cæsar* commanding the Statues of *Pompey* to be erected, confirm'd his own. If Princes should not unite against Contempt and Treason, Authority and Loyalty would be in danger.

In Cases where the same circumstances concur, a Prince ought not to connive at some and punish others, for nothing renders them more odious than partiality (8). Whence the *Egyptians* signified the Equality which should be observ'd in Justice, by the Feathers of an Ostrich, which are equal on both sides.

'Tis great Prudence in a Prince to find such sorts of Punishments, as will expiate the Offence, with the least damage to the Delinquent. Certain Noblemen fomented Disturbances in *Galicia*; and though they deserv'd Death, King *Ferdinand* the Fourth call'd them to him, and gave them employs in the Army, where some of them were punish'd by the Enemy, others by the Hardships and Tolls of War, and so that Province was reduc'd to its former Tranquillity.

(7) Non honore *Galbae*, sed tradito principibus more, munimentum ad præsens, in posterum ultimem. Tac. hist. lib. 1. (8) Cavendam est ne iisdem de causis alii plebentur, alii ne appellentur potest. Cic. de Off.

As in time of Peace, Justice and Mercy are very advantageous, so in War are Rewards and Punishments; because there the Dangers are so great, as would not be attempted without great hopes, and nothing but fear could restrain the Licentiousness of the Soldiers. In so much as without these two things, says King *Alphonso*, *The Faults which are committed in War are much more dangerous; for if Men have so much to do to defend themselves from the Mischief of their Enemies, how much more have they from that which accrues from their own Faults?* For which reason the *Romans* inflicted divers sorts of Infamy and Punishment upon the Soldiers who fail'd in their Duty, or in any dangerous Attempt or Military Affair; whence they were less afraid of the Enemy than the Punishment, and chose rather to die bravely in Action, than to lose their Honour or Lives afterwards with perpetual Ignominy and Disgrace. In those times none durst Desert, because he could not shelter himself in any part of the Empire. Now-a-days Deserters are not only not punished when they return to their own Country; but sculking from Battel, they March from *Milan* to *Naples*, where as if they had serv'd under some other Prince, they are again listed into his Majesty's Service, to the great detriment thereof. In which the Vice-Roys should follow the Example of the *Roman* Senate, who after the Battel of *Cannæ*, though they were in extream want of Soldiers, could not be induc'd to redeem six thousand Prisoners which *Hannibal* offered them, thinking them not worth Redemption, who suffer'd themselves ignominiously to be taken Prisoners, when they might have died gloriously.

The Errors of Generals committed through ignorance, ought rather to be conniv'd at than punish'd, least the fear of being punished or reprimanded should make them too timorous. Besides the greatest Prudence may be confounded in Accidents of War, whence they deserve Compassion rather than Punishment. *Varro* lost the Battel of *Cannæ*, and at his return the whole Senate

Senate went out to receive him, thanking him for that in such a total Defeat he had not wholly despair'd of Affairs.

When connivence is not convenient, but the Execution of Justice is required, let it be done with readiness and resolution. He who does it privately and by stealth, is more like an Assassine than a Prince. He who checks the Authority which the Crown gives him, either doubts his Power or Merit; from the Prince's distrust of himself proceeds the Peoples disrespect. Whose Opinion of him is answerable to what he has of himself. King *Alphonso* the Wise lost the esteem of his People, by doing Justice in private. This can be convenient only in troublesome times, when greater Dangers may be fear'd, if the People don't see the Authors of Seditions punish'd e'er they know they are taken. Thus *Tiberius* acted for fear of this Inconveniency (9). In other Cases let a Prince execute that Office boldly and vigorously, which he holds in the Name of God and the People; for 'twas Justice that at first gave him his Scepter, and 'tis that which must preserve it. 'Tis the Will of God, the Harmony of Government, and the Protection of Majesty. If the Laws be once suffer'd to be broken unpunish'd, there will be neither Fear nor Modesty, and without them no Peace nor Quiet (10). Yet let Princes consider that they are like Masters of Families; nay, that they really are such in respect to their Subjects, and therefore let them temper Justice with Clemency. They ought to drink the Sins of the People, as God intimated to *St. Peter*, by that Vessel of unclean Animals, out of which he commanded him to eat (11). A Prince should have the Stomach of an Ostrich, to

(9) *Nec Tiberius pœnam ejus palam ausus, in secreta palatii parte interficere jussit, corpusque clam auferri.* Tac. 2 Ann. (10) *Si prohibita impudè transcenderis, neque metus a' trã neque pudor est.* Tac. 3. Ann. (11) Wherein were all manner of fourfooted Beasts of the Earth, and wild Beasts, and creeping Things, and Fowls of the Air; and there came a Voice unto him, Rise, Peter, kill and eat, Acts 10, 12, 13.

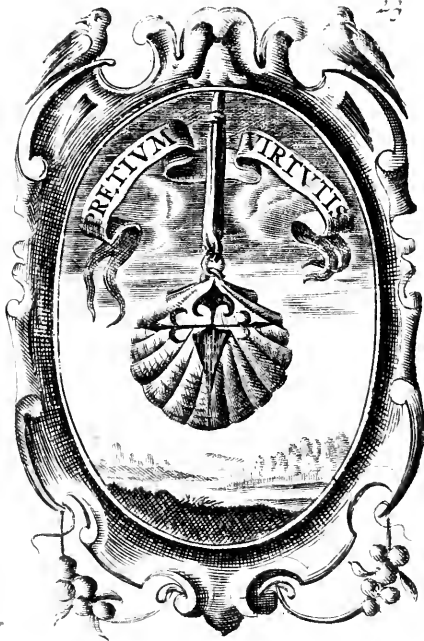
hot with Mercy as to digest Iron, and should be also an Eagle with the Thunder of Justice, which by striking one terrifies all. For if all were to be punish'd who transgress'd, there would be none left for the Prince to Command, for there is scarce any Man so just; as not to have one time or other deserved Death (12). The Rigour of Justice is not less dangerous to the Crown, Life, and Empires, than Injustice. Of this King *Jobn* the Second is an Example, who for his great Severity became odious to his People: And King *Peter* the Cruel, lost thereby his Kingdom and Life too. Let Justice and Mercy walk hand in hand, so link'd together, as if they were Parts of the same Body, yet so that one may be us'd without Offence to the other. For this reason God gave not the flaming Sword, which guarded Paradise, to a Seraphim, which is all Love and Mercy; but to a Cherubim, a Spirit of Knowledge, who knew better how to temper Justice with Clemency (13). Nothing is more pernicious than a Prince over-merciful. In the times of *Nerva* they us'd to say, That 'twas more difficult to live under a Prince who bore with all, than one who bore with nothing. For he is not less Cruel who pardons all, than he who forgives none, nor is excessive Mercy less prejudicial to the People than Cruelty (14); and sometimes Indulgence and Forbearance does more mischief than the Crime it self. For wickedness grows bolder, when it can promise it self pardon. 'Twas the Clemency, or rather Negligence of King *Henry* the Fourth, that made his Reign as Bloody as that of King *Peter* was by his Cruelty. Clemency and Severity, the one profuse, and the other moderate, make the Prince beloved (15). He who can neatly and pru-

(12) *Vix enim quisquam adeo mali expertus, ut non aliquam mortem mereatur.* Tac. 2. Ann. (13) And he plac'd at the east end of the Garden of Eden Cherubims, and a flaming Sword, Gen. 3. 24. (14) *Faliciores sunt improbi, supplicia luentes, quam si eos nulla iustitia pena coerceat.* Boet. lib. 4. Phil. (15) *Mirumque amorem affectum erat effusa clementia, modicum ferocitate.* Tac. 6. Ann.

dently temper these Virtues, can't chuse but govern well; nay, his whole Reign will be a tuneful Harmony, like that which proceeds from a Base and Treble (16). Heaven produces Corn by the mildness of its Dew, and preserves it by the rigour of its Frosts and Snows. If God were not merciful, we should fear him, but not adore him; both these Virtues make him both fear'd and lov'd. Therefore *Alphonfus*, King of *Arragon*, us'd to say, by Justice I oblige the good, the bad by Clemency. The one compels their Fear, the other engages their Love. Confidence of pardon makes Subjects arrogant, and excessive Clemency creates Contempt and Disrespect, and occasions the Ruin of Governments.

(16) I will sing of Mercy and Judgment, unto thee, O Lord, will I sing.

EMBLEM XXIII.



THERE are no greater Chymists than Princes, who set a value upon worthless Trifles in bestowing them upon others as a Reward of Virtue (1). The Romans invented several sorts of Crowns, as Mural, Civick, and Naval, as glorious Badges of great and worthy Exploits; these Nature suppl'd them with as Grass, Palm, and Bays; of which without any cost they made those Crowns. The Treasury would not have been sufficient to have rewarded Services, had not that politic Invention of Crowns been thought on; which being given as publick Testimonies of Va-

(1) Imperator aliquando torquibus, murali, & civica donat; quid habet per se pretiosum, quid pretexta, quid fasces, quid tribunal, quid curulus? nil horum honor est, sed honoris insigne. Sen. lib. 1. de Ben.

lour were more valued and esteem'd than Gold or Silver. The Soldiers underwent all Fatigues and Dangers to obtain them. For the same reason the Kings of *Spain* founded Military Orders, whose Badges were not only marks of Nobility, but also of Valour; so that all care ought to be taken to keep up their Value and Esteem, by bestowing them with great attention and respect to Merit; for they are so much esteem'd as they are tokens of Nobility and Bravery; but if without distinction they should be promiscuously conferr'd on all, they would grow cheap and contemptible. And *Arminius* might well jeer his Brother *Flavius* (who follow'd the *Roman* Faction) that when he had lost an Eye in Battel, he should call to mind the Collar and Crown, the cheap Rewards of Slavery (2). The *Romans* so well knew of what advantage 'twas to preserve the Peoples Esteem for those Rewards, that *Tiberius* held a Council about the Qualifications which a Soldier ought to be indow'd with, to merit a Crown of Oak. In the Badge of the Order of *St. James*, (the Figure of this present Emblem) are express'd the Endowments which ought to be consider'd ere it is bestow'd; for the ground-work is a Scollop-shell, the Product of the Sea, bred among Waves and Billows, and inur'd to Fatigues; in its fair Bosom shines the Pearl, the Emblem of Nobility and Virtue, as well for its Purity, as that it is bred by the Dew of Heaven; when these are bestow'd upon Children, or such who have not deserv'd them by any signal Service, they are tokens of Favour, not Rewards. Who will endeavour to merit them by Services, if he can obtain them by diligence? They were instituted for War, not Peace, and so ought to be distributed among those only who have signaliz'd themselves therein, or serv'd at least four Years in the Army, and made themselves fit for Preferment (3), which doubtless would induce more of the

(2) *Irridente Arminio vilia servitii premia.* Tac. 2. Ann. (3) *Honoris augmentum non ambitione, sed labore ad unumquemque convenit pertinere.* L. contra publicam C. de re milit.

Nobility to apply their minds to Arms, and the Art of War would flourish more.

This, because the *Athenians* neglected, they became a Prey to the *Macedonians* (4). *Alexander Severus* considering the importance of gratifying the Soldiery, as being the Foundation and Security of the Empire, divided the Contributions among them; esteeming it a great Crime to squander it away in Luxury, or upon his Courtiers (5).

Let other Rewards be common to all, who signalize themselves either in War or Peace; to this end the Scepter was endow'd with Riches, Honours, and Offices; as also with the Power and Authority of Justice, that with these it might punish Offences; with those reward Virtue and Valour.

Without Rewards and Punishments, Governments would be in Confusion, for they are the Spirit that maintains and preserves them; without them they can't subsist, for the hopes of Reward engage Respect, and the fear of Punishment, Obedience, even against the natural desire of Liberty. Hence the Ancients represented Empire by a Whip, as may be seen in some Consular Coins; and 'twas a Prognostick of the Grandeur of *Augustus*, who dreaming that *Jupiter* offer'd him a Whip; he interpreted it to be the *Roman Empire*, which had been erected and maintain'd by Rewards and Punishments. Who would refrain from Vice if there were no Punishments? Who would expose themselves to Dangers, were there no Rewards? *Democritus* considering that the World could not be govern'd without them, call'd them *Two Gods of the World*. They are the Poles of the Orb of Civil Authority, the two Lights of a State, without which it would be over-

(4) *Tunc vestigial publicum, quo antea milites & remiges alebantur, cum urbani populo dividi ceperunt, quibus rebus effectum est, ut inter omnia grecorum, foedum & oblitum antea Macedonum nomen emergeret.* Trog. l. 6. (5) *Aurum & a gemmum raro cuiquam nisi militi divisi, nefas esse dicunt, ut dispensator publicus in seclationes suas & suorum converteret, id quod proximus detulisset.* Lamp. in Vir. Alex.

whelm'd in foggy darknefs: They are the Props of Princes Thrones (6). For this reason *Ezekiel* commanded King *Zedekiah* to lay down his Crown and other Regalia, as being unworthy of them, in that he could not distribute Rewards with Justice (-). The Prince in acknowledging Merits, acknowledges a Reward due, for they are Relatives; and if he gives not that, he is unjust. The importance of Rewards and Punishments was not well consider'd by the Legislators and Lawyers, who have been altogether upon Penalties and Punishments, without ever mentioning Rewards. That wise Legislator of the *Partidas* consider'd better of this; for that he might join one with the other, he intituled it particularly of *Rewards*.

Since therefore Rewards and Punishments are so necessary for a Prince, that without this Balance he can't walk steadily upon the Rope of Government, he ought well to consider the right use of them. For this reason the Lictors Rods were bound up; but the Crowns being made of Leaves, which soon fade, were wrought after the Victory; that while those were loos'd, and these were finish'd, some time might interfere between the Fault and the Punishment, between the Desert and the Reward, and that the Merit and Demerit might be duly consider'd. Rewards inconsiderately given, scarce merit thanks. He soon repents, who bestows them rashly; nor is Virtue safe from him, who punishes without Discretion. If the Punishment be extravagant, the People excuse the Fault, and blame the Severity. If Virtue and Vice be equally rewarded, the one is disgusted, the other becomes insolent. If in equality of Merit, one is rewarded above the other, it creates Envy and Ingratitude; for Envy and Gratitude for the same thing, can never go together; and the method of dispensing Rewards and Punishments ought to be consider'd; for Rewards ought not to be deferr'd till

(6) For the Throne is establish'd by righteousness, *Prov.* 16. 12.
 (7) Remove the Diadem, and take off the Crown, &c. *Ezek.* 21. 26.
 they

they grow despicable, as being despair'd of; nor Punishments till they seem not due, as being aton'd for by length of time, or as not being now exemplary to others, for as much as the Cause is wholly worn out of Memory. King *Alphonso* the Wise, one of your Highness's Progenitors, very judiciously admonish'd his Posterity, how they ought to behave themselves in Rewards and Punishments, saying, *That we ought to behave our selves with Moderation, as well in the Good we do, as in the Ill we punish; for that in both the one and the other we must have regard to the Circumstances of the Person, Time and Place, and that the World properly speaking is supported but by the Observation of these two things, Rewarding those that do well, and Punishing those that do otherwise.* Sometimes 'twill be convenient to defer the distribution of Rewards, that they may not seem due from Justice, and that those who expect them, flush'd with those hopes, may more vigorously perform their Duty; nor is there any Merchandise cheaper, than that which is bought with the hopes of Reward. 'Tis certain Men do more out of hopes than for Rewards already receiv'd. Whence it appears how prejudicial is Succession in Publick Offices and Rewards, which *Tiberius* consider'd when he oppos'd the Proposal of *Gallus*, that the Candidates should be nam'd every five Years, who should succeed in the Lieutenancies of Legions, and the Prætorship; for that others, for want of hopes, would flag in their Duty and Service (8). In which *Tiberius* did not only respect the publick Detriment, but also that he should hereby lose the Prerogative of distributing Rewards, in which he conceiv'd the strength of his Government consisted (9). And so by a plausible Oration he retain'd his Authority (10). Court Favourites, uncertain of the continuance of their Power,

(8) *Subverti leges, quæ sua spatia exercendæ Candidatorum industria, quærendisque haud potiundis honoribus statuerint.* Tac. 2. Ann.

(9) *Haud dubium erat, eam sententiam altius penetrare, & arcana imperii tentari.* Tac. 2. Ann. (10) *Atque ita favorabili in speciem oratione, sibi imperii retinuit.* Ibid.

rarely remedy this inconvenience of future Succession, thereby to adjust their own Actions, to weaken the Prince's Power, and free themselves from the importunity of Petitioners.

A Prince being as it were the Heart of his State, as King *Alphonso* said, *The vital Spirits of Riches and Rewards, should by it be imparted to the other Members, even the remotest Parts, though they cannot enjoy his Presence, should nevertheless participate of his Favours.* Princes are seldom mov'd by this consideration. They usually Reward those only who are about them, being overcome either by the importunity of Petitions, or by the flattery of their Courtiers, or through want of Resolution to refuse them. And so as Rivers only refresh the Grounds through which they run; so they gratify and reward those only who are near them, unmindful of the Pains and Perils their Foreign Ministers undergo to preserve their Authority, and to do that which they themselves cannot. All Favours are shared among Courtiers and Parasites; those Services are most valued, which smell of Civet and Pulville, not those which are smear'd with Blood and Dust; those which are seen, not those which are heard of at a distance; as well because flattery sooner strikes the Eyes than Ears, as because the Mind is tickled with the vain Glory of present Submissions and Acknowledgements. For these Reasons Court-Services are sooner rewarded than Desert, Ambition before Zeal, and Complaisance before Fatigue and Toil. A Splendor which pays it self.

He, who does Absent Services may perhaps be commended, not rewarded. He will be for a while fed with vain Hopes and Promises, but will at last die starv'd with Despair. The Remedy is coming sometimes to Court, for no Letters or Memorials are so persuasive as Presence. The Buckets of Pretention are not to be fill'd, unless they are dipp'd into the Court-waters. The Presence of Princes is as fertile as that of the Sun. All things flourish when that shines, but fade and wither in its absence. To him who stands under the Tree, the

the Fruit drops into his hand. Whence all covet to live at Court, and decline Foreign Employments, in which the Prince has most need of Ministers. This would be remedied, if the Bait of Rewards was thrown farther off, if they were bestow'd where deserv'd, not where they are begg'd; without need of Petitions or Importunities. King *Theodorick* comforted the absent, saying, That from his Court he observ'd their Actions, and discern'd their Merits (11). *Pliny* said of *Trajan*, that it was easier for his Eyes to forget the Persons of the absent, than for his Mind not to remember his Love towards them (12). Yet this advice for absent Ministers to repair sometimes to Court, ought not to be effected, by desiring to be dismiss'd from their Offices, but still retaining them, by giving several Reasons to get leave of the Prince to be sometimes with him; for so they may obtain what they desire, still retaining that which if they should quit, might be confer'd upon another. Many either dissatisfied with their present Station, or Ambitious of greater, resign it, and afterwards repent, finding their Hopes and Expectations frustrated, for the Prince looks upon it as a Slighting and Contempt of his Favour. Let no man presume so much upon his own Person and Parts, as to think the Prince can't Live without him. For Princes never want Ministers, and being once Slighted, they often forget their Chiefest. This I speak to those who canvass for publick Employments, not those who knowing the Vanity of them, choose to live Solitarily and Retir'd. Only let them consider, that great Souls form'd for Business, don't always find in retirement that Ease and Tranquility of Mind, which they propose, and being once engag'd therein, without being able to change their Resolutions, they live and die miserable.

(11) *Abunde cognoscetur quisquis fama teste laudatur; quapropter longissime constitutum mentis nostræ oculus serenus inspexit & vidit meritum.* Cassid. lib. 9. cap. 22. (12) *Facilius quippe est, ut oculis ejus cultus absentis, quam animo charitas excidat.* Plin. in Paneg.

Modesty in receiving Rewards and Gratuities, is of great use, together with such a prudent Carriage, as may make them appear Obligations to farther Services, not to drain the Prince's Liberality, for this obliges him yet more: As God, when *Solomon* ask'd for nothing but an understanding Heart, not only gave him that, but also Riches and Glory (13). They ought not to be demanded as a Debt, for Virtue is to it self a fair and large Reward; and though some acknowledgement be due, yet does it depend upon the Prince's Favour. And all had rather it should be receiv'd as their Bounty, not a just Debt to desert. Whence Princes are more inclin'd to Reward liberally small Services, but great ones more sparingly, for they think they shall receive more acknowledgments from the one, than the other. Whence he who has receiv'd many favours, may expect to receive more, for Bounty once bestow'd causes farther Benefits. For a Prince had rather another should acknowledge himself his Debtor, than he his, the first being the more honourable. *Lewis* the Eleventh, King of *France*, used to say, *That he had more regard for one, who for small Services had been well rewarded, than for others who for great Services had receiv'd but small Reward.* The Emperor *Theodorick* owning this failure, confess'd, *That 'twas from Ambition that Rewards sprouted out, without the least care of him who planted them, and that it provok'd him to give more to those whom he had once began to favour* (14). This is visible in Favourites, towards whom Princes Favour and Liberality seem a kind of Obstinacy.

(13) And I have also given thee that which thou hast not ask'd, both Riches and Honour; so that there shall not be any among the Kings like unto thee, in thy days, 1 Kings 3. 13. (14) *Anamius nostra beneficia germinare, nec semel prestat largituris collata fastidium, magisque nos provocant ad frequens premium, qui initia nostrae gratiae suscipere meruerunt; novis enim judicium impenditur, favor autem semel placitis exhibetur*, *Cas. lib. 2. Epitt. 2.*

EMBLEM XXIV.

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THough (as we have said before) Justice arm'd with the Laws, and Rewards, and Punishments, are the Pillars which support the Structure of the State, yet will these Pillars be in the Air, unless founded upon the Basis of Religion, which is the Bond of the Laws; for the Jurisdiction of Justice comprehends only external Acts, legitimately approv'd of; but don't extend to private and internal ones. It has Authority only over the Body, not the Mind; so that Wickedness would little heed Punishment, when it could privately commit Injuries, Adulteries, and Rapine; nay, he would make a jest of the Laws, were there not another invisible one, menacing within. So necessary is this fear in a Government, that some Atheistical Persons esteem Religion but a meer Politick Invention; who without

 it

it would be content with his Poverty and present Condition? What Trust in Bonds and Covenants? What Integrity in the Administration of Goods? What Fidelity in Offices and Employments? What Security of Life? Few would be entic'd by Rewards, if they cou'd obtain the same thing by private Injustice; few would be charm'd with the Beauty of Virtue, if through hopes of a more lasting Garland than one of Palm, they did not confine themselves to the strict Rules of Contineny. Vices would soon confound the Order of Government, without the principal end of Happiness, which consists in Virtue, and in this Foundation and Bulwark of Religion, which sustains and defends the Civil Power, if the People did not think that there was another Supream Tribunal to Judge the Thoughts and Imaginations, whose Rewards and Punishments will be Eternal. The hope and fear of this being born in the most barbarous and impious Sinners, do regulate and compose their Actions. *Caligula* scoff'd at, and ridiculed the Gods; yet, when it Thundered he was forc'd to own a Supream Hand, which had Power to punish him. This Hand all acknowledge, for there is no Heart which is not touch'd with that Divine Magnet. And as the Mariners Needle from a certain natural Sympathy, is in perpetual Motion, till it stops at the Light of that fix'd *North* Star, about which all the Cœlestial Orbs are turned, so we can't live quietly till we acknowledge and adore that increated *North*, in which is true rest, and from whence proceeds the Motion of all things. Who ought to observe this more than a Prince, who is the Pilot of the State, upon whose care it depends to bring the Ship safe into Port? Nor is it enough for him to seem to look at that, while he keeps his Eyes upon other dark and obscure ones, for so he would lose his Course, and run the Vessel upon Sands and Rocks, and so make a Wreck. The People will be divided in Opinions, and thence into Factions, from whence arise Plots and Seditions, and from them

changes in States and Empires *. More Princes are ruined by Dissention in Religion than by Arms. For which reason the Sixth Council of *Toledo* prudently enacted †, That no Prince should come to the Crown before he had first taken an Oath not to tolerate any one in his Realm who was not a Christian. *Spain* could never be at quiet till it rejected the Errors of *Arius*, and wholly embrac'd the Catholick Religion, since which the People have liv'd so happily, that when King *Weterick* afterwards endeavour'd to introduce that Sect, he was kill'd in his very Palace; but notwithstanding many like Examples, there are some who dare impiously teach Princes to dissemble and counterfeit Religion. He who dissembles it, does not believe it. And if this Dissimulation be a politick Artifice to unite Peoples Minds, and to maintain the State, true Religion would better do it than false, for this is fading, that Eternal. Many Empires founded upon false Religions, proceeding from Ignorance, God has preserv'd a long time, rewarding by that means their Morality, and blind Worship, and barbarous Sacrifices, with which they sought him; not that they were acceptable to him, but for the religious Simplicity wherewith they were sometimes offer'd. But has never preserv'd those Empires, which counterfeited Religion more through Malice and Artifice than Ignorance. *St. Isidore*, at his Death, foretold the *Spaniards*, that if they stray'd from the True Religion they should be subdu'd by their Enemies; but if they persisted in it, their Grandeur should be rais'd above all Nations. Which was verified by the Yoak of the *Africans*, which began from the time that *Wiriza* deny'd Obedience to the Pope, after which liberty of Worship, and licentiousness of Vice disturbed the Publick Peace, and ruined Military Discipline, which brought heavy Misfortunes upon the King himself, and his Sons, as well as upon the Kingdom; till being subdu'd and chastis'd, *Spain* acknow-

* *Mar. Hist. of Spain.* † *Concil. Tolet, cap. 3.*

ledg'd its Errors, and again found Heaven propitious in that little handful of Christians, with which *Pelagius* retir'd into a Cave in the Mountain *Aufena*, call'd *Cavalonga*, where the Arrows and Stones of the Moors were miraculously retorted upon themselves †. From that the Monarchy began to revive, and rose (though after a long time) to that greatness, which it at present enjoys, as a Reward of its constancy in the Catholick Religion.

Since then, Religion is the Soul of Governments, a Prince ought to use all possible care to preserve it; The first Spirit which *Romulus*, *Numa*, *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Plato*, and other Founders, infus'd into them, was Religion (1), for that unites Mens minds more than necessity. The Emperors, *Tiberius* and *Adrian* prohibited all Foreign Religion, and were wholly intent upon the Preservation of their own: As also *Theodosius* and *Constantine*, who established Laws and Punishments against those who revolted from the Catholick Faith. Their Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, never tolerated the Exercise of any other Religion. In which commendable was the Constancy of King *Philip* the Second, and his Successors, who could never be induc'd to compose the Seditions of the *Netherlands* by Toleration of Liberty of Conscience, though they might thereby have retain'd those Provinces, and sav'd those Immense Treasures which were expended in the War. They prefer'd the Honour and Glory of God to their own Ease and Tranquility; imitating *Flavius Jovianus*, who being proclaim'd Emperor by the Army, excus'd himself, saying, *That he was a Christian, and that 'twas not fit he should Command them who were not so, and would not Consent till all the Soldiers had promis'd to turn Christians.* Though he might inherit this pious Constancy from his Ancestors, since the Eighth Council of

† Mar. Hist. of Spain. (1) *Omnium primam rem ad multitudinem imperitam efficacissimam Deorum metum injiciendum ratus.* Liv.

Toledo mentions the same thing of King *Receſvintbus* (2). Of which Piety your Royal Highneſs's Father, *Philip* the Fourth of glorious Memory, is a ſignal Example to your Royal Highneſs. In the beginning of whoſe Reign it being argu'd in Council, whether the Truce ſhould be continued with the *Dutch*; and ſome of his Counſellors urging that it was not Policy to begin War, or any change of Affairs, in the beginning of a Reign; he oppos'd them, ſaying, *That he would not have his Name branded with the Infamy of having maintain'd one hours Peace with the Enemies of God and his Crown*; and ſo immediately broke the Truce. For this ardent Zeal and Conſtancy in the Catholick Religion, King *Rece-redus* merited the Name of Catholick, (as long before the Kings of *France* that of moſt Chriſtian). In the Third Council of *Toledo*, and in that of *Barcelona*, which Title the Kings *Sifebutus* and *Erwigius* kept, which their Succeſſors afterwards loſt, till re-aſſum'd by King *Alphonſo* the Firſt, to diſtinguiſh him from Hereticks and Schiſmaticks.

Though 'tis a King's Duty to maintain Religion in his Realms, and to promote the Worſhip of God, as his Vicars in Temporal Affairs, that they may Govern to his Glory, and their Subjects Safety; yet they ought to know that 'tis not in them to decide Contröverſies in Religion and Divine Worſhip, for the care of this belongs directly to the Spiritual Head of the Church, to whom alone Chriſt has given this Authority, the Execution, Preſervation, and Defence thereof only is committed to Kings, as that Head ſhall order and direct. The Priests ſharply check'd King *Uzziab*, and God ſeverely puniſh'd him becauſe he offer'd Incenſe (3). 'Tis neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Purity of

(2) *Ob hoc ſai Regni apicem à Deo ſolidari præſtaret, ſi Catholica fidei per eantium turnas acquireret, indignum reputans Catholica fidei Principem ſacrilegis imperare.* Concil. Tol. 6. cap. 11. (3) And they withſtood *Uzziab* the King, and ſaid unto him, it appertaineth not unto thee, *Uzziab*, to burn Incenſe unto the Lord, but to the Priests, 2 *Chron.* 26. 18.

Religion, that it be the same in all the Parts of the Christian World. True Worship would soon be lost, if each Prince might accommodate it to his own Ends and Designs. In those Provinces and Kingdoms where this has been attempted, there scarce remain any Tracts thereof, so that the poor distracted People are wholly ignorant of the True Religion. The Spirituality and Temporality are two distinct Jurisdictions; this is adorn'd by the Authority of the other, and that is maintain'd by the others Power. 'Tis an Heroick Obedience which submits to the Vicar of him who disposes of Crowns and Scepters. As arbitrary and free from the Laws as Princes pretend to be, they must still pay Obedience to the Apostolick Decrees, and are oblig'd to give force to them, and see them strictly observ'd in their Dominions; especially when 'tis not only expedient for the Spiritual, but also the Temporal Good, that those Holy Decrees be put in Execution, nor should they suffer any one to violate them, to the damage and prejudice of their Subjects, and their Religion.

EMBLEM XXV.



THE Stork builds its Nest upon the Church Steeple, and by the Sanctity of the Place makes its Succession secure. The Prince who founds his Kingdom upon the Triangular stone of the Church, renders it strong and lasting. The *Atbenians* once consulting the Oracle of *Dulphi*, how they might defend themselves against *Xirxes*, who with a vast Fleet of twelve Hundred Sail, was coming to fall on them, were answer'd, That if they could fence their City with a wooden Wall they should get the better; *Themistocles* interpreted *Apollo's* meaning to be, that all the Citizens should go on Ship-board; which done they obtain'd a Victory over that prodigious Fleet. The same Success will attend a Prince, who shall embark his Grandeur in the Ship of the Church; for if this by the Testimony of

of another Oracle not fabulous and uncertain, but infallible and divine, cannot be sunk, neither can that which is embark'd in it. For this reason your Highness's glorious Ancestors, were us'd to consecrate part of the Spoils they took in War from their Enemies, to God, as the Lord of Victories who fought for them, offering for his Worship very considerable Revenues and Possessions, whence innumerable Foundations and Endowments of Churches, Cathedrals, and Convents, took their rise; having built in *Spain* above Seventy thousand Churches. Of which *Samy*, the first King of *Arragon*, alone, built a Thousand, consecrated to the Blessed Virgin, which his Munificence was amply rewarded by the many Conquests he made, and Victories he won, having fought Thirty three Battels, in all which he came off victorious. These pious Works were like Religious Colonies, render'd by their Spiritual Arms not less powerful than Military ones; for Artillery make not so great Breaches as Prayer. The Prayers of the *Israelites* for seven Days beat down the Walls of *Jericho* (1). Riches are therefore better repositied in Temples than Treasuries; not only against extream necessity, but that as by them Religion flourishes, the State may with it. The *Athenians* kept theirs in that of *Delphi*, as did many other Nations. What better Guardian than the Sovereign Arbitrator of Kingdoms? Our Hearts at least will be in the Churches, if our Treasures are there (2). Wherefore their Council is no less impious than imprudent, who under the slightest pretence of publick Necessity are for pillaging them. He is not worthy the Protection of Divine Providence, who diffident of God's Power, upon every accident has his Eye upon the Furniture of his House. When King *Ferdinand* the Holy, wanted Money to carry on the Siege of *Scvil*, and some advis'd him to

(1) And the People shouted with a great shout, that the Wall fell down flat, so that the People went up into the City, every Man strait before him, and they took the City, *Jos. 6. 20.* (2) For where your Treasure is, there will your Heart be also, *Mat. 6. 21.*

supply the Deficiency of his Exchequer out of the Church-Treasures. He made answer, I promise myself more from the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Priests, than from their Riches; which Piety and Confidence, God abundantly recompenc'd the very next day by the Surrender of the City. Those Kings, who have done otherwise, have left severe Examples of their Sacrilegious Presumption. *Gunderick*, King of the *Vandals*, going to Plunder *St. Vincent's*, fell down dead as he was entering it. The great Misfortunes of *Alphonso*, King of *Arragon*, were thought to be God's Judgments upon him, for having robb'd his Sacred Houses. *Queen Uraca* died at the very Door of *St. Isidore's* at *Leon*, the Treasures of which she had embeziled. *Sancho*, King of *Arragon*, was shot through the Arm with an Arrow, for that he had defil'd his Hands with the Plunder of Churches. And though, in *St. Victorio's* at *Rota*, he publickly confess'd his Crime, and with Tears and all imaginable Signs of Contrition, offering Restitution and Amendment, yet it pleas'd God to publish his Offence in his Punishment, as a warning to others. King *John* the First, was routed and kill'd at the Battel of *Aliubanota*, for having made use of the Treasures of the Church of *Guadaloupe*. Upon the Surrender of *Cajeta* to *Frederick*, King of *Naples*, the *French* loaded two Ships with the Plunder of the Churches, both which were lost.

But in all these Cases, extream necessity had not place; for then right Reason allows Princes for their Preservation, to make use of such Riches, as out of a pious Liberality themselves have laid up in these Holy Places, provided it be with a Resolution to restore them when the Prosperity of their Affairs shall put them in a Capacity. As their Catholick Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* did, having obtain'd a Grant from the Parliament of *Medina del Campo*, of the Church-Plate to defray Expences of War. And the Sacred Canons and Councils have prescrib'd certain Cases and Circumstances of Necessity or Danger, wherein Ecclesiasticks are

are bound to assist the Publick with their Contributions; and certainly 'twould be inexcusable Avarice in them not to regard Common Necessities. They are the most noble and principal Part of a State; and if for them, or for Religion, others are oblig'd to expose their Lives, why not they their Riches? If the State maintains and keeps them, it may very justly expect a reciprocal Relief from them for its Conservation and Defence. The People would be discourag'd from paying Tyths, and other Church Duties, if in Common Calamities there were none to ease them of extraordinary Burthens; they will blame their own Piety, and their Zeal and Devotion, for any new Offerings, Donatives, and Legacies to the Church will slacken. 'Tis therefore highly reasonable that the Clergy in Cases of this Nature, aid the Publick with their Revenues, not only for that the danger or benefit equally respects all; but withal, lest the Goods and Estates of the Laity be so oppress'd, that Tillage, and with it Tythes, and other pious Works must fail. In such cases, Church-Plate shews better in Bars in the Mint, than in Chalicees and Cups in the Vestry.

This Obligation upon the State Ecclesiastical, is more strict in the more urgent necessities of the *Spanish* Kings; for almost all the Foundations and Endowments of Churches being the Effects of their pious Liberality, they are in Justice bound mutually to relieve their Patrons in necessity, and oblige them to continue their Munificence in better times. These, and many other Reasons, have prevail'd with the Apostolick See, to be so liberal to the Kings of *Spain*, in granting them the use of the Church goods, to maintain their Wars against the Infidels. *Gregory* the Seventh granted *Sancho Ramirez* King of *Arragon*, the Tythes and Revenues of all the Churches, either newly built or gain'd from the *Moors*, to dispose of as he pleas'd. The same Grant also *Pope Urban* made to *Peter* the First, King of *Arragon*, his Successors and Grandees of his Kingdom, excepting the Churches of Residence. *Innocent* the Third granted the

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the Bull of the *Croisade* for the War of *Spain*, which was call'd the Holy War; which favour, Pope *Calixtus* afterwards in *Henry* the Fourth's time extended both to the living and the dead. *Gregory* the Tenth, gave King *Alphonsus* the Wise, the third Part of the Tythes which were design'd for Building: This began afterwards to be perpetuated in *John* the Second's Reign; and *Alexander* the Sixth extended it also to the Kingdom of *Granada*. *John* the Twenty Second, granted the Tythes of the Church Revenues, and the *Croisade* to King *Alphonsus* the Eleventh. *Urban* the Fifth, a third Part of the Benefices of *Castile* to *Peter* the Cruel. *Sixtus* the Fourth, consented to have the Clergy contribute at one time an hundred thousand Ducates for the War of *Granada*; which favour several other Popes continued. *Julius* the Second, granted *Emanuel*, King of *Portugal*, the third Part of the Revenue which belong'd to the Church-Building, and the Tythes of all other Ecclesiastical Incomes. These Subsidies ought not to be spent but in Necessities, and for the Publick Uses, to which they were design'd. This Queen *Isabella* so religiously observ'd, That seeing Ninety Millions rais'd by the *Croisade*, she immediately commanded they should be employ'd to the very Uses prescribed by the Apostolick Bulls. Those Favours will shine more, and produce better Fruit, when so expended. But Necessities and Danger usually confound all things, and easily wrest the Popes meaning to what was not intended.

EMBLEM XXVI.



IT was an impious Opinion, that of those who impatiently asserted the Heathens to have had more Courage than the Christians; upon this ground, that their Superstition strengthened their Minds, and render'd them more fierce and manly by the dismal sight of so many bloody Victims, as they offer'd to the Gods in their Sacrifices; and held them only to be Men of Courage and Magnanimity, who got the better of other Nations rather by force than reason: Accusing on the contrary the Institution of our Religion for recommending Humility and Meekness; Virtue is good for nothing but to make Men mean spirited. What an impious and unreasonable Opinion this! The spilling of Blood may indeed make the Mind more barbarous and cruel, more valiant it never can. Fortitude and Magnanimity enter
not

not at the Eyes, but are born within the Breast; nor are those the most generous, who are most pleas'd with the Blood and Slaughter of Beasts, or who live on Man's Flesh. Our Religion does not contemn Magnanimity, but rather promotes it, not by proposing to us temporary and corruptible Rewards, as the *Pagan* Superstition does, but eternal ones never to have an end. And if a simple Crown of Lawrel, which begins to fade as soon as gathered, inspired so much Courage then, what won't now that everlasting one of Stars (1)? Is it that the Heathens have expos'd themselves to greater Dangers than the Christians? No, for if at any time they assaulted a City, or forc'd a Camp, it was under Shields and Targets. Whereas now Christians must make their way through thick Showers of Bullets, and the Thunder and Lightning of Gunpowder. 'Tis a mistake to imagine Humility and Valour incompatible; they are rather so closely connect-ed, that without the former this is impracticable; nor can true Valour be where there is not Humility, Patience, and in general all other Virtues. For he only is really Valiant that can subdue his Passions, and is free from all Perturbation of Mind; a Study the *Stoicks* have bestow'd much labour on, and after them the Christians with greater success. He makes but a very small progress in it, who suffers himself to be transported with Anger and Pride. This is truly Heroical to conquer ones Lusts and Appetites. The Mind where these Conflicts are, is none of the easiest Fields of Battel; he who has learnt thus much Submission, to bend the Knee to another, will upon occasion easily despise Danger, and with undaunted Resolution submit his Neck to the Ax. The Heathen Religion, 'tis true, has produced many great Commanders, such as were the *Cæsars*, *Scipios*, and abundance of others, but certainly the Christian has furnisht us with no less con-

(1) Now they do it to obtain a corruptible Crown, but we an incorruptible, 1 Cor. 9. 25.

siderable ones in the Persons of the *Alphonso's* and *Ferdinands* of *Castile*, as well as other Kings of *Arragon*, *Navarre*, and *Portugal*. What Valour could possibly equal that of the Emperor *Charles* the Fifth? What great Generals has Antiquity ever celebrated, which have not been equall'd, if not been surpass'd by *Gonzalez Ferdinand* of *Cordova*, *Fernan Cortez*, *Antony de Liewe*, *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquiss of *Pescara*; *Alphonso d'Avalos*, Marquiss of *Guast*; *Alexander Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*; *Andrew d'Oria*, *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, *Ferdinand Alvarez* of *Toledo*, Duke of *Alba*; the Marquisses of *Sancta Cruz*; the Earl of *Fuentes*, Marquiss *Spinola*, *Lewis Faxardo*, and almost infinite others; as well *Spainards* as others, never sufficiently to be commended by Fame. To whom may deservedly be applied what *St. Paul* said of those Great Captains, *Gideon*, *Barak*, *Sampson*, *Jephtha*, *David*, and *Samuel*, that by Faith they subdued Kingdoms; waxed valiant in Fight, turn'd to Flight the Armies of the *Aliens* (2.) If we will compare the Victories of the Heathens to those of the Christians, we shall find the latter to have been much the greater. In the Battel of *Navas* were kill'd Two hundred thousand *Moors*, with the loss only of Twenty five on our side; finding the Camp so covered with Spears and Darts, that though the Victors staid there two Days, using no other Fuel but the Wood of them; they could not consume them, even, though they endeavour'd it. There fell more in the Battel of *Salado*, with the loss but of Twenty Christians. And in that Naval Victory, which *Don John* of *Austria* obtain'd over the *Turks* at *Lepanto*, there were no less than an Hundred and eighty Gallies sunk and taken: Which Victories Christians attribute not to their own Valour, but to the True God whom they adore. An Heart confiding in God, as effectually stays an Enemy, as a Hand arm'd with a Sword, as *Judas Ma-*

(2) Heb. 11. 33, 34.

cbabæus found (2). 'Tis God who governs the Hearts; 'tis he that imparts Courage and Strength, that grants or denies Victories (4). He would be an Impostor, and could not be clear'd from the Imputation of Fraud; were he rather assisting to those who adore false Gods, whose Idolatrous Sacrifices all tend to procure their favour. But if he sometimes also permit them to be Victorious, 'tis not to be ascrib'd to their Devotion, but to other secret Causes of Divine Providence. In the Thirst which the *Roman* Army suffer'd in the War against the *Marcomanni*; God could not be pleas'd with the Prayers and Sacrifices of the Heathen Legions, but when the Tenth compos'd of Christians, at last implor'd his aid, he sent down plentiful Showers to them, but to the Enemy Thunder and Lightning, so that they obtain'd an easy Victory, whence it was afterwards call'd the Thundring Legion. If that Faith were still, it would still work the same effects; but whether through want of that, or for some other secret Ends, God does sometimes permit those to be triumph'd over, who pay him true Adoration; but then the Victory is not a Reward to the Conqueror, but a Chastisement to the Conquered. Let Princes therefore always hold in their Hands the Flag of the Cross, signified by that Sword which *Jeremiah* gave to *Judas Machabæus* to wound his Adversaries withal (5), and on their Arms the Buckler of Religion, and continually before their Eyes, that eternal Fire which went before the *Persian* Monarchs: An Emblem of that other incomprehensible Fire from which the Sun receives its Rays. This is the true Religion which the

(3) So that fighting with their Hands, and praying to God with their Hearts, they slew no less than Thirty and five thousand Men, *2 Mach. 15. 27.* (4) Least thou say in thine Heart, my Power, and the might of my Hand hath gotten me this Victory. But thou shalt remember the Lord thy God; for it is he that hath given thee power to get wealth, *Deut. 8. 17, 18.* (5) Take this Holy Sword, a Gift from God, with which thou shalt wound the Adversaries, *2 Mach. 15. 15.*

Soldiers ador'd, as oft as they prostrated themselves before the Emperour *Constantine's* Banner: for when the shape of a Cross in the Heavens made by the Sun's light, with this Inscription, *Thou shalt Conquer under this Sign* *, seem'd to promise him the Victory over *Maxentius*, he commanded a Standard to be made in the same Form with that of the present Emblem, with the Letters *X* and *P*, Cyphers of Christ's Name over it, and the Letters *Alpha* and *Omega*, the Emblem of God, the Beginning and End of all things. This Standard the Emperours after him made use of, till *Fulian* the Apostle's time †; and *Don John* of *Austria* had on all his Colours embroider'd a Cross, with this Motto: *With these Arms I have conquer'd the Turks, and with the same I hope to overcome Hereticks* *: King *Alphonfus* the Great put the Words of *Constantine's* Cross on another sort of Ensign, which he afterwards offer'd in the Church of *Oviedo*: And of those I have thought fit to make use on, as well as *Constansine's* Standard, to form this Emblem, and to imprint on Princes Minds, that Faith and Assurance, with which they ought to erect the Standard of Religion against their Enemies. At the Battel of *Navas*, a Person made way three times through the thickest of the Enemy with the Cross of *Roderigo*, Archbishop of *Toledo*, though all the Darts and Arrows of the *Moors* were aim'd at it, and many stuck in the Lance. Angels are the Guards of this Banner; two Angels upon white Horses, were seen to Fight in the Front of the Battel of *Simaneas*, when King *Ramiro* the Second, vanquish'd the *Moors*; and in that of *Clavigio*, in time of *Ramiro* the First; and also in that of *Merida*, under King *Alphonfus* the Ninth, appear'd that Divine Light, the Son of Thunder, *St. Fago*, Patron of *Spain*, on a White Steed carrying Colours distinguish'd by a Red Cross. No one shall be able to stand before you, (said *Joshua* upon his Death-

* *In hoc signo vinces.* Euseb. l. 9. Hist. St. Ambr. Ep. 29. † *Genebr.* l. 4. Chron. Anno 1572. * *Mar.* Hist of *Spain*.

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Bed) if you put your Hope and Confidence in
God (6): Your Sword shall Conquer thousands, for
he will fight for you (7). The Holy Scriptures are full
of Instances of this Divine Assistance. God put the
very Stars in array against the *Canaanites* (8). Against
the *Amorites* he arm'd the Elements, and rain'd great
Stones from Heaven (9). Nor did the faithful need
any assistance against the *Madianites*, for the Lord set
every Man's Sword against his Fellow (10). Thus,
whoever is God's Enemy, brings Vengeance upon his
own head.

(6) *Josh.* 23. 10. (7) *Ibid.* (8) They fought from Heaven,
the Stars in their courtes fought against *Sifera*. (9) The Lord cast
down great Stones from Heaven upon them to *Azekah*, and they
died, *Josh.* 10. 11. (10) *Judg.* 7. 22.

EMBLEM XXVII.



WHAT, neither Force, nor a close Siege of many Years could do against *Troy*, Fraud at length effected under pretence of Religion, the *Gracians* conveying their Arms into the City within the Body of a Wooden Horse, under pretext of a Vow to *Minerva*. Neither the clattering noise of the Weapons, nor the Advertency of the most prudent Citizens, nor the Consideration that it could not be brought into the City but by a Breach, nor that of its being to continue within the Walls a considerable time, were sufficient to open the Peoples Eyes, and to discover the Treachery: Of such Influence is Religion. This *Scipio Africanus*, *Sylla*, *Sertorius*, *Minos*, *Pisistratus*, *Lycurgus*, and many others, have advantageously made use of to authorize their Laws, and impose upon the People.

The *Phœnicians* coming into *Spain*, built, where *Medina Sidonia* now stands, a Temple in the Form of a Fortress dedicated to *Hercules*, saying, That they were so commanded in a Dream. The *Spaniards* believ'd that to be Devotion which was Stratagem, that to be Piety which was a Trick, whereby religiously to enslave and plunder the People. By means of another Temple on the promontery *Dianea*, (now *Denia*) the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Zante* conceal'd the Design they had of bringing *Spain* under their Subjection. King *Sisenand* having depos'd *Swintbila*, to secure to himself the Crown, call'd a Provincial Synod of about Seventy Bishops, under Colour of making new Laws for regulating Ecclesiastical Discipline which time had corrupted; whereas his chief and real Design was to get *Swintbila* depos'd, and himself inthron'd by a Decree of these Fathers, the better to satisfy the People. Which very Artifice *Ervigius* made use of to confirm his Election, and the Abdication of King *Wamba*. Malice well knows what effect Religion has on Mens minds, and therefore makes that the principal Instrument to execute its Designs, which easily impose upon the simple Vulgar, who, poor Souls, not being able to penetrate all their ends, believe their only tendency is to render God propitious, to make him prosper their Temporal Affairs here, and reward them Eternally hereafter. What nauseous Delusions have Nations swallow'd when gilt with Religion, miserably abandoning themselves to Superstition? What servile and barbarous Custom has not that introduc'd, to the prejudice of Liberty, Life, and Fortune? Let Princes therefore be upon their Guard, in these times particularly, when Policy puts on the Mask of Piety, and not easily admit those Stalking-horses of Religion, which have ruined not only Cities, but whole Countries and Kingdoms. For, if under that Title, Ambition and Avance creep in, and the People be oppress'd, they will renounce God's easy Yoak, and will look upon this Natural and Divine Law of Religion to be nothing but a piece of state Policy; and that

Princes

Princes under that Veil conceal their Methods to keep Subjects in Allegiance, and strip them of their Fortunes. Let Princes therefore throughly examine, whether the Novelty introduc'd be really upon the account of Religion, or meerly a specious pretence to the prejudice of their Power and Authority, to the detriment of their Subjects, or the Publick Peace; which they may find out by the ends it proposes, by observing to what such Innovations tend, whether to Interest or Ambition, whether they conduce to the Spiritual Good or not; or if this can't be procur'd by other means less prejudicial. In such cases an Evil is with less danger prevented than afterwards remedied; and the only means to prevent it, is not to give place to these Pretences and Abuses; however, if they be already introduc'd, they ought to be corrected with all the mildness imaginable, not rashly, nor with Violence or extream Rigour; especially, if the Case fall not under the Prince's Jurisdiction; but with extraordinary address, having due respect to the Persons, under whose Cognizance it falls (1), laying before them the truth of the thing, and the ill Consequences and Inconveniencies of it. For if the Secular Prince attempt to do it by force, and those Abuses should be establish'd into a Custom among the People, they will interpret this Violence to be Impiety in the Prince, and rather obey the Priests than him: On the other side, if they see the Ecclesiastical and Civil Power disagree, they will throw off all Obedience, and emboldened by the declared Will of the Prince, they will make an Insurrection against Religion it self, and be insensibly induc'd to believe, the Inconveniencies of these Contentions extend even to the Substance of Religion, which will easily bring them to change their Opinions, and that too. And by this means, the Prince being engag'd in Civil Broils and Dissentions with the Clergy, and the People in new

(1) For the Priest's Lips should keep knowledge, and they should seek the Law at his Mouth, *Malach* 2. 7.

Opinions, all respect for things Sacred will cease, and Errors arise upon the Eclipse of that Divine Luminary which before enlighten'd and united their Minds; which is the source of the Ruin of many Princes, and of the Revolutions of States (2). Great prudence is requisite to govern the People in such matters, for 'tis equally obvious for them to despise them, which is impious; and to be over credulous in them, which is Superstition; this last most frequently happens, in that their Ignorance is presently taken with appearances of Devotion, and new Opinions, before Reason has had time to examine them; wherefore 'tis very necessary gradually to remove from them all occasions of Ruin, those particularly which usually arise from frivolous Disputations about too subtle Points, such as very little, if at all promote Religion, not suffering them to be defended or printed; otherwise they will be divided into Factions, and every one's maintaining his own Opinions with as much Heat and Obstinacy, as if they were Matter of Faith, may occasion no less Disturbances, than even a difference of Religions, or a Toleration of them. It was an Apprehension of this made *Tiberius* forbid the Books of the Sibyls to be seen, whose Prophecies might cause Seditions (3). In the Acts of the Apostles we read, that the Books which contain'd idle Curiosities were burnt (4).

An appearance often miserably deludes the Common People, who blindly follow any Superstitious Devotions with a Submission wholly effeminate, which renders them Melancholy, Cowardly, and very Slaves to their own Imaginations; which debase their Spirits, and prompt them to idle away their time in Convents and Pilgrimages, where oft-times many Abuses and Vices are committed. This is an Infirmary of the Vul-

(2) *Nulla res multitudinem efficacius regit, quam superstitio.* Curtius.

(3) *Censuit Asinius Gallus, ut libri Sibyllini adirentur, renuit Tiberius, perinde divina humanaque obtegens.* Tac. 1. Ann. (4) Many of them also which us'd curious Arts, brought their Books together, and burnt them before all Men, *Acts* 19. 19.

gar, and not a little prejudicial to the Truth of Religion, and the Publick Safety; and unless nipp'd in the Bud, creates great Inconveniencies and Dangers, being a kind of folly that under the appearance of Good does every thing hand over head, following new Notions of Religion, and devilish Inventions. Some Submission is requisite, but that without base and slavish Bigottry; such I mean as has Virtue in esteem, abhors Vice, and holds Labour and Obedience to be more agreeable to God and the Prince, than Convents and Pilgrimages, this Devotion being usually celebrated with Banquets, Balls, and Plays; like that of the People of *Israel* at the Consecration of the Molten Calf (5).

But if the People once begin to be too opinionative in Matters of Religion, and to introduce any Innovations in it, immediate Remedy must be apply'd, and the ill Seed be routed out before it take Root and spread farther, so as to grow into a Body too powerful for the Prince, against whom they may afterwards, if he refuse to conform to their Opinion, contrive some pernicious Innovation in the Government (6). And though the Understanding be free, and without destroying its liberty can't be constrain'd to believe, and so it may seem to belong peculiarly to God Almighty to punish those who have unworthy Sentiments of him (7); yet, would it be of very ill consequence to commit the Decision of the sublimest Mysteries of Faith to the blind and ignorant Mob: 'Tis therefore

(5) And they arose up early on the morrow, and offered burnt offerings, and burnt peace-offerings; and the People sat down to eat, and to drink, and rose up to play, *Exod.* 32. 6. (6) *Est enim qui in divinis aliquid innovant, odio habet, et coercet, non Deorum sed causâ* (quos tamen qui contemnit, nec aliquid fore magni fecerit) sed quæ nova quædam numina hi tales introducentes, multos impellant ad mutationem rerum, unde Conjuraciones, Seditiões, Conciliabula existunt, res profecto minime conducibiles Principum. *Dion.* (7) *Deorum injurias Divæ curæ.* Tac. 1. Ann.

infinitely requisite to oblige Subjects to think, as the Ancient *Germans* did, that there is more Sanctity and Reverence in believing than knowing things Divine (8). What monstrous Errors were a Kingdom obnoxious to, if each man were allow'd to be a Judge in Matters of Religion? Hence the *Romans* were so careful in Prohibiting the Exercise of any new Religion (9), and *Claudius* thought the Foreign Superstitions a sufficient Subject for complaint to the Senate (10). But if Malice have already got footing, and Punishment be too weak to resist the Multitude, 'tis necessary that Discretion perform the part of Fire and Sword: For obstinacy in Faults sometimes increases by an untimely Application of Remedies too violent; nor does Reason always surrender to Force. King *Ricaredus* by dexterously adapting himself to the times, now dissembling, now flattering, brought his Subjects to renounce *Arianism*, and to return to the Catholick Church.

Great Men have anciently made use of Superstition (as we have before intimated) to authorize their Laws, animate their People, and keep them in Subjection and Obedience; to this end they feigned Dreams and Divine Revelations, and pretended to have private Conference with the Gods; but although these Artifices extremely influence the simple People, whose Superstitious Humour is easily affected with things that have an appearance Supernatural: 'Tis not however allowable for Princes to delude them with counterfeit Miracles, and a false shew of Religion. Of what use is the Shadow, where one may enjoy the Light it self? To what purpose those Divine imaginary Prodigies of Heaven, since it gives, as we see, so many real ones

(8) *Sanctius, ac reverentius v sum, de adis Deorum credere, quam scire.* Tac. de Mor. Germ. (9) *Neque nisi Romani Dei, nec quo alio more, quam parvo colerentur,* T. Liv. (10) *Quia externa superstitiones valescant,* Tac. II. Ann.

to those who with a firm Faith and Assurance expect them from Divine Providence? How can an infinitely Just God give success to these Arts which seem to call in question his Care and Concern for things here below, that counterfeit his Omnipotence, and ascribe to him what he is not the Author of? What certainty in Religion can the People promise themselves, if they see it wrested to serve the particular Ends of Princes, and that 'tis nothing but a Veil with which they cover their Designs, and give Truth the lye? That Policy is certainly very unsafe, that is cloak'd with Fraud, very weak and tottering, that is supported by contrivance.

EMBLEM XXVIII.



PRudence is the Rule and Measure of Virtues, without that these degenerate into Vices. Wherefore as other Virtues have theirs in the Appetite, this has its residence in the Intellect, from thence presiding over them all. *Aigatho* calls it a great Goddess. This it is which constitutes the three Forms of Government, Monarchy, Aristocracy, and Democracy, and assigns each of them their Parts conformed to the Subjects Nature, having its Eyes always intent upon their Preservation as the principal end of Politicks. Prudence is the State's Anchor, the Prince's Compass. Where this Virtue fails, the very Soul of Government is wanting. 'Tis this, (says King *Alphonsus*) which makes us see things as they are, and judge what they may be, making us act therein decently, without Tumult and Precipitation.

'Tis

'Tis the peculiar Virtue of Princes (1) and that which above all others renders a Man compleat, which makes Nature so sparing in her Dispensations of it; having given many great Wit and Capacity, very few great Prudence; for defect of which, the more eminent Men are in Dignity, the more dangerous is their Government; for as much as they easily transgress the limits of Reason, and are ruined; besides, that one of Command requires a clear Judgment to discern all things as they are in themselves, to weigh and give each thing its just value. This nice Examination is of very great consequence in Princes, and as Nature contributes much to it, so does Observation and Experience more.

The Virtue of Prudence consists of several Parts reducible to these three Heads; the Memory of past, the Knowledge of present, and the Prospect of future times. All these differences of time are represented in this Emblem, by a Serpent, the Emblem of Prudence, upon an Hour-Glass, which represents Time present, winding it self about a Scepter, and viewing it self in the two Glasses of past and future; with this Verse of *Virgil*, translated from *Homer*, including all three, for the Motto:

What are, what were, and what shall come to pass.

which Prudence looking into regulates, and composes all its Actions.

These three Times are the Mirror of Government, in which by observing the past as well as present Errors and Miscarriages, it dresses and beautifies it self by private and acquired Experience: Of the former I treat in another place. The acquir'd is either attain'd by Conversation or History. Conversation is very beneficial, though something more limited, being appre-

(1) *Nam recte disponere, recteque judicare, qui potest, is est Princeps & imperator.* Menand.

hended with less difficulty, abundantly more satisfactory of all Doubts and Questions, and consequently more improving. History is a general Representation of all the Ages of the World, and by the benefit of that the Memory recalls the Time of our Ancestors. The faults of those who were, instruct them that now are. Wherefore 'tis necessary that the Prince search for true Friends, such as will relate with sincerity things both past and present: And since they are, as *Alphonfus*, King of *Naples* and *Arragon*, us'd to say, Like Histories that neither flatter, nor conceal, or dissemble the Truth; let him admit them particularly into his Council, carefully observing the neglects and failings of his Predecessors; by what Tricks they have been put upon; the Court Artifices; the intestine and foreign Ills of Kingdoms; and examine whether he be not in danger of the same. Time is the best Master of Princes. Past Ages are a kind of Hospitals, where Policy Anatomizes the Carcasses of Monarchies and Commonwealths which once flourished, thereby the better to cure the Ails of the present. They are the Sea-Charts, wherein by the Wrecks, or prosperous Navigations of others, Shores are discover'd. Seas founded, Sands and Rocks found, and all the Lines of Government marked out; yet, are not all Books good Counsellors; for some advance Knavery and Deceit, which because more practis'd than truth, many have recourse to (2). The most secure are those dictated by Divine Wisdom. Here a Prince hath for all manner of Accidents, a compleat System of Politicks, and safe Precepts to govern himself and others by (2). For this reason, the Kings of *Israel* were commanded to have always by them, the Book of *Deuteronomy*, and to read some part

(2) Who seek Wisdom upon Earth, the Merchants of *Morhán* and *Theinan*, the Authors of Fables, and Searchers out of Understanding; none of these have known the way of Wisdom, or remember her Paths, *Baruch* 3. v. 23. (3) All Scripture is given by Inspiration of God, and is profitable for Doctrine, for Reproof, for Correction, for Instruction in Righteousness, 2 *Tim.* 3. 16.

of it every day (4). 'Tis God we hear, him we learn of as often as we turn over those Divine Oracles. The Emperor *Alexander Severus*, had always near him Persons well vers'd in History, to tell him what other Emperors had done in dubious Matters (5).

With this Study of History, your Royal Highness may securely enter the dangerous Sea of Government, having the experience of things past for a Pilot to Steer you in the Conduct of those present, both which your Highness ought to manage, so as to keep your Eyes fixt on Futurity, still looking forwards to prevent dangers, at least to render them less injurious (6). According to these Aspects of Times, your Highness's Prudence ought to judge of things to come, not by those of the Planets, which being few in number, and having their Motions stated and regular, cannot possibly (though there were some Virtue in them) foretel such variety of Events, as fortune produces, or free-will prepares. Nor are Speculation and Experience sufficient, whereupon to ground any certain knowledge of Causes so remote. Let your Highness therefore be pleas'd to cast your Eyes on the times past, from *Ferdinand* the Catholick, to *Philip* the Second, and comparing them with those that have pass'd from thence till now; consider whether *Spain* be now as well-peopled, as rich and plentiful as then; whether Arts and Arms flourish as much; whether Trade and Husbandry succeed as well; and if your Highness find it to have fail'd in any of these particulars, dissect the whole Body, search into its Arteries and Parts, the sound and entire as well as the distemper'd; as also into the Causes of those Infirmities: Consider with your self, whether they do not proceed from some of those so ordinary ones; from planting Colonies, want of Propagation,

(4) And he shall read therein all the days of his Life, *Deut.* 17. 19.
 (5) *Proficiebatur rebus literatis, & maxime qui historiam norant, requirans quid in talibus causis, quales in disceptatione versabantur, veteres imperatores fecissent.* Lamp. (6) She knoweth things of old, and conjureth aright what is to come, *Wisd.* 8, 8.

multiplicity of Religious Orders, too many Festivals, Universities, and Studies, the Discovery of the *Indies*, Peace ill manag'd, War slightly undertaken, or negligently carried on, from the Cashiering of Officers, the Rarity of Recompences, the Oppression of Usury, the Transportation of Money, the Disproportion of the Coin, or whatever Causes of the like Nature. If your Highness shall discover the Fountain from whence the Evil proceeds, it will be no difficult matter to provide a Remedy against it; and from a competent knowledge of the past and present Times, your Highness will be enabled to make an estimate of that to come, for there is no new thing under the Sun; the thing that hath been, it is that which shall be; and that which is done, is that which shall be done (7). The Persons are chang'd not the Scenes, Manners and Customs are always the same.

After the Conversation of Books, it will be very much for a Prince's Improvement to have that of learned Men, who are daily conversant with them, and will entertain his Ear with well digested Discourse and Reasonings, the result of long Premeditation. This gave occasion to that usual saying of *John* the Second, King of *Portugal*, That a Kingdom either found a Prince prudent, or made him so. That is, the great School of Government, wherein Ministers of the greatest Learning and most eminent Experience, whether Domestick or Foreign, converse with the Prince about Affairs. Here one is in constant Exercise, and has a particular knowledge almost of whatever is transacted in the World. This School being, more especially, necessary for a Prince, teaches him, if not out of Duty, at least for Learning's sake to apply himself to Affairs, and study fully to understand, and go to the bottom of them, and not leave them to the Decision of his Councillors. For by an entire neglect and disuse of Business, the Mind becomes Savage, and

(7) Eccles. I. 9.

conceives an Aversion for it, as an intolerable weight, and so chuses to leave all to the Care and Industry of others. And if their Opinion upon any Subject be afterwards told him, he is in the dark, not being able to discern whether they have determined well or ill; in which Confusion he must necessarily be ashamed of himself, seeing how like a dumb Idol he is, to whom Adoration is paid, while another renders the Oracles. For this reason, the Prophet *Zachary* calls that Prince an Idol, who like a Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, forgets his Duty (8). He is a Statue which represents, but does not exert Majesty. He has a Mouth and speaks not; Eyes and Ears, but neither sees nor hears (9). And being generally look'd upon to be an Idol of Adoration only, not Miracles, is universally despis'd as an unprofitable Burthen to the Earth (10). Nor will it be easy for him to retrieve his Credit; for Affairs out of which he might draw some Experience, will glide away like Waters that never return; and not knowing where the Web of Affairs begins, 'tis impossible he should finish it with success.

To avoid these and the like Inconveniences, it is absolutely requisite for the Prince at the beginning of his Reign to apply himself to the Administration of Publick Affairs, that by use he may gradually learn the Art of Government. For though they at first seem terrible and difficult, Ambition and the Glory which may be expected thence, will afterwards make them pleasant and delightful. Let not fear of doing amiss be any obstacle to him, for there's no Prudence so infallible but it may sometimes err. From Errors proceeds Experience, and from thence the best Maxims of Government. And if at any time he happens to be in one, let this thought comfort him, that 'tis sometimes

(8) Wo to the idle Shepherd that leaveth his Flock, *Zach.* 11. 17.

(9) They have Mouths, but they speak not; Eyes have they, but they see not; Ears have they, but they hear not; Noses have they, but they smell not, *Psalms* 115. 5. (10) We know that an Idol is nothing in the World, *1 Cor.* 8. 4.

less dangerous to miscarry himself, than succeed by another ; for this the People carp and cavil at, the former they easily bear with. A Prince's Obligation consists only in being desirous, and using his utmost endeavours to succeed, admitting Instruction and Counsel without Pride and Presumption, that Mother of Error and Ignorance. Power is born with Princes, Wisdom not : If they will but hear, they will know how to Govern. *Solomon* owning what a Child he was to judge God's People, prayed for a docile and understanding Heart (11), thinking that sufficient to make him capable of successfully discharging his Duty. A zealous and well-meaning Prince, God leads as 'twere by the Hand, lest he should at any time make a false Step in the Government of his States.

(11) Give therefore thy Servant an understanding heart to judge thy People, that I may discern between good and bad, 1 *King* 3. 9.

E M B L E M XXIX.



SOME Fishermen, once in the Island *Chios*, casting their Nets into the Sea for Fish, drew out a *Tripod*, which was a kind of Vessel made for the Service of the Altar, or (as others will have it) a round three legged Table, an admirable Work, and of an inestimable Value, not so much for the matter, though it was of Gold, as because of the Artist *Vulcan*. This kind of Avarice in them, and all the other Fishers of that Island, who in vain often threw theirs with the same hopes. How often have the happy Successes of one Prince deceiv'd himself and others, while they all endeavour to attain the same Fortune by the same Means? 'tis not so easy to follow another's Steps, or to go ones own over again, so as to tread always exactly in the same Tracks. A small space of time joyn'd with so great a Variety

of Accidents effaces the first, and whatsoever impressions are made afresh, are quite different, and consequently lead not to the same end. *Alexander the Great* has had many Followers and Imitators, who although nothing inferior to him in all Accomplishments, both of Body and Mind, yet could never arrive to so high a pitch of Glory and Success, at least have not met with that Applause. To be good is in our Power, but to appear so to others is not. Fortune sports with us even in Matters of Fame, nor does the same Success always correspond to the same Action. What befel *Saguntum*, did also happen to *Estera*, yet of this there scarce remains any Memory. This little City, forsooth, deserv'd not so much Glory; for what is scarce taken notice of in small, in great ones is often highly extoll'd. The same thing is usual in Virtues; the same shall create one Prince a good, another an ill Character; this is the Times and Subjects. If the Nobility be unruly, the Commonalty dissolute and licentious; the Prince that tries to reduce them to Reason, will not escape the name of bad. Every Kingdom would have a Prince of its own Stamp. Whence tis, that though a Prince govern by the same good Methods, as have in anothers Government been applauded, yet shall he not be so well receiv'd, nor equally commended, except the Subjects of both be alike good.

Hence tis not without danger, for a Prince to be wholly guided by Examples, it being very difficult, if not absolutely impossible, that in any one Case there should be an equal Concurrence of all those very Circumstances which are in another. These Second Causes of the Cœlestial Orbs turn round continually, and form each Day new Aspects of Constellations, by which they produce their Effects, and the Changes of Things: And as the Stars once appearing never return exactly in the same manner again, so neither have they the like Operations upon things here below, and by the Variation of some Accidents, the Successes too are varied, in which Chance has sometimes more Efficacy than

than Prudence. Others Examples in my Opinion deceive Princes no less than to follow none at all. Wherefore what has happened to others deserves Consideration, to establish a prudent Policy; not that all its Maxims should be squared by their Rule, and that exposed to the Hazard and Uncertainty of Casualties. Others Events are to be an Instruction not a Law (1). Those Examples alone can be imitated with any Assurance, that result from Causes and Reasons essentially good, and common to the Law of Nature, and that of Nations, for they are at all times the same. As also those of such Princes as have preserved themselves in Credit and Honour by Religion, Justice, and Clemency, and other Virtues and Moral Actions. Yet in these Cases too careful Attention is required, for Manners, and the Reputation of Virtues often change, nor is it new or unusual for a Prince to be ruined by the same, that at another time made him flourish. All these things therefore Prudence ought to consider, and not put too much Confidence in its self, but consult the various Accidents that every day happen, not looking upon things to come as certain, however discreet Judgment and Diligence seem to have searcht and provided against them. For Events are not always correspondent to their means, nor do they at all times depend upon the ordinary Connexion of Causes, where Humane Counsels usually take Effect, but on that superior Cause which directs all other. This makes our Thoughts and Suppositions so uncertain, and the hopes founded thereon so subject to Disappointment. No one was in all Mens Opinion farther from the Empire, than *Claudius*, yet Heaven had then design him for *Tiberius's* Successor (2).

This is more common in the Election of Popes, wherein humane Industry is very often baffled. Di-

(1) *Plures aliorum eventis docentur.* Tac. 4. Ann. (2) *Quippe fama, spe, veneratione potius omnes destinabantur Imperio, quam quem futurum Principem fortuna in occulto tenebat.* Tac. 3. Ann.

vine Providence does not always use natural Means, at least sometimes produces by the same different Effects, drawing straight Lines by a crooked Rule, so what should have been advantageous, proves frequently prejudicial to the Prince. The same Pillar of Fire in the Wilderness gave Light to God's People, and filled the Enemies Camp with Darkness. The greatest Humane Prudence is oftentimes at a loss; where a Man expected Security, he sometimes finds Ruin, as it happened to *Viriatius*, who was betrayed and killed by those very Ambassadors he had sent to the Consul, *Servilius*. A Misfortune we have once sustained, we don't easily believe we shall suffer again; but on the contrary, presently persuade our selves Prosperity will continue, or at least return. This Confidence has been destructive to many in that it disarms Prudence. This World is a vast Sea of Events, tossed by various and unknown Causes. Let us not be too much elated, if by chance we bring our Nets to Shore full with the Success of our Wishes; nor on the other side, dejected if they prove empty; we ought always to cast them, and expect the Consequence with the same equality of Mind. 'Tis impossible for that Man to enjoy any Rest, who promising himself a prosperous Issue of his Design, sees a contrary Event, and is destitute of a Remedy for it. Misfortunes cannot surprize one that expects the worst, nor will disappointed Hopes expose him to Ridicule, as they did the *Persians* in the War against the *Athenians*, who had a great while before furnished themselves with Marble from *Paros* to inscribe the Victory on, which their hopes had long ago anticipated; but being afterwards overcome, the *Athenians* made use of that very Marble to erect to Revenge a Statue, an everlasting Monument of the *Persian* Folly. To presume to know things to come, is in a manner a Rebellion against God, and a foolish Contention with Divine Wisdom, which has indeed permitted Human Prudence to guess at, but not foretel things of this Nature, that in this uncertainty of Accidents it may acknowledge it self more subject

to, and dependent on its Creator. This makes Policy so cautious and provident in its Resolutions, well knowing how short sighted the greatest Humane Wisdom is in Futurity, and how uncertain those Judgments are, which are grounded upon Presumption. If Princes could foresee future Contingences, their Councils would not so often miscarry. And this I take to be the Reason, that as soon as *Saul* was elected King, God infused into him the Spirit of Prophecy (2).

From what hath been said; may be gathered, that although Antiquity be venerable, and there be really something Royal in the ways she hath opened to Posterity, for Experience to pass more securely; yet 'tis visible many are ruined by time, so that they grow impassable; and consequently the Prince ought not to be so diffident of himself, so religiously to tread his Ancestors steps, as not upon occasion to venture to go another way of his own. Innovations are not always dangerous; it is sometimes convenient to introduce them. Were there no Alterations, the World would never be perfected, which advances in Wisdom as it does in Age. The most ancient Customs were new. And what we now see without Example, will be hereafter a Precedent. What we now follow by Experience, was begun without it. Our Age also may leave many glorious Inventions for Posterity to imitate; nor is every thing the Ancients have done the best, no more than all the Moderns do now, will be approved by After-ages. Many Abuses have descended to us from our Ancestors, and many severe Savage Customs of the Ancients time has mitigated and changed for the better.

(2) 1 Sam. 10. 6.

E M B L E M XXX.



Ingenious *Rome*, that Virtue and Valour might not want Trophies to Honour and Recompence Conquerors, excite Emulation in Posterity, and give Example to her other Citizens, invented the *Columnæ Rostratæ*, Pillars whereon were hung the Heads of such Ships, as returned Victorious after long Voyages, thus eternizing the Memory of Sea-fights; one of which Monuments was raised to the Consul *Duillius*, for the signal Victory he obtained over the *Carthaginians*; as also to *Marcus Æmilius* for another. This Trophy gave occasion to the present Emblem, wherein the strength and firmness of the Pillar represents Wisdom, and the Heads of the Ships that had run through so many Perils upon the Ocean, Experience, the Mother of Prudence and Support of that Wisdom. This has things universal

universal and perpetual for its Object, that particular Actions. The one is acquired by Speculation and Study; the other (which is an Habit of the Mind) by the Knowledge of Good and Evil, and by Use and Exercise; both jointly make a perfect Prince, one alone is not sufficient. Whence it easily appears how dangerous the Government of those is, who are addicted only to the Contemplation of Sciences, and a Solitary Life: for such want generally Use and Practice, and so can profit little by their Actions, they being either rash, or mean and abject; especially if they be transported with Excess of Fear or Zeal. Their Discourses, indeed, and Writings (wherein more of a speculative than practical Genius reigns) may be serviceable to the Prince to awaken his Mind, and furnish him with Matter for Conversation, provided they be seasonably used, and with Experience. Physick prescribes Remedies for Diseases, which however the Physician never applies without first examining the Qualities of the Distemper, the Nature and Constitution of his Patient. Had *Hannibal* by this Consideration moderated his barbarous Arrogance, he had not took *Phormio* for a Fool, for teaching the Art of War, when himself was no Soldier; for although Speculation alone does by no means acquire Practice, it being extremely difficult for the Hand to Copy accurately all that the Mind has drawn, or for whatever the Imagination has proposed to be accomplished to the Eyes Satisfaction; especially when War depends upon such a Variety of Accidents that Experience her self sometimes knows not what is to be done. Yet, for all this, *Phormio* might have given *Hannibal* (as great and experienced a General as he was) such Precepts as would have taught him to correct his treacherous and subtle Nature, to leave off his Cruelty to conquered Nations, and proud Carriage to such as had recourse to him for Protection. He undoubtedly had learnt to make a better Use of the Victory at *Cannæ*, to shun the De-

baucheries of *Capua*, and gain the Favour of *Antiochus*. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, used on some Occasions the Ministry of the Religious; but whether to manage or only prepare Affairs, I can't say; or if it was not, perhaps to spare the Expence of Ambassies, or prevent the Inconveniencies usually arising from Disputes between the Nobility about Precedency. However Secrets are not securely intrusted to them, they depending more upon the Obedience of their immediate Superiors, than that of Princes; and if they accidentally die, into their Hands will fall all private Letters and Papers. Besides, for Neglect of Duty they are not punishable, and their Example is a Disturbance to Religious Tranquility, and the Practices of Policy infect their Candor and Simplicity. They are better Physicians for Spiritual than Temporal Distempers. Every Sphere has its peculiar Activity. I don't in the mean time deny that sometimes there are to be found among them, Persons who have had their Education in Courts, without that Narrowness of Soul which usually accompanies a monastick and retired Life, Wits so cultivated by Learning and Observation, that Affairs even of the greatest Consequence may be safely committed to them, especially such as respect the Publick Quiet, and the Good of Christendom; for Modesty in Conversation, well ordered Virtues, the Gravity of, and Deference paid to a Religious Habit, are no small Recommendations in Prince's Courts to gain Audience, and prepare Minds to receive Impressions.

Experiences drawn from others Misfortunes and Dangers, are indeed happy, but not so effectually persuasive as our own; the former we see or hear only; these we sensibly feel too. They are too deeply engraved, as I may say, on our Breasts to be soon effaced. Shipwrecks descried from Shoar, are something more affecting than anothers Relation of them; but he who has had the Fortune to escape them,

hangs

hangs up his Rudder in the Temple of Experience for a perpetual Memorial of it. So that though a Prince will improve by both, yet his own private ones he ought most to regard, particularly observing this, that if they proceed from any fault, Self-love is too apt to excuse them; and that Truth late or never comes to his Ears to undeceive him, being either stopped in the Palace-Gates by Malice, or concealed by Flattery, which makes Virtue not dare to unmask it for fear of bringing it self into Danger, because it belongs not to it, or at least it sees all would be to no purpose. And thus Princes ignorant of what neglect they have been guilty, how and where they have done amiss in their Councils or Actions, cannot correct their Errors, nor by their Experience prove more cautious and prudent for the future. There ought to be no Fault committed, no Miscarriage happen in the State, whereof there should not be present faithful and sincere Information given the Prince. There's no Sensation or Pain in any part of the Body, but immediately is carried to the Heart, as the Prince of Life, where the Soul has its chief Residence, and as that whose principal Interest it is to preserve the other Members intire. How happy were it, if Kings well knew what Evils their Kingdoms laboured under, we should not see them so inveterate. Whereas the only thing now aimed at in Courts, is to divert the Prince's Ears with Musick, and such like Entertainments, that he may not hear his Subjects Complaints, nor say with *Saul*, *What aileth the People that they weep* (1)? And so he is ignorant of their Necessities and Calamities, at least knows them too late. Though the Adventure of *Jonas*, whom a great Fish had vomited up alive, was very fresh; though his Publick Cries made a Noise over the whole City of *Nineveh*,

(1) 1 Sam. 11. 5.

whose Destruction he threatned within forty Days; yet was the King the last that heard of it, every Citizen. from the greatest to the least, having already mourned, and put on sackcloth (2). Who is there has the Courage to tell a Prince the whole Truth, or discover the Evils that menace him? The whole Army of *Beibulia* came to *Holofernes's* Tent with great Cries, because the Sun was already risen, yet did not the Officers of the Bed-Chamber dare to awake him, nor call him by his Name (3), but made only a Noise with their Feet; till when the Evidence of the Danger obliged them to enter, the Enemy had already cut off his Head and hung it upon their Walls (4). Thus it generally happens, the Prince first discovers Faults, when there's either no Remedy for them, or at least it cannot be applied without great Difficulty. His Ministers perswade him all things succeed well, which makes him negligently lose all Experience, and the Instructions of Necessity, the best Mistress of Prudence. For although Prosperity proceed from Prudence, this does not from Prosperity. The principal Office of Prudence in Princes, or others concerned with them, is to teach them to know experimentally all Mens Humours, which are discernible from the Dress, the Looks, the Motions of the Eyes and Actions, and lastly from the Speech. Marks which God Almighty thought so necessary to Human Commerce, that he has wrote them visibly upon every one's Forehead (5). Without them neither the Prince would know how to Govern, nor Men of Affairs obtain their Ends. Mens Minds are as various as their Faces (6); and although Reason be in its self one and the same, the ways reasoning takes in the research of it, are widely different; and the

(2) Jon. 3. 5. (3) *Judith* 14. 10. (4) *Ibid.* (5) *Eccl.* 19. 26.
 (6) *Eccl.* 19. 27.

Delusions of the Imagination usually are so great, that some Men appear as irrational as the very Brutes. Wherefore all are not to be treated with in the same Method, but this must be varied, suitably to the Person's Nature, as they change the Bit according to the Horse's Mouth. Some Tempers are generous and exalted, with these Reputation and Honour are most prevailing: Others mean and abject, which are wholly led by private Interest and Advantage. Some are bold and enterprizing, these are to be gently turned from the Precipice: Others slothful and timorous, which should be so led by Business, that they may see the Vanity of Danger. Some are naturally fervile, these Threats and Fear of Punishment has more Influence on than Intreaties: Others arrogant, and are tamed by Authority, being by compliance ruined. One is full of Fire, and so quick at Business, that with the same Expedition he dispatches it, he immediately repents; this Man 'tis hard giving Counsel to: Another is slow and irresolute, whom time must teach at his own cost. Some are ignorant and stupid, these are not to be convinced by subtle and refined Arguments, but palpable Demonstrations. Others sceptically dispute every thing, and are guilty of an Excess of Subtilty, these must be abandoned to themselves, to fly as Hawks till they be tired, then called to the Lure of Reason, and the Business in hand. Some refuse all Mens Counsel, are wholly guided by their own; to these you are not to give any, but so point as it were to them, and give such Hints in a large Discourse upon the Matter, that they may of themselves light on them, which will make them approved as their own Off-spring, and accordingly executed; others know neither how to act nor resolve without Counsel, with such as these all the Persuasion in the World is to no purpose, so the Business which should have passed through their hands may be better transacted with their Counsellors.

The same Variety which is visible in Dispositions, is found also in Affairs; some are easy at first, but afterwards increase as Rivers by the Affluence of Rivulets, as it were of divers Inconveniencies and Difficulties, these are overcome by Expedition in not giving time to their Increase. Others on the contrary, like the Winds rise in Storms, but end calmly, which require Patience and Constancy. The Enterprize of some is full of Uncertainty and Danger, in that when one least thinks the Depth of Difficulties appears, here one must proceed with Caution and Courage, with Care, and a Mind provided to encounter any Accident. Some require Secrecy, these are to be carried on by Mines, that the happy Success may break out before one can perceive it: Others can't be obtained but at certain Times, in these you ought to have all the Means ready immediately to hoist Sail upon the first favourable Blast of Wind. Some take Root gradually, and demand Time to come to Maturity; here the Seed of Diligence is to be Sowed and the Fruit waited for: Others except they succeed presently never do at all, which must be taken by Assault, by employing all Methods at once. Some are so delicate and brittle, that like Glasses they are with a Blast formed and broken, these are to be tenderly handled: the Difficulty of others is enhanced by being too much desired and pursued, here the Arts of Lovers are useful, whose Passions are inflamed by Slight and Disdain. In a word the Management of a few Affairs demands Precipitation; in more Force prevails; in many Patience, and in almost all Reason and Interest. Importunity has spoiled abundance of Affairs, but it has also furthered many, as *St. Jerome* said of the Woman of *Canaan* (7). Men are no less weary of refusing than granting. Opportunity is the thing contributes most to the good

(7) *Quod precibus non potuit radio impetravit.* D. Hieron.

Management of Affairs; he who knows how to use this shall scarce ever Miscarry. The Husbandman that is well acquainted with the Nature of his Soil, and knows the proper Seed-time, may expect a plentiful Harvest. There's a time when all things are granted, another wherein all are denied, according as the Mind shall be disposed, in which you may easily see the Increase and Decrease of Business, for being lopped like Trees in a proper Month, they sprout out the more. Some Address in proposing and persuading by Honesty, Profit, and Ease; Prudence in the Choice of Means, and some other natural Endowments infinitely conduce to the Success of Affairs, provided those Gifts of Nature be accompanied with a discreet kind of Complaisance and natural Grace that captivates the Mind; for some Mens Looks and Behaviour are so disagreeable and ungentle, that they even shew one how to refuse their Petitions; but although these Means joyned with good Judgment and Industry have a strange Effect on Business; yet too much Confidence ought not to be put in them, nor yet should they be despaired of. Light Affairs sometimes breed great Difficulties; and on the other side, the lightest Causes often obstruct the most weighty. The greatest Prudence is sometimes blind in a Matter as clear as the Sun; Divine Providence that has already long ago determined in his eternal Decree, what shall become of every thing, being thus pleased to sport with Humane Affairs.

From this Variety of Capacities and Affairs, appears of how much Concern it is to the Prince, to make Choice of Ministers fit to manage them, each Man being no more capable of all manner of Business, than every Instrument useful for all Works. Persons of a violent Temper, the Cowardly and Diffident, the Rough and Unpleasant in Conversation, who

who can never serve the times, nor adapt themselves to others Natures and Customs, rather spoil Affairs than compose them; are readier at making, than reconciling Enemies, fitter to be Informers than Mediators. Affairs require Persons of very different Qualities to Administer them. That Man is above all the most proper, who in his Air and Words discovers a Soul of Candor and Veracity, whose private Person procures him Love and Esteem; in whom Jealousy and Cunning are from Art not Nature, who can keep them in the most secret Place of his Breast when they require Concealment; who proposes with Sweetness, hears with Patience, replies with Force, dissembles with Discretion, urges with Attention; who obliges by Liberality, persuades by Reason, and convinces by Experience; who in a word designs prudently, and executes effectually. It was with these Ministers, King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was able to succeed in all his Enterprizes. The good Choice of these is of no less Consequence, than the Conservation and Enlargement of any State, for as much as all depends upon their Administration; more Kingdoms having been destroyed by their Ignorance than by that of Princes. Let this therefore be your Highness's chiefest Care to examine diligently all the Qualities of your Subjects, and after having given them any Place, look now and then into their Actions, and not be presently taken with, and deluded by the Draught of their Memoirs. There being very few Ministers, who in them draw themselves to the Life? In Effect, who will be so candid, so much a Stranger to self-love, as to confess what good he has neglected to do, what Evil to prevent? It will be much if he with Sincerity relate what he has actually done; some using to write to the Prince not what they have done or said, but what they ought to do or say. They have thought of, and designed every thing

before.

before-hand; they foresaw, nay, and executed all Affairs enter their Closets like mishapen Logs, but immediately come out again, as from some Statuaries Shop, exquisite Figures; 'tis there they are varnished, gilded, and painted, to beautify them, and enhance their Value. These Judgments are form'd, and abundance of Preventions devis'd ever after the Success; there they are more powerful than God himself; make the past Time present, and the present past, by changing the Date of their Actions, as they see convenient. They are Ministers who transact Affairs in Imagination only; Men that court Applause, and steal Rewards by their false Letters: Whence proceed the greatest Inconveniences in the World, in that the Prince's Privy Counsellors being directed by those Intelligences and Advices, if they are false, the Orders and Resolutions founded upon them will necessarily be so too. The Holy Scripture teaches us how Ministers, and particularly Ambassadors are oblig'd punctually to execute their Commissions; for we see in that *Hazael* had from *Benhadad*, King of *Syria* to consult the Prophet *Elisha* about his Disease, he chang'd not one word, nor dared so much as to speak in the Third Person (8).

Ministers of extraordinary Experience are sometimes dangerous, either for that the Prince puts too much Confidence in them, or because biassed by Self-love, or presuming upon their own Abilities, they seldom think thoroughly of Affairs, and born as 'twere to overcome the most violent Tempests, despise the small Storms of Inconveniences and Difficulties, whereby they evidently expose themselves to Danger. Those are in some Cases much sater, who as yet Novices in Navigation keep close to the Shore.

(8) 2 Kings 8. 9.

Though both together compose the best Counsels; in that the Experience of those is qualified by the Timorousness and Caution of these; in Debates between the Flegmatick and Cholerick, the Bold and Circumspect, the Quick and Slow, there results a wholesome Composition of Opinions, as there does in Bodies from the contrariety of Humours.

EMBLEM XXXI.



A Pillar supports it self, balanced by its own weight. If it once leans on either side, it presently falls, and that the sooner the heavier it is. Thus Empires stand, and are preserv'd by their own Authority and Repute; when they begin to lose that, they begin to fall; nor is any Earthly Power sufficient to strengthen and prop them (1). Let no one trust too much to a streight Pillar, when it inclines never so little, the weakest Hand promotes its Ruin; that very leaning I know not how inviting to push it; but when falling, the strongest is unable to uphold it. One single Action sometimes overthrows the best establish'd Reputa-

(1) *Nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile ac fluxum est, quam fama potentie, non sua vi nicta.* Tac. 13. Ann.

tion which a great many can't erect again. For scarce any Stain can so thoroughly be washed out, but some sign of it will remain, nor any Opinion in Mens Minds that can be entirely effaced. Dress the Infamy as carefully as possible, it will still leave some Scars. Wherefore, if the Crown stand not fixed and firm upon this perpendicular Pillar of Reputation, it will soon fall to the Ground. *Alphonso* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, by his Credit not only preserved his own Kingdom, but conquered that of *Naples*. At the same time *John* the Second, King of *Castile*, for his mean Spirit was so far the Contempt of his Subjects, that he admitted what Laws they thought fit to impose. The Provinces which under *Julius Cæsar* and *Augustus*, Princes of great Esteem, were Firm and Loyal, rebell'd in the Reign of *Galba*, a Man slothful, and universally despised (2). Royal Blood and Large Dominions are insufficient to maintain Reputation, where private Virtue and Magnanimity are wanting; as it is not the Frame of a Glass, but its Intrinick Excellency makes it valuable, Regal Majesty has not more Force than Respect, which usually arises from Admiration and Fear, and from these Obedience and Subjection, without which the Prince's Dignity cannot long maintain it self, being founded upon the Opinion of others; and the Royal Purple will be rather a Mark of Derision, than Eminence and Majesty, as was visible in *Henry* the Fourth. It is the Spirits and Native Heat that keep the Body upright; the Legs alone would not be a sufficient Basis. And what is Reputation, but a kind of fire Spirit kindled in all Mens Opinions, which raises and supports the Scepter. Let the Prince therefore take all possible care that his Actions may be such as will nourish and foment these Spirits. The *Parthians* grounded their Peti-

(2) *Melius Divo Julio, Divoque Augusto notes eorum animos Galbam, & infestâ tributa, hostiles Spiritus induisse. Tac. 4. Hist.*

tion upon Reputation, when they asked *Tiberius* to send as of his own accord, one of *Phraates's* Sons to *Rome* (3).

This Repute and Authority has yet greater Influence in War, where Fear is of more Efficacy than the Sword, and Opinion than Strength, whether of Mind or Body, and therefore to be taken no less Notice of than Force of Arms. This made *Suetonius Paulinus* very prudently advise *Orbo* to endeavour always to keep the *Roman* Senate on his side, whose Authority could never be wholly Darkned, though it might be sometimes Eclipsed (4). This also made many Countries submit to it, and seek its Protection (5), in the Differences that were between those Great Generals, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, each his principal Aim was to Conquer rather the Reputation than Arms of his Rival; well knowing that Minds and Forces follow more the noise of Fame, than that of the Drum. King *Philip* the Second was eminently skilful in this Art of preserving Reputation; having by it from his Cabinet so managed the Reigns of both Worlds, that he always had them at Command.

Nay, even when the Ruin of States is apparent, 'tis better to suffer them, than ones Credit to be destroy'd, for without this 'tis impossible to re-establish them. For which Reason, though the Republick of *Venice* saw it self lost in that violent Storm of the League of *Cambray*, yet that most Prudent and Valiant Senate thought it better to shew their Constancy on that Occasion, than to betray any Cowardice by using dishonourable Means. Desire of Dominion makes Princes mean. For want of this

(3) *Nomine tantum, & auctore opus, ut fronte Cæsaris, ut genus Ar-
factis, vipam apud Euphratis cerneretur. Tac. 6. Ann. (4) Nunquam
obscura nomina, eisi aliquando obumbrentur. Tac. 4. Hist. (5) Erat
grande momentum, in nomine Urbis, & pretextu senatus. Tac. 1.
Hist.*

Consideration, *Otho* with stretch'd out Hands seem'd to adore the People, he embrac'd every one, and shew'd all the servileness imaginable to gain them to his Party, and so procur'd the Empire by those means which declared him unworthy of it (6). Even in Indigence and Necessity it is not fit to use means violent and inglorious, or seek the Assistance of Foreigners; for both are dangerous, and neither seek to relieve want; nay, Reputation is the better Remedy for it. One Man is as rich in Opinion, as another in the abundance of hid Treasures. The Old *Romans* were undoubtedly perswaded so, when in several occasions of Adversity, the Provinces offering them Money and Corn, they return'd Thanks, but would not accept them. Two Legions having been cast away at Sea, to recruit the Loss, *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*, sent Money, Horses, and Arms; *Germanicus* commend'd their Affection, and accepted only of the Horses and Arms, but not the Money (7). In two other Presents made the *Roman* Senate, of Golden Cups of great Value, in time of extraordinary Necessity, the first time thanks were given the Ambassadors for their Care and Magnificence, and the Cup of least value accepted (8). The other, Thanks were return'd, but the Presents reject'd (9).

The Authority and Reputation of a Prince proceeds from several Causes; some of which respect his Person, others his State. The former sort are either of Body or Mind: Of the Body, as if it be of a suitable Frame, and a Disposition capable of maintaining Majesty; though the natural Defects of

(5) *Nec deerat Otho protenders manus adorare vulgum, jacere oscula, & omnia serviliter pro dominatione.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *Ceterum ad supplenda exercitus dumna, certavere Gallia, Hispania, Italia, quod cuique prorsum, arma, equos, aurum offerentes, quorum laudato studio Germanicus, arvis modo & equis ad bellum sumptis, propria pecunia militemavit.* Tac. 1. Ann. (8) *Legatis gratiae aeternae pro magnificentia curaque, State a qua minimi ponderis fuit accepta.* Liv. 1. 22. (9) *Gratiae aeternae, aurum non acceptum.* Liv. 22.

Body are often supplied by Virtues of Mind. *Charles Emanuel*, Duke of *Savoy*, had no small Imperfections of Body; yet his great and generous Soul, his lively Wit, his Complaisance, and other Courtly Accomplishments made him admired by all. A grave and austere Carriage make him pass for a Prince, who without that would be but very contemptible; yet this Air ought to be temper'd with Courtesy and good Humour, that Authority may be supported without incurring Hatred, or the Character of Arrogant; a thing *Tacitus* commends in *Germanicus* (10). The Riches and Splendor of Apparel is another thing, procures Admiration and Authority: for the Vulgar are taken with these Outfides, and Mankind admits the Eyes no less than the Understanding into its Council. Whence *Alphonso* the Wise, very well said, *That Cloaths contribute much to make Men known for either Noble or Base; and the Ancient Sages oblig'd their Princes to Cloths of Gold, and Silk, and beset with Jewels, that they might be known at sight without inquiry.* When King *Abasuerus* gave Audience, he wore Royal Apparel, and shone in Gold and precious Stones (11). It was on this account God commanded *Moses* to make Holy Garments for *Aaron*, his Brother, for Glory and for Beauty (12). And he accordingly made them of Purple, embroidered with Gold, and adorned with other things of great value (13), which his Successors wore after him; and at this day the Popes do, though with greater Prudence, and less Expence. And indeed, if his Holiness be an Arm of God upon the Earth; if the Voice of his Censures be like that of the Almighty's Thunder (14), 'tis but just (whatever Impiety cavils) that as God covers himself with Light (15), the Garment of Heaven, so he should be deck'd with Earthly

(10) *Visuque & auditu juxta venerabilis, cum magnitudinem, & gravitatem summæ fortunæ retineret invidiam & arrogantiam effugeret.* Tac. 2. Ann. (11) Heit. 15. 9. (12) Exod. 28. 2. (13) Ibid. (14) Job 40. 4. (15) Psalm 103. 2.

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Pomp, and carried upon Mens Shoulders (16). The same has place in Princes, who are God's Vicegerents in Temporals (17).

Large and sumptuous Palaces magnificently furnish'd (18), a Noble and Eminent Family (19), Guards of Nations of approved Fidelity (20), the Splendor and Grandeur of a Court, and other Publick Ostentations do also set out a Prince's Power to the best advantage, and give an additional Majesty. Illustrious Titles of States Conquered or Hereditary, which are attributed to him, are also Manifestations of his Eminency. Thus, *Isaiab*, by divers Names and Titles declares the Majesty of the Supream Creator, and Prince of all things (21). By these therefore your Highness is to study to enhance the Lustre of your Royal Person, provided however they be not ascrib'd out of Levity or Flattery, but from an universal Applause founded upon Virtue and true Valour, such as were those of your Highness's Ancestors, *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonso* the Great, *Sancho* the Brave, *James* the Warlike, *Alphonso* the Noble, and many others.

The Excellency of Virtues, and in general all natural Perfections requisite in a good Governor, procure a Prince Esteem and Authority. One alone that shall shine in him, whether it respect Peace or War; abundantly supplies the defect of all others, as if he apply himself to Business, though not with absolute sufficiency; for to leave all to the Care of Ministers infinitely diminishes the Force of Majesty. This was *Salust's* Counsel to *Livia* (22). Any one Resolution the Prince shall have taken very opportunely without another's Advice: One Resentment, and to have once shewn the Extent of his Power, though upon the slightest Occasion, make him fear'd and respected; as does Constancy of Mind in both Fortunes, for the

(16) Job 40. 5. (17) Psalm 81. 6. (18) Eccl. 2. 4. (19) Prov. 22. 29. (20) Job 25. 2. (21) *Isaiab* 9. 6. (22) *Nece Fibertius cum in principatus resolveret, cuncta ad senatum vocando.* Tac. 1. Anon

People look upon it as supernatural, not to be puff'd up by Prosperity, or by Adversity dejected; they believe there is something more than Humane in such a Prince.

Equality in Actions is another thing that greatly advances a Prince's Character, it being a sign of a serene and prudent Judgment, if he dispence his Favours, or revenge Injuries out of Season, he will indeed be fear'd, but not esteem'd; as *Vitellius* experienc'd (23).

Farther to maintain Reputation, Prudence not to attempt what cannot be obtain'd, very much contributes. For so his Power will seem infinite, if the Prince engage in no War wherein he cannot Conquer, or demand nothing of his Subjects but what is just and feasible, not giving the least ground for Disobedience. To enterprize, and not accomplish, is in a Prince inglorious; in Subjects rash.

Princes are valued at the same Rate they set upon themselves. For altho' Honour consists in the esteem of others; yet this is generally form'd out of a preconceiv'd Opinion of every one, which (at least if prudent) is greater or less, according as the Mind gathers strength from the Valour it finds in it self, or loses it, if without Merit. The greatest Souls are most aspiring (24); the Cowardly dare attempt nothing, judging themselves unworthy the least Honour. Nor is this always a virtuous Humility and Modesty in this sort of Men, but a baseness of Mind, which renders them deservedly contemptible to every one, while they pretend they aim at nothing higher, because they are sensible of their want of Merit. *Blasus* almost seem'd unworthy the Empire, merely for refusing the offer of it (25). Unhappy is that State, whose Head thinks himself undeserving the Title of Prince, or who pre-

(23) *Vitellium subitis offensis, aut intempestivis blanditiis mutabilem contemnebant metuebantque.* Tac. 2. Hist. (24) *Optimus quisque mortaliū altissima cupere.* Tac. 4. Ann. (25) *Ades non Principatus appetens, ut farum effugeret ne dignus crederetur.* Tac. 3. Hist.

sumes he Merits more; the first is meanness of Spirit; this latter is accounted Tyranny.

In these Endowments of the Mind, Chance also has place; for a Prince happens often, even with them to be despised, when Prudence is unhappy, or Events answer not Designs. Some Governments, good in themselves, are notwithstanding so unfortunate, that nothing succeeds under them; which is not always the Fault of Humane Providence, but the Divine so ordains, when the particular Ends of this Inferior Government, agree not with those that Superior and Universal one proposes.

This I add withal, that all these good Qualities of Mind and Body, are not sufficient to maintain the Prince's Reputation, if his Family be dissolute; it is on that depends all his Authority, nor is any thing more difficult, than a regular Management of a Family. It usually seems easier to Govern a whole Country than one House; either because a Prince intent on greater things is negligent of this, or Self-love is an Obstacle, or for want of Courage, or out of a natural Slothfulness, or at least, because his Attendants so blind his Eyes, that his Judgment can't apply Remedies. It was none of the least Commendations of *Agricola*, that he had curb'd his own Family, never suffering his Domesticks to intermeddle with Publick Affairs (26). *Galba* was a good Emperor, but an ill Master of his Palace, no less Vices reigning there than in that of *Nero* (27). *Tiberius*, among other things, was commended for having modest Servants. No Government can be well instituted, where Courtiers Command, and Rob, or Prostitute its Authority by their Pride and Vices (28). If they are good, they make the Prince the same; if wicked, he though really otherwise, will appear so

(26) *Primum domum suam coercuit, quod plerisque haud minus arduum est, quam Provinciam regere; nihil per libertos, servosque publicæ rei.* Tac. in *Vit. Agr.* (27) *Jam asserebant cuncta venalia præpotentes liberti servorum manus subitis avidæ tanquam apud senem festinantes.* Tac. I. *Hist.* (28) *Modesta servitia.* Tac. 4 *Ann.*

too. From them the Prince's Actions have their value, on them depends his good or ill Character; in as much as others Virtues and Vices are wont to be imputed to him. If his Domesticks are prudent, they conceal his Faults; nay, as much as possible vindicate every Action of his, and by extolling, render them more illustrious; they relate them with a Grace that challenges Admiration. Whatever comes from the Prince into Publick, is great in the Peoples Eyes. Princes in their Palaces are like other Men, but Respect makes them imagined greater, and their Retirement from common Conversation covers their Sloth and Weakness: Whereas, if their Servants are guilty of Imprudence or Infidelity, the People by them, as through Chinks discover it, and quit that Veneration they before had for them.

The Prince's Reputation redounds from that of the State, if this be provided with good Laws and Magistrates; if Justice be observ'd, and one Religion maintain'd therein; if it pay due Respect and Obedience to Majesty; if Care be taken of Corn and Plenty, if Arts and Arms flourish, and one may in all things see a constant Order and Harmony proceeding from the Prince's Hands; and lastly, if the States Happiness depends upon the Prince himself: For if that can be enjoy'd without this, they will soon despise him. The Labourers in *Egypt* regard not the Skies (29), for the *Nile* by its Inundations watering and making their Land fertile, they have no need of Clouds.

(29) *Aratores in Ægypto Cælum non suspiciunt. Plin.*

E M B L E M XXXII.



THE Oyster conceives by the Dew of Heaven, and in its purest Womb, the Pearl, that most beautiful Embryo is born. No one would imagine its exquisite Delicacy, to see so coarse and unpolish'd an outside. It is thus, the Senses are usually deceiv'd in their Censure of Exterior Actions, when they judge only by the outward appearance of things, without searching the inside. Truth depends not upon Opinion: Let the Prince despise that, if he be sensible he act agreeable to Reason. He will never dare enterprize any thing difficult or extraordinary, if Fear prompts him to consult the Sentiments of the Mob. In himself he should look for himself, not in others. The Art of Government suffers not it self to be disturb'd by those thin Shadows of Reputation. The King has the greatest, who

who knows perfectly how to manage Affairs both of Peace and War. The Honour of Subjects the least thing blemishes, whereas that of Kings is inseparable from the Publick Good; this continuing, that increases, failing, it perishes. Besides, Government would be too dangerous, had it no better Foundation than the Laws of Reputation, instituted by the giddy Rabble. Contempt of such is Courage and Steadiness in a Prince, whose Sovereign Law is the Peoples Safety. *Tiberius* heretofore gloried in having shewn himself fearless of Affronts and Scandal for the Publick Benefit (1). A great and lively Soul is nothing affraid of the uncertain Rumours of the Multitude and Common Fame. He who despises this imaginary, will thereby obtain real and solid Glory. This *Fabius Maximus* well knew, when he prefer'd the Publick Safety before the Clamours and Complaints of the People, accusing his Delays; as did also the Great Captain in the Captivity of Duke *Valentin*, who, though he had surrendered, and intrusted himself to his safe Conduct; yet for some fresh Plots he was inform'd he had laid against his Catholick Majesty, kept him Prisoner, thinking the Dangers his Liberty might cause more to be respected, than the Aspersions were thrown upon him for the Breach of his Parole; from which, at that time, it seem'd by no means proper for him publickly to clear himself. King *Sancho* the Brave, was a Prince renown'd and warlike, yet Deaf to the Calumnies of his Subjects, he declin'd the Battel of *Xeres* †. 'Tis better for a Prince to be feared by his Enemies as Prudent, than as Rash and Precipitous.

My Design by this Discourse is not to make the Prince a very Slave to the Commonwealth, so that for any Reason, or upon the least appearance of its Interest, he should break his Word, or run Counter to all Treaties and Agreements: For such a Violation can neither be of any advantage to him, nor his State, but

(1) *Offensionem pro utilitate publica non paridum.* Tac. 4. Ann.

† Mar. Hist. Hisp.

will be rather the Ruin of both ; what is dishonest being never long secure : A remarkable Instance of which we have in the Kingdom of *Arragon* , which has been so often embroiled, toss'd with so many Storms of Calamities and eminent Miseries, because *Peter* the Fourth, as well in times of Peace as War, had more regard to Interest, than Credit and Renown. Interest and Honour should walk hand in hand, and the same pace ; nor can I be reconciled to this Opinion, *That nothing is glorious but what is safe, and that whatever is done to maintain Dominion is honourable* (2). For what is base, can never be a good means to preserve it ; nor if it were, will it be therefore the more honourable or excusable. My Design is only to raise the Prince's Mind above the Vulgar Opinion, and arm him with Constancy to withstand the vain Murmurs of the Multitude ; that he may know how to temporize, to dissemble Injuries, to lay aside Kingly Gravity, to despise empty Fame, having his Eyes fix'd upon that which is true and well-grounded. In a word, to take Counsel from the time and necessity, if the Conservation of his State require it, and not suffer himself to be deluded with vain Shadows of Honour, esteeming that more than the Publick Good. A Fault blam'd in King *Henry* the Fourth, who refus'd to take their Advice, who perswaded him to apprehend *John Pachico*, Marquis of *Vilena*, the Author of the Troubles and Commotions among the Grandees of the Kingdom : Saying he had made him a promise of a safe Passage to *Madrid*, which he ought not to violate. A frivolous Excuse, to prefer an idle Proof of Faith and Clemency to his own Life, and the Publick Safety, especially towards one, who would abuse this his Favour to Plot against his Royal Person, which was the source of great Calamities to the King, and his whole Kingdom. *Tiberius* was not at all moved, that some blamed him for making so long a stay at the

(2) *Nihil gloriosum nisi tutum, & omnia retinende dominationis beneficia.* Sallust,

Isle of *Caprea*, and neither went to aid the *Gauls*, of whom a great part were already lost; nor to appease the Legions in *Germany* (3). Prudent Constancy hears, but does not much regard the Sentiments of the ignorant Multitude; knowing if things succeed well, Murmur will afterwards turn to greater Glory, and sensibly vanish of it self. The Army distrusted *Saul's* Election, and in Derision said, *How shall this Man save us* (4)? *Saul* however took no notice of those Words, but made as if he did not hear them, (nor indeed should Princes hear every thing) and the Soldiers, condemning afterwards their Crime, recanted, nay, and made diligent search for the Author of that Abuse to put him to Death (5). It had not been prudent in *Saul* to expose his Election, by discovering his knowledge of the Peoples Dissatisfaction. What Levity were it in a Traveller to be stopp'd by the importunate Noise of every Grasshopper? To be guided in ones Resolutions by the prating Mob were folly (6); to fear them, and revoke what has been once resolved, base and infamous. Scarce any Council would be secure, did it depend upon the Multitude, who are incapable of penetrating all the Motives upon which the Prince Acts, nor is it fit to make them publick; for that were to give them the Authority of the Scepter. All the Peoples Power is included in the Person of the Prince. It is his part to Act, theirs to Obey, with a firm Perswasion of the Equity and Reasonableness of his Commands. *If every one had liberty to ask Reasons of what is injoynd, there would be an end of Obedience and Empire* (7). 'Tis as necessary for a Subject to be ignorant of these things, as to know others. *The Sovereign Jurisdiction of things God has given to Princes, to Subjects is left the Glory of Obedience.* The only thing required of a Prince, is to

(3) *Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco, neque vulnere mutat, sed ut silitum per illos dies egit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (4) 1 Sam. 10. 27. (5) 1 Sam. 11. 12. (6) *Non ex rumore statuendum.* Tac. 3. Ann. (7) *Si ubi iubeantur, querere singulis liceat; pereunte obsequio, etiam imperium intercidit.* Tac. 1. Hist.

acquit himself of his Duty in his Resolutions and Decrees; if the Success prove not answerable to his desire, he ought not to be discouraged; for it is sufficient that he has done nothing imprudently; the very best Counsel is weak and liable to abundance of Accidents. The greater a Monarchy is, the more exposed it is to the unhappy Casualties, which Chance brings with it, or Humane Understanding is unable to foresee and prevent. Gross Bodies usually labour under great Distempers. Did not the Prince prosecute Affairs notwithstanding all Obloquy and Detraction, with Courage and Constancy, he would lead but an unhappy Life. If he at any time chance to err, Courage is necessary, lest he be dash'd, and become for the future slow and irresolute. That Prince, who upon no grounds suspects all he does will be disapproved of, contracts too much the Limits of his Power, and subjects himself to a thousand Terrors of Imagination, which generally arise from some private superstitious Persuasion, or Excess of Melancholy. These Inconveniences *David* seems to have acknowledged, when he prayed God to take away the Reproach which he fear'd (8). Let the Prince therefore arm himself with Constancy to resist any Events, and the Opinions of the Vulgar, and shew his Valour in the Defence of the true and real Reputation of his Person and Arms, seeing the loss or stain of this brings the whole Empire into danger. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick, very well understood this, when he advised his Father, *John* the Second, King of *Arragon*, to adapt himself to the Times and Necessity, and endeavour to secure his Crown by gaining the Hearts of the Marquis of *Villena*, and *Alphonso Carrillo*, Archbishop of *Toledo* †. He did indeed all honourable means to effect it; but could never be oblig'd basely to bend his Regal Authority to the Fury and Violence of his Subjects, thinking there to be more Danger in this, than Advantage in gaining their Affe-

(8) Psalm 118. 39. † Mar. Hist. Hisp.

ctions. Time is the best Master of these Arts, and such a one may come as will make even mean Actions Heroick, and impute even base and servile Submission to Fortitude. 'Tis an honourable and lawful End enobles them. *Tacitus accuses Vitellius for being Nero's Associate in his Debaucheries without any Necessity, which had made it very excusable, but out of meer Luxury and Lasciviousness* (9). To submit to Necessity, requires no less Resolution than to overcome it; and what is sometimes thought Baseness, is a desire of Honour, as when to prevent the loss of this, or at least to preserve it, Injuries are put up for a time. He that immediately runs to Revenge, suffers himself to be led more by Passion than Honour. Anger, 'tis true, has Satisfaction, but the Ignominy becomes more notorious and publick. How oft has Bloodshed been a kind of Rubrick inscribed with Injuries? How often have we seen in the Offenders gashed Face, the offended Person's Infamy written in Scars, as in so many Letters? Honour has been more frequently lost by Revenge than Diffimulation; this brings Oblivion, that Remembrance; and we more value a Person that has prudently taken an Affront, than one who has rashly reveng'd one. He, who makes a true and prudent Estimate of the price of his Honour, weighs it against Revenge, which the former with the Addition of a Grain of publick Esteem, out-weighs by much.

Although it is my Advice, that the Prince value not popular Discourse; this, however, I would have limited to the Cases mentioned, that is, when it is compensated by the Publick Good, or obstructs the Execution of any great Designs, which the People don't comprehend, at least not well understand: For the Success and Honour of the thing recovers afterwards the lost Reputation with Interest. It will in the mean time be Prudence in the Prince at all times, as much as possible,

(9) *Sectari cantantem solitus, non necessitate, qua honestissimus quisque, sed in Luxu & sagina mancipatus emptusque. Tac. 2. Hist.*

to conform his Actions to the Inclinations of the People; their Approbation working almost the same Effect with real Glory; they both consist in Men's Imaginātion, and the popular Voice, though false, sometimes gains so much Credit, that neither Time, nor any contrary Action can ever after efface it.

E M B L E M XXXIII.



WHAT an entire Glas represents, the same when broken, each part of it exhibits. Thus the Lion views himself in both Pieces of that of the present Emblem, that Symbol of Fortitude and generous Constancy, which a Prince in all Accidents ought to maintain: In as much as he is a Publick Mirror, wherein the whole World views it self, as King *Alphonso* the Wise has

has well observ'd, speaking of Kings Actions, and how they ought to be regulated. Whether therefore Success preserve, or Misfortunes break him, he should ever appear with one Countenance; which indeed in Prosperity is of some difficulty, considering how apt the Passions are to break forth of themselves, and that Reason vanishes with Glory. However, a truly noble Mind suffers not it self to be transported, even, by the highest Happiness, as one might see in *Vespasian*, who though he was by the unanimous Consent of all saluted Emperor, was yet neither Proud nor Arrogant (1), nor could the Alteration of Affairs work any in him. That Man, who with his Fortune changes his Mind, confesses he did not deserve it (2).

This modest Assurance was eminent too in *Piso*, who when adopted by *Galba*, look'd so serene and unconcern'd, as if it had been in his Power to be Emperor, and not depending upon the Will of another (3). Valour also is wont to be endanger'd by adverse Accidents, in that they generally find Men unprepared, there being scarce one who seriously thinks of all the Calamities incident to him. Which makes them surprize many unawares, and is the reason the Mind is then in so much Confusion, which proceeds either from excessive Dotage on those Happinesses it falls short of, or from fear of loss of Life; the desire of prolonging which is ingrafted in every Man's Nature. Let others harbour those Passions, yet in a Prince's Breast they ought never to be entertain'd; whose Duty 'tis to Govern equally in both Fortunes, and to keep always a pleasant compos'd Countenance and undaunted Speech. Thus *Orbo* appear'd to his Friends, even after the loss of his Empire, endeavouring to stop their unreasonable

(1) *In ipso nihil tumidum, arrogans, aut in rebus novis novum fuit.* Tac. 2. Hist. (2) *Frons privata manet, non se meruisse fatetur.*

Qui crevisse putat.

Claud.

(3) *Nullum turbati, aut exultantis animi motum prodidisse, sermo erit patrem, Imperatoreinque reverens. de se moderatus, nihil in vultu, habitusque mutatum, quasi imperare posset magis quam vellet.* Tac. 1. Hist.

Tears (4). In that bloody Fight at *Naves* of *Toulouze*, King *Alphonso* the Ninth, continued in the Heat of the Engagement with the same Calmness of Mind and Looks. No Accident was ever able to disclose the Passion of King *Ferdinand* the Catholick. Being once struck by a mad Fellow of *Barcelona*, he seem'd to be nothing disorder'd. Only gave Command he should be seized. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, at the Siege of *Ingolstadt*, changed neither his Looks nor Station, though the continual Fire of the Enemies Guns had tore his Tent in Pieces, and cut off some by his side. With no less Constancy the King of *Hungary*, (now the most August Emperor) and his Highness, *Ferdinand* the Infant, (both glorious Rivals of *Charles's* Courage and Achievements) stood undaunted at the Battel of *Norlingun*, not the least terrified by the Death of a Colonel, who was kill'd by a Cannon-shot very near them. Nor should I omit here the Example of *Maximilian*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and Elector of the Empire; the same, who was famous for the numerous Victories he obtain'd at the Head of the Catholick League. He was not puff'd up with them, nor suffer'd afterwards his great Soul to be broken by the contrary Success, though he saw his States ruined, and the King of *Sweden*, and *Fredrick*, Count *Palatine*, in his Palace of *Monaca*, (a Fabrick worthy so great a Prince) and tho' he found the Duke of *Frizeland* as much his Enemy as the other two.

Let Envy, and the fickleness of Times, divide and dash into never so many pieces, the Gems of States, yet in every of them, however small, Majesty will remain entire. Whoever is born to a Scepter, ought not to be chang'd at any Event or Accident whatever, nor think any so grievous and insupportable, as for it to abandon himself, and dissemble the Person he bears. King *Peter*, even, when he fell into the Hands of his Bro-

(4) *Placidus ore, intrepidus verbis, intempestivas suorum lachrymas secernens.* Tac. 2. dist.

ther, and dead'y Enemy, conceal'd not who he was, nay, when it was question'd, if it were he or not, he cried out aloud, *It is I, it is I.* This very Constancy in preserving a Grandeur and Majesty in misfortunes, is sometimes the best and only Remedy against them; as it was with *Porus*, King of the *Indies*, who being taken Prisoner by *Alexander* the Great, and demanded how he would be treated: Made answer, *Like a King.* And when *Alexander* ask'd him, whether he desired nothing more: He replied, *That Word comprehends all.* Which Heroick Answer so affected *Alexander*, that he not only restored his Kingdom, but gave him other Countries besides. To yield to Adversity, is as it were to side with it. Valour in the Conquered pleases the Victor, either because it renders his Triumph more glorious, or because such is the intrinsic Energy of Virtue. The Mind is not subject to Violence, nor has Fortune any Power over it. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, used severe Threats to *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, to oblige him to Surrender the Dutchy of *Wirtemberg*. To which his Answer was, *His Imperial Majesty may indeed do what he pleases with my Body, but shall never be able to strike fear into this Breast.* Which he really shew'd on another occasion of much greater Danger; for it happened, as he was playing at Chess with *Ernest*, Duke of *Brunswick*, he heard Sentence of Death was pass'd upon him, which he receiv'd with no more Trouble, than if the News had not concern'd him; but chearfully bid the Duke play on; which generous Carriage wiped off, in some measure, the Infamy of Rebellion, and procured him Glory. One great Action even upon a forced Death, leaves a Luster and Repute to Life. As has in our own time happned: *Rodrigo Calderon*, Marquis de *Siewigl stas*, or *Seven Churches*, whose truly Christian Valour and Heroick Constancy, were the whole World's Admiration, in so much as to turn Envy and Hatred, things common to one of his Fortune, into Pity and Commendations. None are delivered from violent Casualties by

Timorousness, nor does Confusion any way lessen Danger, whereas Resolution either overcomes, or at least renders it illustrious. The People gather what Peril they are in from the Princes Countenance, as Mariners do the danger of the Tempest from that of their Pilot. For that Reason ought he to appear equally serene in Prosperity and Adversity, lest Fear dash, or Pride exalt him, and others be able to judge of the State of Affairs. This made *Tiberius* take so much care to hide every unsuccessful Accident (5). All is in Disorder and Confusion, when in the Princes Face, as that of Heaven, the Tempests which threaten the Commons are discernible. To change Colour at every Breath of Fortune, betrays a light Judgment and mean Spirit. Constancy, and an even Look, inspire Subjects with Courage, strike Enemies with Admiration. All Men fix their Eyes upon the Prince, and if they see Fear there, they fear. Thus 'twas with those who were at *Otho's* Table (6). Besides, there can be no Fidelity where Fear and Distrust find Entertainment (7). Which, however, I would have understood of those Cases, wherein it is convenient to dissemble Dangers, and conceal Calamities; for in others to join in publick Expressions of Sadness, don't ill become the Prince, as that which manifests his Love to his Subjects, and engages their Hearts. The Emperor, *Charles* the Fifth, put himself in Mourning, and express'd his Sorrow for the Sacking of *Rome*. *David* upon the news of the Death of *Saul* and *Jonathan*, took hold of his Cloaths, and rent them (8). The same did *Joshua* for the loss received by the Men of *Ai*; And he fell to the Earth before the Ark of the Lord (9). And indeed, what can be more just, than in a common Calamity thus to submit to God; 'tis a kind of Rebel-

(5) *Hæc audita, quanquam abstrusam, & tristissima quoque maxime occultantem Tiberium pertulerunt.* Tac. 1. Ann. (6) *Simul Othonis vultum intueri, atque eventus molantis ad suspicionem mentibus, cum timeret Otho timebatur.* Tac. 1. Hist. (7) *Fides metu infracta.* Tac. 3. Hist. (8) 2 Sam. 1. 21. (9) J. 6. 7. 6.

lion willingly to receive Good only at God's Hand, and not Evil also (10). He that is humble under Correction, moves to Pardon.

Here it may be disputed, whether this Steadiness of Mind be commendable in an Inferior, when he needs the Aid of the more Potent; the Solution of which Doubt requires a peculiar Distinction. He, who is under Oppression, and craves anothers Assistance, should not do it with too much Cringing and Solicitude, lest he make his Fortune desperate, there being no Prince, who out of pure Compassion will reach his Hand to a Man fallen, or undertake the Defence of one that has already abandon'd all hopes of himself and his Affairs. *Pompey's* Cause lost not a little in the Opinion of *Ptolemy*, when he saw so much Submission in his Ambassadors. The King of the *Cberusci* shewed much more Courage, when upon the loss of his Kingdom, thinking it his Interest to procure the Favour of *Tiberius*, He wrote to him not like a Fugitive or Beggur, but as one who remembred his former Fortune (11). Nor is the Example of *Mithridates* less Illustrious, who being overthrown by *Eumon*, is said, with a Resolution truly Royal, to have thus bespoke him, *Mithridates so many Years fought by the Romans by Sea and Land, here voluntarily Surrenders himself, do what you please with the Offspring of the great Achemenes, the only thing my Enemies cannot deprive me of* (12). Which Words prevailed with *Eumon* to intercede with the Emperor *Claudius* in his behalf (13). Let him, who hath faithfully served his Prince, speak boldly if he find himself injured; as *Herman Cortez* did to *Charles* the Fifth; and *Segestes* to *Germanicus* (14). In other Cases prudence should examine

(10) Job 2. 10. (11) *Non ut profugus aut supplex, sed ex memoria prioris fortune.* Tac. 2. Ann. (12) *Mithridates terra marique per tot annos Romanis quæsitis, sponte adium; utere, ut voles, prole magni Achmenis, quod mihi solum hostes non abstulerunt.* Tac. 12. Ann. (13) *Mutatione rerum, & prece haud degenerare permotus.* Tac. 12. Ann. (14) *Simul Segestes ipse ingens visu, & memoria bonæ societatis impavidus; verba ejus in hunc modum fuerunt.*

Necessity, Time, and the Things themselves, having attentive Respect to the following Maxims. That a Superior takes boldness in an Inferior for an Affront, imagining he aspires to be his equal, or disparages him; and on the other side, is very apt to slight one he sees too abject and submissive. It was for this reason, *Tiberius* nominated none to be Senators, but such as were of a servile Nature, and though such Persons were necessary for his Service, yet could he not endure that Baseness of Mind (15). Thus we see Princes are competent Judges of every ones natural Vigour and Alacrity, and are apt to put Affronts upon those whom they know will take them. *Vitellius* had not took the liberty to keep *Valerius Maximus* so long from the Consulate, which *Galba* had conferr'd on him, but that he thought *his meek Temper would not resent the Injury* (16). For this reason a resolute kind of Modesty, and a modest Courage will be highly requisite in a Prince, who, if he must of Necessity be ruined, had better be so with a *Mind* great and noble, than base and degenerate. This *Marcus Hortalus* consider'd, when *Tiberius* refused to assist him in the extremest Necessity (17).

When the more powerful denies another the Honour due to him, (especially in Publick Actions) it is more adviseable to snatch, and as I may say, steal, than dispute them. He that doubts distrusts his Merit; the Dissembler tacitly owns his want of it, and Modesty is afterwards but laugh'd at. He, who handsomely assumes the Preference due to him, easily preserves it afterwards. Thus it happen'd once to the *German Ambassadors*, who seeing those of such Nations as surpassed in Valour and constant Alliance with the *Romans*, seated among the Senators in *Pompey's Theatre*, said, *No Man in the World were preferable to the Germans*

(15) *Etiam illum, qui libertatem publicam nolle, tam projecta servitium patientia cedebat.* Tac. 3. Ann. (16) *Nulla offensa, sed mitem & injuriam signiter laturum.* Tac. 2. Hist. (17) *Avix nobilitatis etiam inter angustias fortune retinens.* Tac. 2. Ann.

for Arms and Fidelity (18), and immediatly took Place with the Senators, every one being taken with their generous Freedom and noble Emulation (19).

As to Favours and Gratuities, which depend wholly upon the Prince's pleasure, although they seem due to Merit or Virtue, the Subject ought not to murmur if they be not conferr'd upon him: On the contrary, rather give thanks under some honest Pretext, following the Example of some Officers, who were displac'd in *Vitellius's* time (20). For a discreet Courier usually lets acknowledgments close all his Discourse with the Prince. This piece of Prudence *Seneca* shewed after his Conference with *Nero*, about the Crimes laid to his Charge (21). He that complains, declares he has been ill us'd; and Princes have very little Confidence in one they think dissatisfied; all of them affecting to be like God in that, of whom we never complain in our Affliction, nay, we rather give thanks for them.

In Accusations also Constancy is of very great Consequence; he that gives way to them, makes himself a Criminal. The innocent Person, who disowns his Actions, does in a manner plead guilty. A good Conscience arm'd with Truth, triumphs over Envy: If that be degenerate and resist not the Stream of Misfortunes, their Waves will overwhelm him, as a River by the force of its Current throws down the weaker Trees, where is the deeply rooted stand immoveable. All *Sejanus's* Favourites fell with his Fortune; *Marcus Terentius* alone, who couragiously acknowledged he had courted and esteem'd his Friendship, as that which procur'd him the Emperor *Tiberius's* Favour, was acquitted (22); and all other Evidences either banished or

(18) *Nul or mortalium armis & fide ante Germanos esse.* Tac. 13. Ann.
 (19) *Quod comiter à visentibus ex eptum, quasi impetus antiqui, & bona emulacione.* Tac. 13. Ann. (20) *Attaque insuper Vitello gratis, consuetudine servitii.* Tac. 2. Hist. (21) *Seneca (qui finis omnium cum dominante sermonum) gratias agit.* T. C. 14. Ann. (22) *Constantia orationis, & quia repertus erat qui effertet que omnes animo agitabant, &c.* Tac. 6. Ann.

executed. In some Cases this firm assurance is absolutely necessary, that Innocence defend not it self by Excuses, for fear of betraying Timorousness; nor good Services be taken Notice of, least they be thought to be upbraided. Thus *Agrippina* did when accused of having procured *Plautus* the Empire (22).

Nor should the Prince's Person only be a Looking-Glass to his Subjects, but he is to shew himself such by his State also, which is as it were his Picture, and so in that no less than his own Person, Religion, Justice, Clemency, and all other Imperial Virtues ought to be conspicuous. And in as much as Councils, Seats of Justice, and Courts of Chancery, are Parts of this Glass, in them the same Qualities should be found as are in the whole; nay, in all particular Ministers who represent it; for it very much lessens the Prince's Reputation to appear favourable to every Pretender to dismiss them with fair Promises, and give Encouragement to their Hopes; and on the other side, put off his Counsellors, and other Ministers, to deter them by rough Usage from pursuing their Petitions. An Artifice that will soon discover it self to be unworthy a Generous and Royal Breast. The Minister is a piece of publick Coin, stamp'd with the Prince's Image, which, except it be of good Allay, and represent him to the Life, will be refused as Counterfeit (24). If the Head, which Governs, be of Gold, the Hands also which serve should be so too; as were those of the Spouse in the Holy Scripture (25).

Farther, Ambassadors are also principal Parts of this Glass, as Persons in whom the Prince's Authority is lodged. And certainly it would infinitely prejudice the Publick Faith to have his Words and Veracity not found in these: And as they are the Lieutenants of his

(23) *Ubi nihil pro innocentia, quasi diffideret, nec beneficiis, quasi improbraret, differuit.* Tac. 3. Ann. (24) *Præfectus nisi formam suam referat, mali fati instar subditis efficitur.* Them. Orat. 17. (25) Cant. 5. 13, 14.

Power and Courage, so ought they on all Occasions to manifest them, as if the Prince were present in Person. Thus did *Anthony Fonseca*, after he had propos'd to *Charles* the Eighth, in his Catholick Majesty's Name, that the Kingdom of *Naples* should not be invaded, till it had been judicially determin'd whose Title was best, and saw it came to nothing; with singular freedom of Mind he openly declared his King had now satisfi'd his Conscience; that he was at liberty to take which side he thought most just, and immediately in the presence of the King and Council, broke the Treaties of Peace before made between the two Crowns. As the Minister is to be furnish'd with his Prince's Maxims, so also should he be with his Majesty, Valour and Magnanimity.

EMBLEM XXXIV.



WHoever looks on the Thorns and Prickles of the Rose-Tree, will hardly be perswaded a Daughrer so beautiful as the Rose could proceed from so deform'd a Mother. One had need be indued with a great Measure of Faith to water it, and wait till it be cloathed with Verdure, and blossom into that wonderful pomp of Flowers, of so delicate a Smeil. Yet by Patience and long Expectation, we at length find the labour not lost, nor that Care ill employed which has produced such Beauty and Fragrancy. The first Branches of Virtue are harsh and thorny to our depraved Nature, but after some time, its Flower of all other, the most beautiful begins to Bloom. Let not the first sight of things discourage a Prince, for the outside of very few in Government are pleasant; they all seem full of Thorns and

and Difficulties, but Experience has found many easy which appeared much otherwise to Sloth. The Prince therefore should not be disheartned; for in lightly yielding to them, he will be overcome by his own Apprehension rather than any thing real. Let him endure with Courage and Hope, with Patience and Perseverance, still keeping the means in his Hand. He that hopes has a good and faithful Companion on his side, I mean Time. Whence *Philip* the Second used to say, *I and Time against any two*. Precipitation is the effect of Madness, and generally the occasion of great Perils. *Theobald*, Earl of *Champagne*, put his Succession to the Crown of *Navarre*, very much in Question, by not having patience to wait for his Uncle, King *Sancho's* Death, but underhand conspiring with the Nobles to possess himself of the Kingdom in his Life-time; for this put *Sancho* upon adopting *James* the First of *Arragon*, his Heir. Patience obtains many Trophies. This was *Scipio's* Excellency, who though he had infinite occasions of Displeasure, was yet so patient, *as never to let a passionate Word fall from him* (1), which thing gave success to all his Designs. He that suffers with Expectation, vanquishes the slights of Fortune, and obliges her to take his Part, that Confidence among all her Vicissitudes like Flattery winning upon her. *Columbus*, not without great hazard, exposes himself to the Ocean's uncertain Waves, in quest of new Countries. Neither *Hercules's* *Ne plus ultra*, at *Caspe* and *Abyla*, nor the Mountains of Waters, that seem to oppose his Enterprize deter him from it; he by Sailing tells the Sun's Steps, and steals from the Year its Days, from the Days their Hours; his Needle wants the Pole, his Charts the Lines, his Companions patience; all things conspire against him, but his Hope and Patience rub through all Difficulties, till at length a new World recompences his invincible Constancy. *Ferendum & Sperandum*, was a saying of *Empedocles*, and afterwards the Emperor

(1) *Ut nullum feroc verbum excideret.* Tit. liv.

Macrinus's Motto, whence that of this Emblem is borrowed. Some Dangers are more easy to surmount than avoid: As *Agathocles* well knew, when being beaten, and besieged in *Syracuse*, he did not base'y Surrender to the Enemy, but leaving a sufficient Body of Men for the Defence of the City, march'd with the rest of his Army against *Carthage*, and he who could not be victorious in one War, by this means obtain'd a double Triumph. Rashness frequently overcomes a Danger, and despising it often confounds an Enemy. When *Hannibal* saw the *Romans* after the Battel of *Cinna* send Succours into *Spain*, he began to fear their Power and Strength. No one ought to trust Prosperity too much, or despair in Adversity. Fortune lies between both, as ready to advance as depress. Let the Prince therefore keep in the one, and the other, a Constancy and Strength of Mind, prepared to encounter any Accident, and not suffer the Threats of the greatest Tempest to disturb him: For sometimes the Waves have cast a Man out of one Ship that is to be wreck'd, into another that is to be saved. A great and generous Soul Heaven it self favours. Let not the Prince rashly despair for anothers Dangers, or those which Chance brings with it. *II. that observeth the Wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the Clouds shall not reap* (2). Let him not imagine he obliges any one by his Afflictions. Tears are Womanish, nor is Fortune appeas'd with such Sacrifices. A great Soul endeavours to give it self Satisfaction or Comfort by some heroick and generous Action: Thus *Agricola*, when he heard of his Son's Death, took not the Accident as generally Men do, ambitiously; nor in Tears like Women; but by War diverted his Grief (3). To be wholly insensible, is either Vain-glory, or Excess of Consternation.

(2) Eccl. 11. 4. (3) *Quem casum, neque, ut plerique fortium virorum, ambitiosè, neque per lamenta rursus, ac terrorem muliebrem tulit, & in luctu, bellum inter remedia erat.* Tac. in Vit. Agr.

In suing for Offices and Honours, the Design of this Emblem is very useful. He that can bear and hope, knows how to get the better of his Fortune. Whereas one that impatient of delay, thinks it base to be behold-ing and submit, shall be despised and abandon'd by the whole World. To look on it as a point of Honour not to obey any, is the way to command none. The means are to be measured by the end; if in obtaining this there be more Honour got, than is lost by them, certainly they ought to be used. Impatience of Sufferings we take for Generosity of Mind, when it is imprudent Haughtiness. Honour once attain'd, the Tracks made in ascending them, presently wear out. To endure much in order to Advancement, is not base Degeneracy, but extraordinary Strength of a Mind elevated and aspiring. Some Tempers there are which can't abide to wait, that would have all things ended in a Moment; desiring now to exceed their Equals, by and by their Superiors, and in a little while, even their own Hopes. These hurried by this Violence of Ambition despise the most secure means as slow, and choose to employ the shortest, though most hazardous. But it usually fares with them, as with Buildings raised in haste, before the Materials have had time to dry and settle, which immediately fall down again.

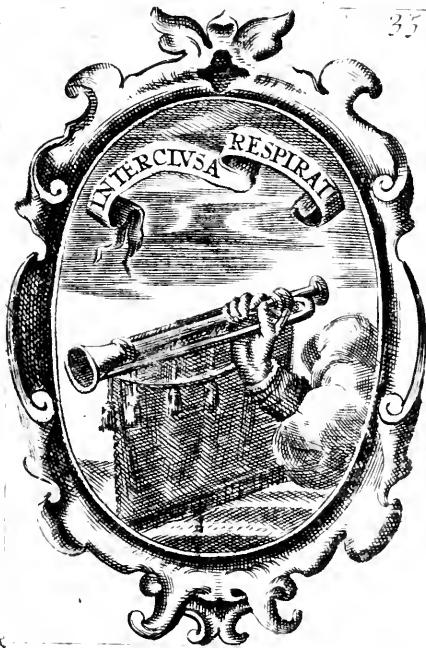
The Master-piece of Government consists in hoping and enduring, in that these are the only means to do things in time, without which nothing can possibly come to maturity. Trees that at the Springs first warmth bear Flowers, soon lose them for not waiting till the Winters cold was quite gone. He, who would ripen Affairs with the Hand, cannot have the Satisfaction of tasting the Fruit of them. Impatience is the cause of Misfortunes and Dangers (4); it creates Perils, which by being uneasy under, and too hasty to escape, we augment. Therefore for those Evils, as well Internal as External, which have by our negli-

(4) Prov. 14. 17.

gence been increas'd in the Commonwealth, 'tis better to let them take their Course, and be sensibly cured by Time, than precipitate a Remedy, wherein there is more Danger. If before we could not foresee and prevent; at least let us learn to bear them after: They are increas'd by Opposition. A Danger conceal'd or not taken notice of, thereby becomes publick, and lays greater Impediments in his way, who thought to stop it. Fear imprudently arm'd against a Superior Power, does but find it Exercise, and render it more powerful by the Addition of its own Spoils. This Method *Cerealis* took to compose the Minds of those of *Treves*, lest they should take up Arms against the *Romans*, saying, *A Fabrick, as that was, which had been the Product of Eight hundred years Success and Industry, could not be pull'd down, but its Ruin must of necessity bury the Authors of it* (5). Many things would not succeed so ill, did not our Fear and Imagination act with too much Precipitation. Apprehension and Jealousy of Tyranny, when once discovered, make it begin to be really, though it were not before. Whence in such like Cases, 'tis a piece of no less Courage to know how to dissemble, than to be too rash in remedying. The former is the genuine Effect of Prudence, this generally the Result of Fear.

(5) *Octogentorum annorum fortuna, disciplinaque, compages hæc coaluit: quæ convelli sine excidio convellentium non potest.* Tac. 4. Hist.

EMBLEM XXXV.



THE closer the Breath is pressed in a Trumpet, with the greater Harmony and Variety it goes out of it; thus 'tis with Virtue, which is never more clear and harmonious than when suppressed by Malice (1). The Flame of Valour is apt to die, if the Wind of Adversity don't revive it; that awakens the Mind, and makes it look about for means to amend it. Happiness, like the Rose, grows out of Thorns and Miseries. *Alphonso* the Fifth, King of *Arragon*, was vanquish'd and taken in a Sea-fight with the *Genoese*; and that, which in all probability was like to retard his Expedition against the Kingdom of *Naples*, was the very thing that furthered

(1) *Multorum improbitate depressa veritas emergit, & innocentia defensa interclusa respirat. CICERO.*

it with greater Happiness and Power; for by making a League with *Philip*, Duke of *Milan*, who retain'd him Prisoner, he obtain'd both his Liberty, and Forces for the Conquest of that Kingdom. Necessity compell'd him to get his Host of his side; for in Prosperity, indeed, every one lives to himself alone, but in Adversity for himself and others. Those disclose the Passions of the Mind, otherwise forgetful of it self: Whereas, by this it learns Caution, and arms it self with Virtues, as means to attain real and lasting Happiness (2). Whence it is not a little easier to escape bad, than be continued in good Fortune. In Prison first appeared *Alphonso's* extraordinary Endowments and Ornaments of Mind, which till then had lain hid; and the Duke of *Milan* charm'd with them, was ambitious of his Friendship, and laid these Obligations upon him. He obtain'd more by losing the Victory, than he could have expected had he been Victor. Fortune sports between Extrems, and takes delight in shewing her Power, in skipping from one to another. There is no Virtue but will shine in Adversity, as no Star but sparkles with greatest Lustre in the darkest Night. Then the weight shews the Palm's Strength when this is raised higher under it. The Rose preserves its Leaves longer fresh among Nettles than Flowers. Did not Virtue exert it self in Adversity too; it would not deserve Victories or Triumphs. 'Tis its Property to Conquer by suffering. Whence it evidently appears, how impious the Error (confuted by us in another place) of those is, who advise the Prince not to be bigotted to Virtue, but to comply with Vice when necessity shall require; a time in which he ought more particularly to approve himself constant in it, with greater hopes of Success: As it usually happned to the Emperor, *Ferdinand* the Second of Blessed Memory; who in his greatest Dangers would resolutely affirm, *He'd rather*

(2) *Secundæ res acrioribus stimulis animum exploravit; quia miseriæ tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Tac. l. Hist.

lose the Empire, and all he had, and with his whole Family beg from Door to Door, than to commit an unjust thing to maintain his Grandeur. Words truly worthy so Pious a Prince, whose exemplary Piety and Faith were so acceptable to God Almighty, that he vouchsafed to take the Imperial Scepter, and perform his Office here on Earth, giving him several signal and miraculous Victories. In the greatest Dangers and Distresses, when all hope fail'd, and humane Prudence and Valour were destitute of means, he always came off with most Success and greatest Triumph. The *Roman* Emperors of old lived in Affluence of Peace, and all manner of Delights, yet were tyrannized over by their own Passions, and rack'd by a thousand Fears. But this Pious Hero found Repose and Tranquility of Mind amidst the raging Tempests, which the Fury of Rebels raised against his Empire, and most August House. The just sings amidst Misfortunes, and the wicked Man weeps in his Impiety. Thus the fiery Furnace was as a Choire to the three Children (3). Miseries and Hardships are attended with great Advantages; they correct the Prince's Pride, and reduce him to Reason; with what fury does the Wind sometimes storm? How arrogantly does the Sea swell and rage, its foaming Billows like Mountains threatenng Heaven and Earth! And yet a small Shower composes and calms it. Thus Misfortunes raining from Heaven allay the Prince's Pride and Presumption. They make a just Governor of a Tyrant, of a Prince careless and negligent of his Affairs, one careful and circumspect. For, then even Necessity obliges him to take Care of his People, to esteem Nobility, honour Valour, do Justice, and respect Religion. Power is never in greater Danger than when all things flow prosperously. For Cares being then laid aside, too much Security is apt to stifle Counsel and Prudence. Ease and Idleness has been the Ruin of more Princes than Labour. 'Tis with them as with Bodies,

(3) Dan. 3. 50

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which are kept in Vigor by Motion, without which they languish and decay. Whence it appears farther, how erroneous we are in our Judgments of Good and Evil, scarce ever knowing what is most for our Advantage. Adversity we look on as Rigour and Chastisement, when it is really Warning and Instruction. The Present of Ear-rings and a Sheep, which *Job's* Friends and Relations made him, seems to intimate, that he should endure all things with a patient, even Temper (4), and that those Afflictions were precious Admonitions of God whisper'd in his Ear. God's afflicting us sometimes is wonderful Mercy, and on the contrary his Recompences are Punishments; for by these he clears, as it were, the Bill of our Debts, and by paying for some of our Merits, remains Creditor to our Offences; whereas by afflicting us, he at once pays himself, and excites us to Amendment.

(4) *Job* 42. 12.

EMBLEM XXXVI.



THE expert and prudent Seaman is not always carried at the Pleasure of the Wind, but rather by the Benefit of it, so disposes the Sails of his Ship, that he arrives at the desired Port, and with the same Wind lands at which he pleases of two opposite Shores, without endangering his Voyage.

But when the Heaven's calm, by the help of Sails and Oars he out strips even the Wind it self. With no less Care and Diligence the Prince ought to steer the Vessel of his State in the tempestuous Sea of his Reign, so attentively observing all Storms that he may with Prudence and Valour make use of the same in their time and place. He is a Pilot, to whose Conduct the Life and Safety of all is committed; nor is any Ship more hazardous than a Crown exposed to so many Winds of Ambition,

so many Rocks of Enemies, and Storms of People. King *Sancho* the Brave needed all his Industry to arm himself against Fortune, and secure the Right of his Crown. Almost the whole Science of Politicks consists in knowing how to discern Times, and make use of them: A Storm sometimes bringing a Ship sooner into Harbour than a Calm. He, who can break the force of ill Fortune, renders it favourable; and one that knowing a Danger yields to it, and gives it time, at length surmounts it. When the Sailor finds there is no contending with the Billows, he strikes Sail and abandons himself to them; and because his Resistance would rather add force to the Wind, uses some narrow Creek to rest his Ship in, and shelter it from the Waves. Something must be granted Dangers, if one would escape them. *James* the First, King of *Arragon*, was sensible of the Aversion his Nobles and People had to him, and that it was by no means convenient to increase their Fury by an untimely Opposition, but rather to give it time to sink of it self; as Rivers do, whose Waters in a Tempest swell and overflow their Banks, voluntarily suffer'd himself to be play'd upon, and as it were imprisoned, till he restored all things to their former Calmness and Tranquility, and reinstated himself in the Throne. The same discreet Moderation Queen *Mary* used, when by siding with the Grandees, and satisfying their Ambition, she preserved the Crown of *Castile*, during the Minority of her Son, *Ferdinand* the Fourth †. Did the Sailor think it a dishonour to yield to a Storm, and were resolved with Sails and Oars to withstand it, his Ruin would be inevitable. Constancy consists not in unseasonable struggling, but in hoping, and so enduring Danger, without letting Fortune get the upper hand of one. In such Cases the Glory is to escape safe. What seems Baseness of Mind in them, is afterwards Magnanimity crown'd with Success. When King *Alphonso* the Wise, saw himself

† Mac. Hist. Histp.

deprived of his Kingdom, putting his whole Confidence in the King of *Morocco's* Assistance, made no difficulty to beg of *Alphonso de Guzman*, Governor of *St. Lucar de Barameda*, who upon some Disgust had retired to that Prince's Court, that forgetting all former Injuries, and remembering their ancient Amity, and his Nobility, he would stand his Friend, and endeavour to be an Instrument of that King's supplying him with Men and Money. Which Letters are to this Day kept in that most Illustrious and Ancient House.

Nevertheless Kings ought not to yield to their Subjects violence, unless in Cases of Extremity, for he very little consults his Authority, who debases himself by too much Condescension. The dishonourable Terms King *Ferdinand* the Holy, constrain'd by his Non-age, made the House of *Zara*, no way appeas'd them. Nor could *Isabella* reclaim *Alphonso Carillo*, Bishop of *Toledo*, though she honour'd him with a Visit at *Alcala*. I confess in desperate Cases, prudence is wont to try all ways that Chance can render possible. It is great Courage and Strength of Reason, on Occasions of that Nature to restrain the Spirits, and weigh the present Necessity, and greatness of the Danger against such means as may contribute more to the State's Preservation. No one was ever more Jealous of his Grandeur than *Tiberius*, yet he dissembled the Boldness of *Lentulus Germanicus*, who having the Command of the *German* Legions, was so audacious as to write to him with Threats, not to send him a Successor, covenanting as 'twere to let his Prince enjoy the Empire, provided he were continued in his Province (1); and he, who could not put up the Emulation of his Sons, took this slight patiently. Not but he knew the ill Consequence of letting such Disobedience go unpunished, but if he oppos'd it, he consider'd he should incur the publick Odium; that he was now in Years, and in a State where

(1) *Reputante Tiberio, publicum sibi odium, extremam aetatem, magisque famam, quam vi flare res suas.* Tac. 6. Ann.

his Affairs depended more upon Reputation than Strength. Subjects would be little beholding to the Valour of the Prince who governs them, if he should presently in ill Fortune submit to Necessity; and on the other side as little to his Prudence, if when that Fortune can't be overcome, he will however withstand it. Courage should be moderated by Prudence and Address, and what cannot be effected by Strength, should be the Work of Art and Industry. 'Tis no less glorious to avoid than to surmount a Danger. To fly it always is Sloth; to expect, Ignorance or Surprize; to despair Cowardice. Men of Courage make Head against Fortune her self. The Prince's Duty and End is not lightly to contest with his State upon the Billows, but to conduct it to the Haven of Preservation and Safety. That is esteemed valiant Wisdom, which draws Benefit out of Adversity; as also, that which by struggling compasses its Ends sooner. Kings, the Masters of Times and Things, are always followed, never led by them. There's no Building, but whose Ruins, with what Addition Industry is wont to make, may Erect a more stately Fabrick: Nor any State so intirely abandon'd by Fortune, that Valour cannot preserve, and even advance, provided it consult Prudence upon Events, and know how to make right use of them; or at least to turn them to its Advantage. *Ferdinand* the Catholick, and *Lewis* the Twelfth of *France*, had divided between them the Kingdom of *Naples*; and the great Captain knowing the Circle of a Crown to have but one Center, and that Empire admits of no Companion, endeavoured immediately to get his Master's Share into his Hands; that in Case of after Disputes, which he foresaw would arise between those two Kings, he might be the more at leisure, and use them afterwards to dispossess the King of *France* of his Part, as in Effect it happned. Accidents, it is true, have some force; but we increase or diminish them according to our Carriage under them. Our Ignorance gives Divinity and Power to Fortune, in that

we lightly resign our selves to her Vicissitudes. Did we change our Customs and Measures as oft as she does the Times, she would not be so powerful, nor we so subject to her Empire. The Make of our Cloaths we alter with the Mode, but neglect our Mind and Manners. What Wind does not the skilful Pilot make serviceable to his Voyage? As that veres he trims his Sails, and thus all conduce to the end he proposes: We refuse to shake off the ill Habits of our Nature, either out of Self-love or Imprudence, and afterwards lay the fault on Casualty. We grow desperate before we seek to remedy our Misfortunes, and through Obstinacy or Inadvertency, let Despair get the Ascendant over us. We cannot in Adversity lay aside that Pride, Anger, Vain-glory, Detraction, and those other Vices which Prosperity bred in us; nor are without great difficulty induc'd to acknowledge them that have brought us into that unhappy Condition. Every moment in every Affair, with whomsoever of his Subjects the Prince shall have to do, he ought to differ from himself and change his Nature. Nor does this require any extraordinary Knowledge, but a certain Disposition only, and Capacity to adapt ones self to all Contingences, and Prudence to foresee them.

Now, as we are lost in Adversity for want of furling the Sails of our Passions, and submitting to it for a time; so also do we bring Destruction upon our selves and Princes, when we indiscreetly and conceitedly go about to measure their Interest, Passions, and Inclinations, by our own Natures and Advantages: It being impossible for a Minister of a liberal Temper to exert his Generosity under a Covetous, Griping Prince; or one Valiant and Active with one Slothful and Cowardly. Our Motions should be regulated by the Activity of the Prince's Sphere. This was a fault in *Corbulo*, who serving *Claudius*, a pusillanimous, mean-spirited Prince, made many rash Attempts, by

which he could not but be disagreeable to him (4). In some Ministers an imprudent Zeal is the cause of this Error; in others, which is most frequent, Self-love and Vain-glory, which makes them desirous to appear prudent in the Eyes of the World, and shew their Ability, as if, forsooth, by their means alone the Prince succeeded; but that whatever he undertakes by himself, or others, is faulty; and thus under Colour of Zeal they publish the Government's Defects, and discredit their Prince: Artifices which generally the Minister himself feels the Effect of afterwards by the loss of his Prince's Favour. He that consults his Interest, and would establish his Fortune, must with all possible speed fly such Affectations, as odious to the Prince and whole World; he should be more serviceable in Deed than in Word; he should conform to the Prince's Nature and Condition, reducing him to Reason, and his Duty, under Colour of Service, with Humility and a quiet Industry, without Noise and Arrogance (5). It is the ruin of Valour and Virtue to be too nice Observers of Constancy, and to think that their whole Reputation depends upon it; for in the mean time others more various, who can transform themselves into any shape, and suit theirs to the Prince's Nature, carry away the Gratuities and Preferments.

But these are not to be used with *Aleto's* Design, to deceive; but to prevent being unadvisedly ruined at Court, or to render one more serviceable to the Prince, for there are some of such a Make, that it is absolutely necessary for the Minister to put on their Nature; and as I may say, to creep into them, to make them move and act; as Men, who neither will be directed by others Counsel, nor can dispatch their own (6). And consequently not always what is most

(4) *Cur hostem concitet? adversa in Kemp. casura; sin prosperè egisset, formidolosum paci virum insignem, & ignavo principi pręgravem.* Tac. 2. Ann. (5) Tac. 3. Ann. (6) *Neque alienis consiliis regi, neque sua expedire.* Tac. 3. Hist.

expedient is to be advised a Prince, but what he is in Duty oblig'd to execute. Those courageous Counsels which were given *Vitellius*, though the best in the World, were useles because he wanted Resolution to put them in Practice (7); he was usually deaf to them. Ministers are as it were the Prince's Sails. Now, if they are large, and the Prince a shallow Vessel, if they are always loos'd without Consideration of the Burthen of the Boat, they will certainly overfet it.

(7) *Surda ad fortia consilia Vitellio aures.* Tac. 3. Hist.

E M B L E M XXXVII.

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THAT the Prince may not escape the Storm without full Instructions in all Accidents that ill Fortune can throw him into; this Device represents the choice of the lesser Evil, when the greater are inevitable. Thus the Pilot, when he has lost all hopes of being saved by Opposition, or Compliance with the Tempest, endeavours to make the Land, and run his Ship ashore; where, if he lose his Ship, yet he saves his Life and Merchandize. It was very commendable in the *Romans*, that when they could not oppose Fortune, they provided for their own Security. The Prince's Valour consists not only in resisting, but withal in weighing Dangers, and submitting to the less, when the greater is insuperable. For as it is the part of Prudence to prevent, so it is of Courage and Constancy

to bear patiently what is not in the power of Prudence to decline, a thing *Alphonso* the Sixth was a great Master of; a Prince modest in Prosperity, valiant in Adversity, never unprepar'd for any Accident. 'Tis a Vain-glory of a Prince, who with more Temerity than Valour, chooses rather to die in the greater Danger, than escape in the lesser. He consults more his own Fame than the Publick Safety; or rather wants Courage to despise the Opinions of the Multitude, who inconsiderately, and without any knowledge of the Accidents, condemn prudent Resolutions; and when in Danger, are against having recourse to Remedies so dangerous and violent. That sometimes looks like Courage is Cowardice; where presence of Mind is wanting to hope in danger, the Confusion of Fear casts us into it. When Prudence and Fortitude go hand in hand, then Consideration takes place; and if it find not safety in the lesser, is not affraid to encounter the greater Danger. 'Tis a base weakness to die with fear. There is no Valour like what necessity inspires. 'Tis commonly the last Remedy in desperate cases, neither to hope nor quite despair. Thus a Ship not daring to trust the Shore, abandons it self to the wide Sea, and by the force of its Billows escapes. One Peril is ordinarily the Remedy of another. Upon this, I conceive, was grounded the Counsel some gave *Galba* in a Conspiracy against him, to oppose the first fury of it (1). *Garcias Gomez* defended the Fort of *Xerez*, (which he was Governor of in the time of *Alphonso* the Wise) and although he saw all his Men kill'd or wounded, would not Surrender, nor accept the Terms, though honourable, which the Moors offer'd him; for having little Confidence in them, he chose rather to die gloriously in the Arms of his Fidelity, than those of his Enemies; and what in all appearance was like to cost him his Life, in a wonderful manner charm'd his Ene-

(1) *Proinde intuta quæ indecora; vel si cadere necesse sit, occurrendum discrimini*, Tac. 1. Hist.

mies, who admiring his Bravery and Resolution, by a Hook drew him out of the Citadel alive, using him with great Civility, and carefully dressing the Wounds he had receiv'd during the Siege †. Such is the force of Valour, that it captivates even Enemies. Courage has given life to more than Fear. I know not what Divinity attends and rescues it from Dangers. When *Ferdinand*, the Holy, besieg'd *Sevil*, *Garcias Perez de Vargas*, a Citizen of *Toledo*, with another, being separated from their Company, were passing along the River *Guadalquivir*, when on a sudden they spy seven *Moorish* Horse making towards them: His Comerade advises him to retire, but *Garcias* not to incur the Ignominy of Cowardice by a dishonourable Flight, pulls down the Vizer of his Helmet, brandishes his Sword, and advances by himself: The *Moors* knowing his Person, and admiring his Resolution, let him pass without attacking him. Thus his Heroick Valour sav'd him; for had he fled with his Companion, the Enemy had in all probability pursued and took him Prisoner. It requires a Mind free and disingag'd to examine Dangers; first in the Report, and afterwards in the Quality of them: In the Rumour, because those are generally esteem'd greatest which are farthest off. The People hear and tremble at them, and seditiously spread and increase them, rejoicing at their own Misfortunes because unusual, or out of Disaffection to the present Government. It is therefore the Prince's part to appear firm, and to disperse such idle Apprehensions. As upon those Reports which were spread in the time of *Tiberius*, of the Revolt of the Provinces of *France*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, he never betrayed the least discomposure, nor chang'd his Residence, nor way of living, as well knowing the levity of such Reports (2). If once a Prince surrender to Fear, he will be ever

† *Mar. Hist. Hisp.* (2) *Tanto impensius in securitatem compositus, neque loco, neque vultu mutato, sed ut solitum per illos dies egit; altitudine animi, an competerat, modica esse & vulgatis leviora?* Tac. 3. *Hist.*
after

after incapable of resolving. For then prudent Counsels and popular Rumours will be receiv'd with equal credit. As they were by *Vitellius* in the Civil War with *Vespasian* (3). Dangers imminent appear greatest, being cloath'd by Fear with horror, and by Prefence magnified; and we by endeavouring to escape them, fall into others abundantly greater, which though they seem at a distance, we afterwards find too near. 'Tis idle to imagine we can avert them by interposing a little time. Many have vanished by being resisted, on the contrary, Opposition has encreas'd others, and they have prov'd real, which were only imaginary. As it happened to the *Syrians* Army before *Samaria* (4). Fear of danger has destroy'd more than Danger it self. What vain Apprehension can do? We have within these few Years seen at a publick Bull-fight at *Madrid*, when a suddain Bruit being rais'd of some danger in the place where they fought, struck Confusion and Terror into all, though not one knew the Reason. The confus'd Flight of some increased the Consternation, and because none would stay to know the certainty, many ran into the Jaws of Death by the same way they took to escape it; and the Consequence had been much worse, had not the Constancy of *Philip* the Fourth, whom every ones Eyes were upon, unmov'd at the Commotion and Rumour, rais'd the trembling Spirits of his Subjects, except the Prince in Dangers and Misfortunes of this Nature, can repress the Peoples fears, Counsels are confounded, all Command, and none Obey.

To be too cautious in avoiding Dangers, is sometimes the utter Ruin of States. *Frederick*, Count *Palatine*, had not loit his, and his Electorate, had not fear after his Defeat given Wings to him to abandon all: For he might easily have retired to *Prague*, or some

(3) *Quia in metu consilia prudentiam, & vulgi rumor juxta audiuntur*; *Ibid*, (4) 2 Kings 6, 7.

other place, with the Remnant of his Forces, and compounded with the Emperor, so by making choice of the lesser Evil have escap'd the greater.

We are oftentimes deluded by fear so disguised, that we take it for Prudence, and Constancy for Rashness. We sometimes boggle, and are at a stand what to resolve, and in the interim the Danger steals on us. All things are not to be fear'd, nor is Deliberation always required, for between Prudence and Precipitation, Valour often designs noble Actions. The Great Captain having entered the River *Garillan* with his Army, was reduc'd to such Streights, that his Soldiers mutined and deserted; and when his Officers advis'd him to Retreat, he answer'd, *This I have resolv'd with my self, rather to gain Ground, though but enough for a Grave, than give back a step, might I live an hundred Years.* An Heroick Sentence, worthy the Courage and Prudence of so Great a Man. He well knew, that without Rashness there was no hopes, in the Case he then was; but weighing the Danger against the Credit of his Arms, the only support of his Faction in the Kingdom, which entirely depended upon the Success of that Expedition, he chose rather to put all to the risque of one Battel, and maintain his Repute, than to lose by degrees with dishonour. How often for want of a timely Incision have we let Wounds fester and spread.

Some Dangers vanish of themselves, others are increased by negligence, and vast Kingdoms insensibly, and make them perish as it were by a Consumption. Some are unknown; of these one can't be too Cautious, for that they surprize before a Remedy can be provided. Others are known but slighted, by these negligence, and too much confidence are usually sufferers. No Danger, though never so inconsiderable should be despised, for Time, and other Accidents often augment them, and Valour consists not so much in vanquishing,

vanquishing, as in diverting Dangers. To live in fight thereof, is as bad as to suffer them (5).

Nor is the Confidence we put in another's Clemency less treacherous, when to decline one Danger we fall into a greater, as when we surrender our selves at Discretion to an Enemy; we consider in him only the generosity of Pardon, not the force of Revenge or Ambition; we measure his Compassion by our Grief and Affliction, and are apt to persuade our selves that we can move him to relieve us. When *James the Third*, King of *Majorca*, was too weak for his Brother-in-Law, *Peter the Fourth of Arragon*, who upon I know not what pretence would dispossess him of his Dominions; he put himself into his Hands, thinking this Submission would obtain what his Arms could not; but that King was more influenc'd by Ambition than Clemency, so that he deprived him of his Kingdom and Title. Thus Dangers deceive us, and we find that to be the greater, which we chose as the lesser. There can be no assurance in Counsel grounded on Principles that depend on anothers pleasure. We deceive our selves in supposing others will act nothing but what is agreeable to Religion, Justice, Relation, or Friendship, or but what is consistent with their Honour and Interest. Not considering that Men are not always guided by their Advantage or Duty, but rather by their private Passions and Sentiments; and consequently their Actions are not only to be examined by the Rule of Reason, but also by that of Malice, and the Experience of the ordinary Injustices and Tyrannies of the World.

Dangers are a Prince's best Masters. The past teach how to remedy the present, and prevent the future: Those of others are, 'tis true, instructing, but they

(5) *Nemo mortalium juxta viperam securos somnos sapit, que ceteri non percutiat certe sollicitat; tutius est perire non posse, quam juxta peribulum non periisse. Sauct. Hier.*

are easily forgot. Our own leave in the Soul some Marks and Scars of the losses sustain'd, as that which has once wounded the Imagination does fear. Let not then contempt or forgetfulness ever erase them; especially when having escap'd a Danger, we fancy the same will never return, or if it does, will not annoy us; for though some one Circumstance, which is very unlikely to happen a second time, may remove Dangers, yet other succeeding new ones make them unavoidable.

EMBLEM

E M B L E M XXXVIII.



FROM Nature, this universal Commonwealth of things, and Empire of mixt Bodies, derive their Original, the supreme Government of which she lays claim to; and for the more firm establishment, and more secure maintaining of it, has made her self so loved by them, that the Elements, even in the midst of their contrariety with an admirable consent, conspire to preserve it. All things would be soon dissolv'd, did they hate Nature their Princess and Sovereign, who with mutual ties of Love and Benevolence, as with the fastest knot, unites them. It is this Love which holds the Earth *in Equilibrio*, and makes the Orbs of Heaven whirl round it. Let this Monarchy of things created, founded in their first Being, be a Lesson to defend their Persons and Subjects by affection,

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the

the most faithfull guard they can have about them (1).

Claud. *Not Guards, nor Groves of Pikes defend like Love.* This is the only impregnable Fort (2). For which reason the Bees elect á King without a Sting, for he has no need of Arms, who is beloved by his Subjects. Nature would by no means have it in his power to hurt, whose duty 'tis to govern, least he become odious, and promote his own ruin. *The greatest and most absolute power a Prince can have (says K. Alphonso) is when he loves his People, and they reciprocally love him.* The body defends the Head, upon account of the Love it bears it, in consideration, that this directs and preserves it: else would it not hold up its arm toward the threatenng blow. Who would expose himself to Hazards, except he had a Love for his Prince? Who protect and defend his Crown? The whole Kingdom of *Castile* sided with the Infant *Henry*, against *K. Peter* the Cruel, because the one was beloved by all, the other as universally hated. The first Principle of the ruin of Kingdoms, and all the Revolutions in States is Hatred. The Kings *Ordonno* and *Fruela* the Second were soabominated by their Subjects, that the very name of King became odious; *Castile* was reduc'd into a Commonwealth, and the Government divided between two Judges, one of which administred affairs of Peace, the other those of War †. *Portugal* never took up Arms against its Kings, nor revolted from its obedience; the reason is, it bears a sincere affection towards them; and if at any time it has excluded one and admitted another, 'twas, because one was belov'd, the other for Male-administration hated. It was the advice of *James* the First of *Ar-ragon* to *Alphonso* the Wise, to seek rather the Love than Fear of his Subjects, and to ingratiate himself with the Clergy and Commons, that he might be the better able to grapple with the Nobility; which Counsel if he had follow'd, he had never lost the Crown. *Nero* no sooner ceas'd to be

(1) *Corporis custodiam tutissimam esse putatam in virtute amicorum, tum in benevolentia civium esse collocatam.* Isocr. ad Nic. (2) *Salvum Principem in aperto clementia prestabit, civum erit inexpugnabile monumentum amor civium.* Sen. de Clem. lib. 1. ca. 19. † *Mar. hist. Hisp.*

lov'd, than Conspiracies were form'd against him, a thing which *Subrius Flavius* upbraided him with to his face (3). A King's Power and Majesty consist not in his own Person, but in the Affection and good Will of his Subjects. If they be disaffected, who will oppose his Enemies? 'Tis Preservation makes the people want a King, but that can never be expected from one, who makes himself hated. The *Arragonsians* prudently foresaw this, when having call'd to the Crown *Peter Altharez* Lord of *Borgia*, from whom the most ancient and illustrious Family of the Dukes of *Gandia* is descended, they afterwards repented, and would not have him for their King, because they saw he us'd them with Austerity and Rigour, even before his Election. Contrary to what *Ferdinand* the First, King of *Arragon* did, who by Love and Benevolence, engag'd the hearts of all in that Kingdom, as also in *Castile* during his Reign there. We have seen many Princes ruin'd by Fear, none ever by Love. If therefore a Prince would be formidable, let it be to his Enemies, but let him endeavour to be belov'd by his Subjects; without which, though he come victorious over them, he will at last fall by the hands of these. As it befell *Bardanus* King of *Persia* (4). Love and Respect may be joyned, but not Love and servile Fear. He who is fear'd is hated, and he who is hated is by no means secure.

Quem metuunt, oderunt.

Quem quisque odit perisse expedit.

ENN.

He who is fear'd by many, also fears many. And what greater misfortune is there, than to command those who obey through Fear, and govern Bodies rather than Minds? The difference between the just Prince and the Tyrant is, That one uses Arms to maintain his Subjects in Peace, the other to protect himself against them. If the strength and

(3) *Nec quisquam tibi fidelior militum fuit, dum amari meruisti, odibus cepi postquam parricida Matris & Uxoribus, auriga, histrio, & incendiarius extitisti.* Tac. 15. ann. (4) *Claritudine paucos inter senatum Regum, si perinde amorem inter populares, quam metum apud hostes quaesivisset.* Tac. 11. ann.

power of a Prince hated, be small, he is much exposed to danger from his Subjects; if great, yet much more. For the greater their fear is, the more solicitous are they to provide for their Security, as apprehending his cruelty will encrease with his Grandeur, as in *Bardanus* King of *Persia*, whose Glory made him more severe and insupportable to his Subjects. (5) If not for fear of danger, at least in gratitude, a Prince should avoid being terrible to those by whom he reigns. Whence that was a very unworthy saying of *Caligula*, *Let them hate me, so they fear me*; as if the security of Empire consisted in Fear: Whereas no power can be lasting where fear bears the sway. And though *Seneca* said, *He knows not how to govern, who is too fearfull of Hatred; Fear defends Kingdoms*: 'Tis a Tyrannick Maxim, or is to be understood of that vain Fear which sometimes Princes are in of offending others, even when their Commands are just, which doubtless is dangerous, and not a little derogatory from their Authority. He can never reign, who wants Constancy and Courage to despise the Hatred of ill men, to preserve the good. Nor is *Caligula's* Sentence justifi'd by that of the Emperor *Tiberius*; *Let them hate me, so they approve me*. For no action of a person hated is ever approv'd. Hatred blames all, and puts the worst Construction on every thing. When once a Prince is hated, his good actions as well as bad are interpreted against him. It seems necessary for a Tyrant to keep his Subjects in awe, in as much as his Empire being violent, must be supported by violent means, there wanting those two Obligations of Nature and voluntary Subjection, which, as *Alphonso* the Wise says, *are the greatest Debts a man can owe his Lord*. And the Tyrant sensible, that without these bands 'tis impossible there should be real Love between him and his Subjects, endeavours by force to make Fear effect what ought to proceed from natural Affection; and as his disturbed Conscience fears Cruelty against it self, it exercises it upon others (6). But the lamentable examples of all Tyrants abundantly shew

(5) *Ingens gloria, atque eo ferocior, & subjectis intolerantior*, Tac. 11. ann. (6) *Wisd.* 17. 11

how short-liv'd this method is. For though we see the Empires of the *Turks*, *Muscovites* and *Tartars* have been continued for many Ages by Fear alone, yet these barbarous Nations ought not to be made a Precedent: Their Manners are so savage, that they seem to have more of the Brute than the Man, being commonly led more by Punishment than reason, and consequently by that only can be kept in subjection, as Brutes are not tamed but by Force and Fear. Yet generous Spirits suffer not themselves to be compell'd or cheated into Obedience, but are induc'd thereto by sincerity and reason. For, says King *Alphonso*, *our people being loyal and courageous, their Loyalty ought to be maintain'd by truth, and their Courage by right and justice.*

There is usually 'twixt the Prince and his Subjects such a kind of inclination and natural Sympathy, as renders him amiable without any more care; for a Prince who deserv'd Hatred is sometimes lov'd, and on the contrary one hated who merited Love. And though eminent Vertues and Accomplishments of Mind and Body are wont of themselves to challenge Love, yet they have not always this effect, unless accompanied with an agreeable kind of Humour, a sweet, obliging Air, which through the Eyes, as Windows of the Mind, shews the inward Goodness, and engages mens Affections. Besides that, accidents which could not be prevented, or some sinister apprehension may so break this Love and good Will between the Prince and Subject, that it can never after be re-united; yet much may be done in that case by skill and address, in knowing how to govern to the satisfaction of the Nobles and Commons, avoiding giving them any occasion of displeasure, and behaving himself in all particulars, so as to create a good opinion of his Government. But since the means whereby the Affections of Subjects may be procur'd, are every where scatter'd through this Book, I shall only say here in general, that nothing contributes more to the obtaining it, than Religion, Justice and Liberality.

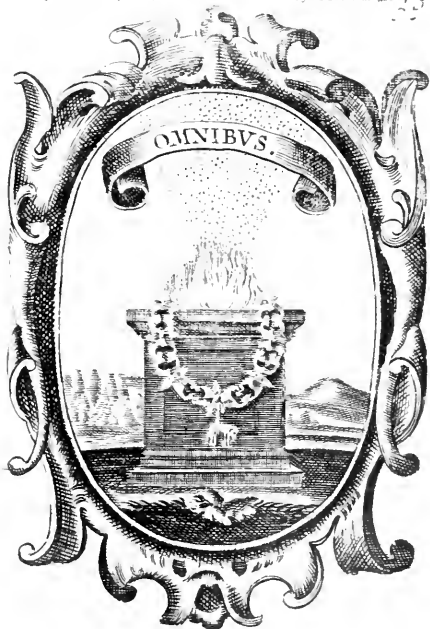
But because without some Species of Fear, Love would be soon turn'd to Contempt, and the edge of Regal Authority

rity blunted (7), it is highly requisite, that Subjects entertain such an awe as arises from Respect and Veneration, not that which is the result of danger from Injustice and Tyranny. So necessary it is for a Prince to make himself feared by not suffering Indignities, maintaining Justice, and abhorring Vice, that without such an awe in Subjects, 'twould be impossible to be long secure: For all naturally desire Liberty, and the inferior part of man rebels against Reason, and is incorrigible but by Fear. The Prince must therefore tame his Subjects as the Horse-courser breaks his Colt, (the figure of the present Emblem) who with the same hand strokes and carries him and threatens him with the Whip. Both the Rod and the Manna were kept in the Ark of the Tabernacle, to intimate, as I imagin, that Rigour and Clemency should be joynd in the Prince's person. God's Rod and Staff comforted *David*; for if that wounded, this supported him (8). When God gave the Law of the Decalogue to the *Israelites* on Mount *Sinci*, he at once terrified them with Thunder and Lightning, and pleasing, allur'd them with Heavenly Musick; both the one and the other is necessary to preserve a Love and Veneration in Subjects. Let this therefore be the Prince's Study, to make himself at once lov'd and fear'd: lov'd, as the Protector of his People; fear'd, as the Soul of the Law, upon which all their Lives and Estates depend: lov'd for his Rewards, fear'd for his Punishments: lov'd for his Goodness, fear'd for his Authority: lov'd as a Promoter of Peace, fear'd as Arbiter of War. So that the good in loving him may find cause to fear: the Bad in fearing him may find something to love in him. This Fear is as necessary to the preservation of the Sceptre, as that which proceeds from the Pride, Injustice, and Tyranny of the Prince, is prejudicial and dangerous to it, in leading to Despair (9). The one procures his Liberty with the Prince's Ruin; God breaking the Staff of the wicked, and the Sceptre of such as rule with too much severity (10).

(7) *Timore Princeps aciem autoritatis suæ non patitur. hebescere.* Cic. 1. Cat. (8) Ps. 22. 4. Exod. 19. (9) *Ita agere in subjectis, ut magis vereantur severitatem, quam ut servitiam ejus detestentur.* Colum. (10) *Ibid.* 14. 5, 6.

Whereas the other by conforming himself to Reason, studies to avoid his Anger and Punishment. This Fear is of the same brood with Love. For there can be no Love without fear of losing the Object lov'd, and care to continue in its favour. But since 'tis not so much in the Prince's power to beget Love as Fear, 'tis better for him to ground his security on this than that alone, which as the product of the Will is various and inconstant; nor is any artificial Flattery, any forc'd Complaisance sufficient to gain the Hearts of all. That Prince I take for a great Governour, who alive is fear'd, and dead, lov'd by his Subjects; as *Ferdinand the Catholick* was, for if he be not lov'd, 'twill suffice that he is esteem'd and fear'd.

EMBLEM XXXIX.



THere is an ancient Medal to be seen, upon the Reverse of which is engraven a flash of Lightning upon an Altar, to signifie, that a Prince's severi-

ty ought to yield to Prayers: an Emblem offensive to the Eyes, the Lightning of Punishment being represented so lively and so near to Pardon, that fear may be apt to dash all hope in the goodness of the Altar. And though it be fit sometimes, that the looks of the Prince before whom the criminal bends, should at once represent the Terror of Justice, and Mildness of Mercy; yet this is not always proper, for that were contrary to the advice of the H. Spirit, who would have Life and Clemency shine in a King's Countenance (1). In this Emblem therefore, instead of the Lightning I have plac'd upon the Altar the Golden Fleece, introduc'd by *Philip* the Good Duke of *Burgundy*, not to signify, as many imagin, the fabulous Fleece of *Colchos*, but that of *Gideon*, which for a token of Victory was moistned with the Dew of Heaven, when all the Country about it was dry (2). A Symbol whereby Meekness and Humility is express'd, as the same is signified by that immaculate Lamb the Son of God, offer'd for the World's Salvation. The Prince is a Victim devoted to Fatigues and Dangers for the common good of his Subjects. A precious Fleece, rich in Dew and other Blessings of Heaven. Here they ought at all times to find wherewithal to quench their Thirst, to redress their Grievances; let him be always affable, always sincere and benign towards them, which will be more effectual than severity. Upon the sight of *Alexander's* pleasing Looks, the Conspirators immediately threw down their Arms. The serenity of *Augustus* tied the hands of the *Gaul*, who went to throw him down a Precipice in the *Alps*. The modest and sweet Temper of King *Ordonno* the first strangely won the Hearts of his Subjects. *Sancho* the Third was called the *Desired*, not so much for the shortness of his Life, as for his Affability. And the *Arragonians* received *Ferdinand* the Infant, King *Martin's* Nephew to the Crown, upon a liking they took to his obliging Demeanour. Modesty and good Humour all must love. Obedience is sufficiently heavy and odious of it self; let not the Prince add Rigour to it; for that is a File, wherewith natural Liberty generally

(1) Prov. 16. 15. (2) Jud. 6. 37.

cuts the chains of Slavery. If Princes in Adversity think Complaisance and Humanity to be used for a remedy, why should it not as well in Prosperity for a Preservative? The benign Aspect of the Prince gains a pleasing Empire over mens minds; 'tis a dissimulation of Sovereignty.

By Complacency, I do not here mean that which is so vulgar, that it begets Contempt, but which has so agreeable a mixture of Gravity and Authority, as leaves room for Love, but a Love attended with respect: for where this is wanting, that is apt to turn too familiar and aspire to an Equality. And if the august part of Majesty be not maintain'd, there will be no difference between the Prince and Subject (3). Some ornament of the Person (as has been before hinted) and a well temper'd Gravity is requisite to support the Royal Dignity; for I can by no means approve of a Prince's making himself so familiar with every one, that it may be said of him as it was of *Agricola*, who was so plain in his dress, so condescending and familiar, that many sought his Fame in his person, but few found it (4). For what is common, no one admires, and respect is the genuine effect of admiration. Some grave severity must appear in the Prince's face, and something extraordinary in his Carriage and Royal Port to shew supreme power; but this severity should be so qualified by Sweetness, that jointly they may beget Love and Reverence in the Subject, not Fear (5). The Sword has been often drawn in *France* against the Regal Majesty, for being too familiar. Affability must not diminish Authority, nor Severity Love; a thing *Tacitus* admir'd in *Agricola*, (6) and commended in the Emperor *Titus*, who appear'd affable to his Soldiers without deroga-

(3) *Comitas facile fastum omne atterit, & in familiari consuetudine agre custodias illud opinionis angustum.* Herod. lib. 1. (4) *Cultu modestus, sermone facilis; adeo ut plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem estimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricolæ, quererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (5) *Et videri velle non asperum, sed cum gravitate honestum, & talem, ut eum non timeant ebrii, sed magis vereantur.* Arist. Pol. lib. 5. c. 11. (6) *Nec illi quod rarissimum est, aut facilitas auctoritatem, aut severitas amorem diminuit.* Tac. in vit. Agr.

ting from his Authority as General (7). Let the Prince compose his Looks, that they may at once assert Authority and invite Love; let him appear grave, not austere; animate, not drive into Despair: looking always with a gracefull, agreeable Smile, using words complaisant, and gravely courteous. Some think themselves no Princes, except they shew something irregular in their Expressions, Looks and Port, contrary to the common way of other men: so ignorant Statuaries think the art and perfection of a Coloss, consists in having bloated Cheeks, blubber Lips, lowring Brows and squint Eyes.

*True Greatness doth not consist in mighty State, †
In lofty Mein and Words, or haughty Gate.*

King *Abasuerus* was of so terrible an Aspect, that Queen *Hester* coming into his presence fell into a Swoon (9), and had not recovered, but that the King, his Spirit being changed by a divine Impression (10), held out the Scepter (11), to shew her it was but a piece of gilded Wood, and himself a Man, not a Vision as she imagined (12). If Majesty too severe and disorderly could produce this Effect in a Queen, what will it in a private person oppressed with Poverty and Affliction? The Holy Scriptures call a Prince Physician (13), and Father (14), and neither this cures nor that governs with Inhumanity.

But if upon occasion, the Prince frowns upon a Subject, let his Reprimands begin with an Encomium on his Virtues, afterwards laying before him the Deformity of his Crime, and thus strike him with a generous Fear, in as much as the shadow of Vice is most conspicuous when oppos'd to the light of Vertue; care also should be taken, that the reproof be not so harsh and publick, that the Subject losing his Reputation, shall withal, lose all hopes of retrieving it

(7) *Atque ipse, ut super fortunam crederetur, decorum se, promptumque armis ostentabat, comitate & alloquiis officia provocans, ac plerumque in opere, in agmine, in gregario militi mixtus, incorrupto ducis honore.* Tac. s. hist. † Claud. (9) *Hester* 15. 11. (10) *Ibid.* (11) *Ibid.* (12) *Ibid.* (13) *Isai.* 3. 7. (14) *Eccl.* 4. 10.

and so obstinately persist in his fault. Let Anger therefore and Mildness, Punishment and Rewards be so intermixed, as in the Golden Fleece, the Steels and Flints are knit together, and between them Flames of Fire, to signify that the Prince's Heart should resemble the Fire-stone or Flint, which keeps the sparks of its Anger shut up, lest they should hurt any one rashly; yet in such a manner, that if it happen to be struck by Injury or Contempt, it immediately breaks out into fire of Revenge and Justice, yet those not so quick in execution, but it has the Dew of the Fleece at hand to extinguish, at least to moderate them. God said to *Ezekiel*, as *Adamant and Flint have I made thy fore-head* (15), signifying by that the constancy of Justice, and by this the fire of Piety. But if the Prince cannot break his rough and savage Nature, let him at least keep an obliging Family to supply his place, giving a courteous reception to all Business and Petitions. A Prince is often beloved or hated upon account of his Servants; they very much cloak their Master's roughness, if they have the skill to moderate it, or to excuse it by their Affability and Discretion.

Some Nations hide the Royal Majesty behind Veils and Curtains when he gives Audience, without exposing him to the people. A Custom inhumane to the Prince, severe and cruel to the Subjects, who usually find comfort in their Prince's presence, if not in his hands. This Retreat may make the Prince more fear'd, but never more beloved. 'Tis through the Eyes and Ears that Love strikes the Heart. What we neither see nor hear, we can't love. A Prince who refuses the sight and speech of his Subjects, refuses to hear their Necessities and to remedy them; the Tongue is an easie instrument, that ought to reconcile the Minds of all: let not the Prince make it harsh and disagreeable. King *John* the First, because he was short, and had an impediment in his Speech, lost the *Portuguese* in his Pretension to that Crown, upon the death of King *Peter*.

'Tis not sufficient for the Prince to dispatch business by Memorials and Petitions, for by them the Sentiments are

(15) Ezek. 3. 9.

not so well express'd. They not being attended with Sighs and other moving Actions, they are but dry Tears, and have not that force upon the Prince.

The doors of Temples are always open, so also should be those of Palaces; for Princes are God's Vicegerents, and the Altars (as we have said) which the people fly to in their Afflictions and Calamities. 'Twould be a scandalous thing for a Soldier to find it more easie to charge through a Squadron of Pikes, than to come to the presence through the midst of *Swiss* and *Dutch* Guards, who, like armed Hedghogs, are neither gain'd by Prayers nor Civility. *Let people come to me*, says the Emperor *Rodolphus*, *for I am not Emperor to be shut up in a box*. This retirement makes the mind savage (16). Attention to Government, and Communication soften the temper and render it easie. Princes, like Hawks, are tam'd by the assiduity of Affairs, and by familiarity with Men. The Kingdom of *Leon* rebell'd against King *Ramirez* the Third, for his difficulty of Access. King *Ferdinand* the Holy was deny'd to none, and every one had admittance even to his most private Apartment: The Kings *Alphonso* the Twelfth, and *Henry* the Third, gave publick Audience three times a Week, as did also their Catholick Majesties, *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* †. Nature has put doors to the Eyes and Tongue, but has left the Ears open, that they may be ready to hear at all times. Let not a Prince then stop 'em, but hearken favourably to those that would speak to him. Let him comfort either by Reward or Hope, for that is one kind of satisfaction which supports Merit. Let him not always use set Forms and general Answers; for those which are given to all satisfie none, nor is it a small trouble to the Petitioner to receive an answer that he knew before: Let him not always hear, let him ask sometimes (17), for he who does not enquire, will never be well inform'd. Let him throughly know the state of affairs, and let his Audiences be instructive, not merely ceremonial; as were those of *Ferdinand* the Holy, *Alphonso* King

(16) *Etiam fera animalia si clausa teneas, virtutis obliviscuntur.* Tac. 4. Hist. † Mar. hist. Hisp. (17) Eccl. 23. 12.

of Arragon, King Ferdinand the Catholick, and the Emperor Charles the Fifth, by which they were beloved and respected by their Subjects, and esteem'd by Strangers. As the Audience should be easie, so it ought also to be speedy; for the delay of a benefit diminishes the Obligation. Tho' there are some affairs of that Nature, that 'tis better to let time undeceive them, than either the Prince or his Ministers. For all had rather be entertain'd with Hope, than be dispatch'd with Despair, which in prudent Courts is found, not given.

I don't approve of the Prince's exposing himself in the Streets and publick Places, for the People; 'tis true, admire him the first time, observe him the second, and slight him the third (18). That which is not seen is respected most (19), and the Eyes often despise what the opinion esteem'd. 'Tis not convenient the people should know whether the chain of their Slavery be of Iron or of Gold, passing judgment upon the parts and qualifications of the Prince. We respect that most which is farthest distant (20). Some Nations take the Prince's Affability and Complaisance for a Vice. Others dislike his reservedness, and would have him mild and courteous, as the Portuguese and the French. The Extrems in one and t'other are always dangerous, and he will be best able to moderate them, who in his Actions and Government, remembers that he is both Prince and Man.

(18) *Continuus aspectus minus verendos magnos homines ipsa societate facit.* Liv. (19) *Arcebantur conspectu, quo venerationis plus inesset.* Tac. 4. hist. (20) *Cui major è longinquo reverentia.* Tac 1. ann.

EMBLEM XL. 40



THE Scriptures call Princes Mountains, and the rest of Mankind, Hills and Valleys (1). This comparison comprehends the great Affinity between them; for Mountains are Princes of the Earth, as being nearer Heaven, and superiour to the other works of Nature; as also for their Liberality, by which from their own generous Bowels, they supply with continual Streams the droughty Plains and Vallies beneath, cloathing them with Flowers and Verdure, this being the true property of Princes. By this vertue more than any is a Prince ally'd to God, who is ever giving to all plentifully (2); 'tis this renders obedience more prompt, for a Present from him who could command, forces Obligation. Subjection is agreeable when 'tis beneficial.

(1) Ye Mountains of *Israel*, hear the word of the Lord God, thus saith the Lord God to the Mountains, and to the Hills, to the Rivers, and to the Valleys, *Ezek*. 6. 3. (2) James 1. 5.

King *Charles* of *Navarre*, call'd the Noble, gain'd the Love of all by his *Liberality*. King *Henry* the Second did thereby wipe out the Murder of his Brother King *Peter*, and established his Right to the Crown. What cannot a liberal Prince do? What can't a golden Scepter oblige to? Even Tyranny (3) is conniv'd at and born with, when the Prince knows how to give, especially when it gains the Applause of the people, by supplying the publick Necessities, and rewarding persons of Merit. This vertue, in my opinion, maintain'd *Tiberius* in the Empire, for this he always practis'd (4). But there is nothing more pernicious to a Prince, than *Liberality* and *Goodness* (for they usually go together) if not used with *Moderation*. *Liberality*, says King *Alphonso* the Wise, becomes all men of power, but principally a King, when he uses it to purpose, and as he should. *Garcias Sauncho*, King of *Navarr*, lost his Subjects affections, by the same *Liberality* with which he hop'd to have gain'd them; for to maintain it, he oppress'd them with *Taxes* and *Impositions*. *Prodigality* is little distant from *Rapine* or *Tyranny*; for when the *Treasury* is drain'd by *Ambition*, it must of necessity be recruited by ill and indirect means (5). He who gives more than he is able, says *Alphonso* the Wise, is not liberal but prodigal; and when his own stock fails, he will be obliged to make use of others; so that if on one side he makes Friends by what he gives, he on th'other side makes Enemies by what he takes away. *Diego d' Arias*, Treasurer to King *Henry* the Fourth, lest he should fall into this inconvenience, represented to him the Extravagance of his *Liberality*, and that 'twas convenient, that his Retinue should be reduc'd to a lesser number, and that the Salaries allow'd to such as did not actually serve, or were any ways incapacitated, might be taken off: to whom the King made this Answer, I too, were I *Arias*, should more respect my Money than my *Liberality*; you say well as to your self, but as for me, I'll act as becomes a King, without fear of poverty, or exposing

(3) Prov. 19. 6. (4) *Quam virtutem diu retinuit, cum ceteras esuere.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Ac velut perfringere ararium: quod si ambitione exhausimus, per scelera supplendum erit.* Tac. 2. ann.

my self to the necessity of raising new Taxes. 'Tis the duty of a King to give, and to measure his Authority by the publick Good, not his own particular, which is the true fruit of Riches. To some we give because they are good, to others, that they mayn't be bad. Words truly worthy a King, if he had been guided by these considerations, but his gifts were always excessive and without order, without the least regard to the Merit of the Party, as his Brother-in-law King *Ferdinand* observed in one of his Laws, saying, *That he gave Rewards for Shew not for Merit.* Whence we may observe the circumspection a Prince ought to observe in his Liberality, for fear of giving occasion to his Subjects to acknowledge his Authority. only to receive from him, not to obey him. An extravagant Subject ruins only himself. But a Prince, himself and State too. The Treasury would be soon at an ebb, if the Prince should be extravagantly liberal, without considering, that they are the Magazines for publick Necessities. The Mountains don't squander away the Snow which the Vapours of the Fields and Valleys heap upon its top, but on the contrary, preserve it against Summer, and then in gentle Streams returns it upon the same grounds it was attracted from. They don't descend all at once, for so they would not answer their design, and would be slighted as useless, for Liberality is the greatest Enemy to Liberality; nor do they immediately mix with the Rivers leaving the Plains and Vallies dry, as Princes usually do, who give to the Rich what ought to be distributed among the Poor, and drain the thirfty sands to supply the brimfull Lakes, which have no need of it. 'Tis a great fault to gain the favour of the Rich at the expence of the poor; and by vain extravagance to oppress the body of the State, whose ruin is always promoted by the pride and vanity of a few. The people cannot brook to see that power vainly squander'd away, which ought to be employ'd to the preservation of them, and the Prince's dignity. The rewards of a Prodigal are not esteem'd, because they are common, and proceed from the vice of Extravagance, not the vertue of Liberality, and by giving all to a few he offends many; that which is given to some particular ones, being wanted in general by all. He who

gives

gives without care or choice, enriches indeed, but rewards not: to give to those who deserve, 'tis necessary to be sparing to others. So that a Prince ought to use great Prudence and Judgment in the Distribution of Rewards (6). For when they are well distributed, though they fall on but few, they affect many. The Scriptures command all Offerings to be made with Salt, which is the same as Prudence (7), equally distant from Prodigality and Avarice. But because a Prince ought to be generous to all, let him imitate *Aurora*, which, as it passes, always leaves something, tho' but Dew and Flowers. Nay often satisfies only with its Beauty and Pleasantness. Let him give to all, but with such Moderation, that without putting it out of his power to give more, he may content them. Some by Presents, some by Words, and some by Affability (8); for oftentimes the Eyes give more than the Hands. Liberality is the only Vertue, which should be sometimes in the opinion of others, more than in the person of the Prince; Experience teaching us, that 'tis sufficient that he express some Demonstrations, with such Address, that he may be generally esteem'd liberal; so that he must avoid Refusals, for 'tis a great trouble to receive them from a Prince. What he cannot give to day, he may give to morrow; and if he cannot, 'tis better to let time discover it than to tell it himself. He who refuses, either does not distinguish Merit, or shews his want of Power or Will, and neither of these Declarations become a Prince, whose Power and Grandure the Petitioner acknowledges.

Let a Prince be generous in the Reward of Vertue, but let it be with Offices and Employments, and other Revenues already allotted to Liberality, not with the Crown-Rents, and Treasury reserv'd for greater uses. King *Ferdinand* the Catholick was very liberal, but not to the Prejudice of the Crown. He was (at his first coming to the Crown) slow in the Distribution of Offices, the better to gain mens minds, and to reward those who had followed his Party. He knew with great Prudence to mingle Liberality with Frugality.

(6) Pſal. 58. 4. (7) Levit. 2. 14. Eccl. 35. 11. (8) Eccl. 35. 11.

Of which he has not only left us an Example but also a Law, in these words : *Kings ought not to be so generous and bountifull, as that it may be term'd Extravagance ; for this vertue of Liberality ought to be used with order and measure, without Detriment to the Crown and Royal Dignity* † To lay up the better to employ, is not Avarice, but premeditated Liberality. To give inconsiderately, is either Vanity or Folly. By this Parsimony King *Alphonso* the Wise rais'd the Monarchy, and lost the Crown by his profuse Extravagance; one of the principal Complaints the Kingdom made against him, was, That he had given the Empress *Martha* thirty thousand Marks of Silver, to redeem her Husband *Baldwin*, whom the Sultan of *Egypt* retain'd Prisoner ; in which he was more vain than prudent. King *Henry* the Second found the damage of having weakned the power of his Crown by his too great Bounty, and therefore revok'd it by his last Will. Time and Opportunity ought to guide Princes in their Liberality ; sometimes it ought to be moderated, when the Expences of War, and the publick Necessities are great, and to be apply'd to avert Dangers, and to facilitate Designs ; in which he saves most, who spends most : for he who gives by little and little, spends his Money, without attaining his end. War is avoided, and Victory and Peace purchased by Liberality (9).

The Prodigality of a Prince may be corrected by committing the management of his Treasures to thrifty frugal Ministers, as may his Avarice by generous ones. 'Tis necessary sometimes to let a Prince see the summ of his Liberality ; for Grants are made sometimes without consideration ; and if the Prince kept an account of his Expences he would doubtless moderate them ; and 'tis not always Liberality to grant Gratuities, for Avarice is often vanquish'd by Importunity, or sometimes weary with contending, grants them through Despair.

'Tis natural to all Princes to give to those who have most ; I know not whether through Fear or Esteem of Power. This that great Courtier *Joseph* well understood, when cal-

† L. 3. tit. 10. lib. 5. Recop. (9) Prov. 22. 9.

ling his Father and Brothers into *Agypt*, and offering them in *Pharaoh's* name all the Good of that Kingdom (10), he bid them bring with them all the Riches and Goods that they had (11); knowing, that if they came rich, the King would be more liberal to them; so that he who expects Bounty from a Prince, must not represent to him his Poverty and Misery: There are no more ready means to have, than to have (12).

(10) Gen. 45. 18. (11) Ibid. ver. 20. (12) Luke 19. 26.

EMBLEM XLI.

47



THE Motto of this Emblem has been famous to all Antiquity. Some attribute it to *Bias*, to *Pythagoras*, *Thales* and *Homer*; but I think 'tis more reasonably ascrib'd to the *Delphick* Oracles, for it seems rather a Divine than Humane Sentence, fit to be engraven on all the Crowns, Sceptres, and Rings of Princes. To this

is reduc'd the whole Science of Government, which consists in avoiding Extreame, and loves the middle, where Vertue keeps its Sphere. 'Twas ask'd *Socrates*, Which was the properest Vertue for a young Man, and he answer'd, *Nothing to Excess*, by which he comprehended all. To this Motto the body of the present Emblem seems well suited; Corn lay'd by the violence of unseasonable Rain, when gentle Dews were sufficient (1). Honours by being too great suit ill with Subjects, and rather disgrace than adorn them. There are some favours so out of season, that they pass for Injuries; What availsit for the Prince to do a benefit, if by his austere Looks and rugged Words, he seems, as 'twere, to throw it at one, or does it so unseasonably, that it does no kindness. The Benefit and Favour is lost, and the hand abhor'd that gave it. Which made King *Alphonso* the Wise say, *That Rewards should be given so à propos, that they may be beneficial to the Receiver* †.

As there are errors in Excess of Rewards and Favours, so there is also in Punishments. Such an exact Rigour better becomes a Minister of Justice than a Prince; he is not at his Liberty, but the Prince has the Keys of the Law in his own hand. 'Tis not Justice which is too severe, nor Mercy which is not moderate, and so of other Vertues.

The same Moderation a Prince out to observe in the arts of Peace and War, so guiding the Chariot of the Government, as they did in the Games of old, that the Wheels may not touch the Goals, for so they would be broken; the art of the ancient Racers consisted, in measuring the distance so exactly, as to pass as near as possible, without touching either end.

What a Prince ought to take most care of, is the Moderation of his Passions, governing them with such Prudence, that he may neither desire, hope, love or fear with soo much Ardour and Violence, rais'd by the Will not by

(1) *Magni animi est magna contemnere, prudentis est mediocritas malle, quam nimia; ista enim utilia sunt; illa quod superstant nocent. Sic segetem nimia sternit ubertas, sic Rami onere franguntur, sic ad maturitatem non pervenit nimia fecunditas, Sen. Epist. 39. † L. 1. tit. 21. p. 2.*

Reason. The desires of private persons may be easily accomplish'd, but those of Princes not, for those are proportion'd to their conditions, and these are usually greater than the force of their Grandure, tending always to Extreams. Almost all Princes either ruin themselves, or run into great inconveniences, through Excess of Ambition, mans desire being unlimited, and the possibility of things very narrow, it rarely happens that the first are measured by the latter, or that there is any Justice between them. Hence Princes seek pretences to rob their Neighbours, nay their greatest Friends, aspiring ever at the enlargement of their State, without measuring their bodies with their Strength, and their Government with Humane Capacity, which cannot maintain all that may be acquired. The Grandure of Empires lies upon their own Shoulders, and are always ready to fall; oppress'd with their own weight. Let Princes therefore endeavour to maintain their States, which either Succession or Election has given them; and if any just occasion shall offer of enlarging them, let them make use of it a God's name, but with such caution, as the Event shall shew to Prudence.

Ambition is not less dangerous in the Excess of its Fears than of its Desires, especially in that which is acquired by Violence. Fear suggests no means which are not immediately made use of for its preservation. There is none of the line of the party wrong'd, or any one who has the least pretension to the State, though never so remote, but is fear'd. Tyranny usually proposes nothing less than a general ruin. Thus *Mucianus* practis'd, killing the Son of *Vitellius* (2). The same also is taught in the School of *Machiavell*, whose Scholars forgetting the Example of *David*, who sought out *Saul's* Relations, that they might partake of his Mercy (3), follow that of some Tyrants, as if all were not ruin'd by these pernicious practices; and if any one has been preserv'd (as we shall observe) 'twas by changing them for the better. Most Kingdoms are augmented by Usurpation, and after-

(2) *Mansuram discordiam obtendens, ni semina belli restrinxisset.* Tac. 4. ann. (3) 2 Sam 9 3.

wards maintain'd by Justice, and legitimated by time. Extreme violence is extreme danger. *Cyrus* invaded *Lydia*, and dispossest King *Croesus*. But had he had any of our Politicians, they would have advis'd him, for his greater Security, to have taken him off. Yet *Cyrus* restor'd him one City, by which he might support his Royal Dignity; and 'tis certain, he had provok'd the Hatred and Arms of all *Greece*, if he had shew'd himself cruel (4). Tyranny is equally hatefull to God and Man; nor are there wanting in such cases, some mild means, by which the mind may be diverted, from shedding Blood, from breaking the Line of Succession, from diminishing, or transferring the greatness of States, and taking off those whomay aspire to the Crown; which had they been observed in *Portugal*, that people had never revolted.

When the danger is so evident, that it obliges to Defence and natural Preservation, the Prince ought to strike at the Root, that it may not sprout again, keeping a watchfull Eye upon it, lest it should happen, as it did to the *Philistin* Princes, who having cut off *Sampson's* hair, wherein lay all his Strength, began to ridicule him, not considering that it might grow again, as it afterwards did (5), when he pull'd the Temple upon their Heads (6), killing more Enemies dying than he had done living (7)

Inordinate Ambition moreover perswades the Oppression of the liberty of the people, the humbling of the Nobility, the weakning of the potent and rich, and the reduction of all to the Royal Prerogative, thinking that the more absolute, the more firm it is; and that the lower the people are reduc'd, the higher its Glory rises; an error by which Flattery gains the Hearts of Princes, and leads them into great dangers. 'Tis Modesty that preserves Empires, so correcting the Prince's Ambition, that it may maintain it within the bounds of Reason, the power of his Dignity, the honour of the Nobility, and the liberty of the people, for no Monarchy is lasting which is not mixt, that is com-

(4) *Hec clementia non minus utilis victori quam victo fuit.* Tac. 2. hist. (5) *Judg.* 16. 21. (6) *Ibid.* (7) *Ibid.*

pos'd of Aristocracy and Democracy (8). Absolute Power is Tyranny. Whoever promotes that promotes his own ruin. A Prince ought not to govern as the Lord, but as the Father, the Protector and Governour of his States (9).

These disorders of Ambition proceed from a long use and abuse of Dominion, which covets all for it self; in which 'tis necessary Princes should conquer themselves, and submit to reason, however difficult the attempt appear; for many can conquer others, few themselves. This Victory is of Force, that of Reason. 'Tis not Valour to conquer in Battle, but to subdue the Passions. Obedience and Necessity make Subjects humble and modest; Superiority and Power render Princes proud; Pride has destroy'd more Kingdoms than the Sword; more Princes have ruin'd themselves than have been undone by others. The remedy consists in the Prince's knowledge of himself, by retiring within himself, and considering, that though the Scepter distinguishes him from his Subjects, they much exceed him in endowments of Mind, more noble than his Grandure. That if Reason might take place, the most accomplish'd man would be King. That the hand with which he governs the World, is of Clay, and Subject to the Leprosie, and all other human Miseries, as God gave *Moses* to understand (10), that knowing his own Miseries, he might pity those of others (11). That a Crown is a very unsafe Possession, for between the utmost height, and the lowest fall, there is no Interposition (12). That he depends upon the Will of others, since if they would not obey, he would be but like other men. The greater the Prince shall be, the more he ought to esteem this Modesty, since God himself does not

(8) *Quæ ex pluribus constat resq. melior est Arist. 2 Pol c. 4.* (9) *Huc enim sunt omnia reducenda, ut iis qui sub imperio sunt, non Tyrannum, sed patrem-familias, aut regem agere videatur, &c. Arist Pol 5. c. 11*
 (10) *Exod. 4. 6.* (11) *Hebr. 5. 2.* (12) *Quod regnum nisi, cui pax non sit ruina, & proculcatio, & dominus, & carnifex? Nec terra inter vallis divisa, sed horæ momentum interest inter solium, & siliam gemæ Senec.*

disdain it (13). Modesty which hides Greatness under it, is like rich Enamel upon Gold, which gives it the greater Value and Esteem. *Tiberius* had no Artifice more cunning, than to appear modest to gain Esteem. He severely reprehended those who call'd his Occupations Divine, and him Lord (14). When he went into the Courts of Justice, he would not suffer the President to quit his seat, but sat down upon one corner of the Bench (15). He who is gotten to the highest step among men, cannot rise but by stooping. Let all Princes learn Modesty of the Emperor *Ferdinand* the Second, who was so familiar and affable to all, that he made himself lov'd rather than reverenc'd. In him Goodness and Modesty were conspicuous, and Majesty found but by Attention: He was not the Imperial Eagle with a sharp Beak, and bare Talons, threatening all, but the tender Pelican, continually digging his own Intrails to feed his people as his own young. It cost him no pains to humble his Grandure, and make himself equal to others. He was not the Master but Father of the World, and the excess of Modesty often causes Contempt, to the ruin of Princes, to him it created more Respect, and oblig'd all Nations to his Service and Defence. See the force of true Goodness, and of a great Soul, which triumphs over it self, and is superiour to Fortune! He has left us in the present Emperour his Son, the lively Portraiture of all these qualities, with which he steals the Hearts both of Friends and Enemies. There is no vertue more agreeable to a Prince than Modesty, all others would be foolish in him, if that did not adjust his Looks and Actions, not permitting them to exceed themselves.

In Government 'tis very convenient not to touch upon Extremes, for too great Condescension is not less prejudicial than a haughty Grandure. Monastick Communities may perhaps suffer the Rigour of Obedience, but not popular ones. Such rigid Discipline may keep a few in awe, but

(13) *Modestia fama, quæ neque summis mortalium spernenda est, & à diis estimatur.* Tac. 15. ann. (14) *Acerl'èque increpuit eos qui divinas occupationes, ipsumque Dominum dixerunt.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Affidebat in cornu Tribunalis.* Tac. 1. ann.

not many. Civil Happiness consists in vertue, which consists in the middle, as does civil Life and the Government of States, for the nature of Empire is such, that the people may take it away, without being ruin'd by too much Licence, or render'd obstinate by too much Rigour. In Government we ought not to consider what should be, but what may be (16). Even God adapts himself to human Frailty.

Between these Extremes also the body of the Commonwealth should be constituted, care being taken that there mayn't be too great difference in the conditions of the Citizens; for excess or inequality of Riches or Nobility, if it be much, creates in some Pride, and in others Envy, and from thence proceed Enmity and Seditions (17). For there can be no Friendship or civil Agreement among them who are so unequal in their Conditions and Fortunes, for all hate equality, and covet more, either to govern as Lords, or obey as Slaves (18). Some too haughty contemn the Laws, and despise Obedience; Others too servile, know not how to bear it, and have neither Fear of Infamy nor Punishment, hence there would become a Community of Lords and Slaves, but without respect between themselves, since neither would know how to measure themselves by their own condition. Those of the lowest quality pretend to be as those of higher. Those who are equal or superiour in one thing, think they are in all. Those who have the advantage in all, can't contain themselves, and despising every one would proudly lord it over them, without Obedience to him who commands, or adapting themselves to the Constitutions and Customs of the State, whence proceeds its ruin and conversion into other Forms (19), for all sigh and are

(16) *Non enim solum respublica, quæ optima sit, considerari debet, sed etiam quæ constitui possit, præterea quæ facilior & cunctis civitatibus communior habeatur.* Arist. lib. 4. Pol. 6. c. 2. (17) *Præterea seditiones non modo propter fortunarum, sed etiam propter honorum inæqualitatem existunt.* Arist. lib. 2. c. 5. (18) *Sed jam hæc consuetudo in civitatibus invaluit, ut homines, æqualitatem odio habeant, & malint, aut imperio potiri, aut si viliti fuerint, imperio subesse.* Arist. lib. 4. Pol. c. 11. (19) *Nam qui virtute præstant, iniquo animo sibi indigniores æquari paterentur: quamobrem sæpè conspirare, & seditiones commovere norantur.* Arist. Pol. 2. c. 5.

uneasie under it. And though it be impossible intirely to remedy this contention in States, because of the difference of condition of the parts of which they consist, yet are they preserv'd if it be moderate, and ruin'd if excessive. As it happens in the four Humours of the Body, though the Blood be the most noble, and the Choler the most potent, yet do they mutually preserve one another, while there is no great Inequality between them; so that State will continue long, which consists of moderate parts, and not much unequal between themselves. 'Twas the extravagant Riches of some of the Citizens which caus'd the ruin of the State of *Florence*, and is at present the cause of the troubles of *Genoua*. Because in *Venice* they are better divided, it has continued so many Ages, and if there happen any danger or inconvenience in the Government, 'tis through the too great poverty of some of its Magistrates. If any Republick has been preserv'd for all these disorders and excess of its parts, 'tis through the Prudence and Industry of the Governour, who keeps it in its Devoir, by the fear of the Laws, and other discreet means, such as not to wrong any one, nor violate the Privileges and Conveniencies of the Poor, to employ the great ones in the Administration, and in Offices; in fine not to oppress, but rather to encourage the hope of those who are of an high and enterprising Spirit. But this will continue no longer than it has prudent Governours; and because States can't be sufficiently provided for by these temporal Remedies, which depend upon chance, 'tis necessary in their first Institution, to provide means to correct these Excesses, before they happen.

EMBLEM XLII.

42



I Am indebted, for the body of this Emblem, to the Civility of the present Pope *Urban* the VIIIth. his Holiness having been pleas'd to shew me upon a precious Stone, engraven in the time of the *Romans*, two Bees drawing a Plough, which was found in his time; a Pre-
 sage of the rise of his noble and ancient Family, his Arms being joyn'd to the triumphant Yoak of the Church. Which upon Reflection put me in mind of a Prodigy of King *Wamba*, when being anointed by the Archbishop of *Toledo*, there was seen to spring from his head a Bee, which flew streight towards Heaven, prognosticating the sweetness of his Government: from whence I infer, that the Ancients would shew by this Emblem, how necessary 'twas to mingle, Profit with Pleasure, the art of making Honey, with that of *Agricultura*. For a Motto to which, I thought the beginning of that Verse of *Horace* would not be amiss.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci. Hor.

Who mixes gain with Sport gains ev'ry point.

In this consists the main art of Government; this was the first piece of Policy in the world; this the ancient Philosophy taught us, feigning that *Orpheus* made Beasts follow him, and that the very Stones danc'd to *Amphion's* Harp, with which he built the Walls of the City of *Thebes*, to signify that the mild instruction of those great persons were sufficient to reduce men, not less savage than Brutes, and more insensible than Stones, to the Harmony of the Laws, and civil Society †.

These Arts all States have used to instruct the people, mingling Instruction with Sport and publick Games. All *Greece* flock'd to *Mount Olympus*, to be present at the *Olympian*, *Pythian*, *Nemæan* and *Isthmian* Games; some out of curiosity to see them, others to obtain the propos'd Rewards, and upon this occasion they exercis'd their Strength, sacrific'd to the Gods, and treated of the most important affairs of the Government of those Provinces. Comedies and Tragedies were also invented to purge the Affections. The Gladiators of the *Romans*, and the Bull-fights of the *Spaniards*, (who also are diverted with terrible and desperate Enterprizes) were to confirm the Mind that it might not be daunted at the sight neither of Blood nor Death. Wrestling, Tilting, Horse-races*, and other such Sports, are so many Schools in which Arts military are learn'd, and the Mind at the same time recreated and diverted. The people must be drawn by Flattery and Mildness, to the Conveniencies and Designs of the Prince; they are like a Horse which being gently stroak'd into Temper takes the Bitt, and afterwards submits to Burthens and the Lash. They can't

† *Silvestres homines sacer interpresque Deorum,
Cedibus & fædo visu deterruit Orpheus,
Dicitur ab hoc lenire Tigres, &c.*

* Juego de las Cannas.

bear too much Rigour, or too much Gentleness. Excess of Liberty is as dangerous to them as Excess of Slavery (1). Princes who have wanted this consideration have felt the rage of the incensed Multitude. Inveterate distempers are not always to be cured by the Knife and Fire. They require soothing Medicines, and when there is need of bitter Pills, they should be well gilt, to deceive the Sight and Taste. 'Tis not necessary that the people should know the Ingredients of the Prince's Resolutions and Counsels, 'tis sufficient that they swallow them upon any Pretext.

The Dangers and Hardships of War are sweeten'd by the mildness of the Prince. Thus *Germanicus* to keep the *German* Legions in obedience, and more ready for Battle, us'd to visit the wounded Soldiers, and taking notice of their Wounds, commend their Actions, gaining some by hope, others by good words, and so made them eager to fight (2).

This goodness alone is not effectual, there is need also of some eminent Vertue in the Commander, that if he be beloved for that he may be respected for this. Many times a Prince is beloved for his extraordinary goodness, and despised for his Insufficiency. Respect proceeds not from Love, but Admiration. He obliges all, who having courage to make himself fear'd, makes himself beloved; who knowing how to execute Justice, knows also to be merciful. Goodness is often interpreted Softness and Ignorance, in him who has no other Vertues to recommend him. These are of such force in a Prince, that they soften his Severity and Rigour, being recompenc'd by them. Even great Vices are excus'd, or at least conniv'd at in him who is Master also of great Vertues.

In Negotiations 'tis very convenient to mingle Sweetness with Gravity, and Jest with Truth, provided it be *à propos*, without Offence to good Manners, nor the Gravity of the Subject, in which the Emperor *Tiberius* was well skill'd (3).

(1) *Imperaturus es hominibus, qui nec totam servitutem pati possunt, nec totam libertatem.* Tac. 1. hist. (2) *Circumire saucios, facta singulorum extollere, vulnura intuent, alium spe, alium gloria, cunctos alloquio & cura, sibi que & praelio firmabat.* Tac. 1. ann. (3) *Tiberius tamen ludibria seriis permiscere solitus.* Tac. 6. ann.

There's none can endure a melancholy roughness, a look always set to business, a grave Speech and a formal Behaviour. 'Tis Prudence sometimes to mix a little folly in Counsels (4), when 'tis well apply'd 'tis Wisdom (5). A happy thought and a word in season gains peoples Minds, and most difficult Affairs to the end propos'd, and sometimes discovers the Intention, deceives Malice, diverts Offence, and prevents a positive Answer where 'tis not convenient.

We ought also in Negotiations to mingle the advantage of those whom we would perswade, shewing them that 'tis their interest as well as ours; for all are mov'd by self-interest, few by Obligation and Glory. *Sejanus*, to incite *Dru- sus* to the Murther of his Brother *Nero*, set before him the hopes of the Empire. The skill of a prudent Minister consists in facilitating affairs with others interests, disposing the Treaty so, that theirs and his own Prince's may seem to be the same. To desire to negotiate affairs by self-interest only, is to bring water in broken pipes; where one receives it from another, all receive Assistance and Advantage.

(4) *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem.* (5) Eccl. 10. 1.

EMBLEM XLIII.

+3



ALL things as well animate as inanimate are Leaves of this great Book of the World, the Work of Nature, wherein divine Wisdom has written all Sciences, to teach and instruct us how to act. There is no moral Vertue, which is not found in Animals. Practick Prudence is born in them; in us 'tis not acquired but by Instruction and Experience. We may learn from them without Confusion and Shame of our Ignorance, for he who informs them, the same is Author of all things. But to put on their Nature, or desire to imitate them in acting like them irrationally, hurried by the Appetite of our Affections and Passions, would be giving an affront to Reason, the proper Gift of Man, by which he is distinguished from other Animals, and merits the command over them. They for want of Reason are without Justice, each aiming at nothing but its own Preservation, without respecting Injuries done to others.

thers. Man justifies his Actions, and measures them by Equity, doing nothing to others, which he would not have done unto himself. Whence may be inferr'd how impious and inhuman is the design of *Machiavel*, who forms his Prince upon another Supposition, of the Nature of the Lion and the Fox, that what he can't attain by reason he may by force and fraud, in which he was instructed by *Lyfander* General of the *Lacedamonians*, who advis'd a Prince, that where the Lion's skin fail'd, he should put on that of the Fox, making use of his Tricks and Artifices. This Doctrine is of long standing. *Polybius* reprehends it in his own and the foregoing Ages (1). In this King *Saul* may be a Lesson to all (2). This Maxim has encreas'd in time, there being no Injustice nor Indecency, but appears honourable to Policy, provided it be in order to Dominion (3), thinking that Prince lives precariously, who is tied up to Law and Justice (4). Whence they regard not Breach of Treaties, Faith, or Religion it self, when for the Preservation or Augmentation of Empire. Upon these false foundations Duke *Valentine* endeavour'd to raise his Fortune, but before he had finish'd it, it fell with that violence upon him, that the very Fragments and Ruins of it were lost. How can that last which is founded upon Deceit and Lyes? How can that subsist which is violent? What force can there be in Contracts, if the Prince, who should be their security, is himself the first that breaks them? Who will put any confidence in him? How can his Empire stand, who trusts more to his own Artifices than to divine Providence. Nor for all this, would I have a Prince so mild, as never to use force, nor so candid and sincere, as not to know how to dissemble, nor provide against Deceit, for so he would live expos'd to Malice, and be play'd upon by all. My design in this Em-

(1) *Quo Leonis pellis attingere non potest, principi assumendam Vulpina.* Plut. (2) *Fuit, cui in tractandis negotiis dolus malus placeret, quem Regi convenire sane nemo dixerit, etsi non desunt, qui id tam crebro usu hodie doli mali, necessarium eum esse dicant ad publicam rerum administrationem.* Polyb. 13. hist. (3) *Nihil gloriosum nisi tutum, & omnia retinenda dominationis honesta.* Sal. (4) *Ubicunque tantam honesta dominantis licet, precario regnatur.* Sen. in Trag. Thyest.

blem is, that he should be indued with Valour, but not with that brutish and irrational Courage of Beasts, but that which is attended by Justice, signified by the Lyon's Skin, the Emblem of Valour, and therefore dedicated to *Hercules*. Sometimes 'tis necessary for a Prince to cover his Face with a Frown, and to oppose Fraud. He should not always appear mild. There are occasions when he must put on the Lion's Skin, that his Subjects and Enemies may see his Claws; and that he may be thought so severe, that Fraud may not have the boldness to attack him with Flattery, which way it uses to tame the minds of Princes. This, it seems the *Egyptians* would intimate, by putting a Lion's Skin upon their Prince's head. There is no Respect nor Reverence, where there is no fear. The People perceiving their Prince can't be angry, and that nothing can alter his mild Temper, always despise him; but this Severity need not immediately come to Execution. 'Tis not necessary for a Prince to be really angry, but only to appear so. The Lion without discomposing himself, or thinking of hurting any other Animals, with his very Looks infuses dread into all; such is the Majestick force of his Eyes (5). But because 'tis convenient sometimes to gild force with craft, and indignation with mildness, to dissemble a little, and accommodate himself to the times and persons: therefore in the present Devise, the Lion's head is not crown'd with the little tricks of the Fox, which are mean and base, and below the Generosity and Magnanimity of a Prince, but with Serpents, the Emblem of carefull and prudent Majesty, and in the sacred Writs the Hieroglyfick of Prudence, for their cunning in defending their heads, in stopping their Ears against all Inchantments, and in other things only tending to their own preservation, not the prejudice of others. For the same reason, and the like accidents, I have made use of these words as a Motto to the present Devise, *that he may know how to reign*, taken from the Motto of *Lewis the Eleventh King of France*, *who knows not how to dissemble, knows*

(5) A Lion which is the strongest among Beasts, and turneth not away for any. *Pov. 30 30*

not how to reign. In which the whole art of Government is briefly comprehended; but there is need of great Prudence and Circumspection, least this Power should turn to Tyranny, and this Policy to Fraud: These Mediums nearly bordering upon Vices. *Justus Lipsius* defining Fraud in matters of Policy, says, 'tis shrewd Counsel, deviating from Vertue and the Laws, for the good of the King and Kingdom; by which avoiding the Extremes of *Machiavel*, and finding also, that 'tis impossible for a Prince to govern without some Fraud and cunning, he advises a little, tolerates Mediocrity, but forbids Extremes; bounds very dangerous to a Prince. For who can exactly describe them? there ought not to be such Rocks so near politick Navigation. The malice of Power, and ambition of Rule, act sufficiently in many; if Fraud be vicious, 'tis vicious in its least parts, and therefore unworthy of a Prince. The worth and dignity of the Royal Purple, disdains the least spot. The minutest Atom is visible, and blemishes the Rays of these terrestrial Suns. And how can it be suffer'd that his actions should deviate from Vertue and the Laws, who is the very Soul thereof? There is no Fraud without a mixture of malice and falshood, both opposite to Royal Magnanimity; though *Plato* says, *That Falshood is superfluous in the Gods, they having no need on't, but not in Princes who have great occasion for it, and that therefore it may be allow'd them sometimes.* That which is unlawfull ought not to be allow'd, nor ought we to make use of means in their own nature wicked, to obtain just and honourable ends. Dissimulation and Cunning are then only lawfull, when they don't drive to Knavery, and prejudice the Authority and Reputation of the Prince; in which case I don't esteem them as Vices but Prudence, or the Daughters thereof, being both advantageous and necessary to a Commander: which would be, if Prudence respecting its own preservation, would make use of Fraud according to the different circumstances of time, place, and persons, so as the Heart and Tongue, the Mind and Words may ever agree. That Dissimulation ought to be avoided, which with fraudulent intentions belyes the things designed. That which would make another understand that

which

which is not, not that which would make him not understand that which is. For this end one may sometimes use indifferent and equivocating words, not with a design to cheat, but to secure ones self, and prevent being cheated, and for other lawfull ends. Thus we see the Master of truth himself pretended to his Disciples, who were going to the City *Emmaus*, that he was going farther (6). The counterfeit folly of *David* before King *Achis* (7); the pretended Sacrifice of *Samuel* (8); the Kids skins fitted to *Jacob's* hands (9), were all lawfull Diffimulations, the intent not being to cheat, but only to hide another design, nor are they the less allowable, because one foresees that another will thereby be deceiv'd, for that knowledge proceeds not from malice, but a kind of caution.

And these arts and practices are then chiefly to be made use of, when we treat with designing and crafty Princes; for in such case, Distrust, Cunning, Hypocrisie, ambiguous Replies, prudent Equivocation, least a Prince should be insnared, and give occasion for others Plots and Machinations, defending himself with these arts, and not offending or violating his publick Faith, what is this but being upon his Guard? That Ingenuity is foolish, which frankly discovers its secret Sentiments; and the State would be in danger without some caution. 'Tis a dangerous sincerity to speak truth always, since secrecy is the chief instrument of Government. Whatever Prince intrusts a secret to another, at the same time intrusts his Sceptre too: It does not become a Prince to lye, but it does to be silent, or to conceal truth; not to trust or confide in any one rashly, but to be wary and circumspect, that he mayn't be cheated: This caution is extremely necessary for a Prince, without which he would be expos'd to many and great dangers. He

(6) And he made as though he would have gone farther. *Luke* 24. 28.

(7) And he changed his behaviour before them, and feign'd himself mad in their hands, and scabbled on the doors of the gate, and let his Spittle fall down upon his Beard, *1 Sam.* 21. 13. (8) And the Lord said, take a Heifer with thee and say, I am come to sacrifice to the Lord, *1 Sam.* 16. 2. (9) And he put the skins of the Kids of the Goats upon his hands, and upon the smooth of his neck, *Gen.* 27. 16.

who knows and sees most, believes and trusts least, because either Speculation, or Practice and Experience renders him cautious. Let a Prince's mind therefore be sincere and pure; yet skill'd in the arts and practices of others. Experience will shew in what cases it becomes a Prince to use these arts, that is, when he shall observe that the Malice and Stratagems of those with whom he deals requires it.

In all other actions a Prince ought to discover a Royal Candor, sometimes even to those who would deceive him; for if they interpret it favourably, their designs are broken and begin to flag: besides no Fraud is so generous as Truth, of which, if they can be sure, they make him Master of the most private secrets of their Souls, without arming themselves with the like practices for the future. What Nets are not spread, and what Stratagems contrived for the Cunning and Subtilty of the Fox? who ever set snares for the tame innocence of the Swallow?

Those Princes whom the world admires for their Prudence and Conduct can't make use of this art; for none will believe that their actions are guided by chance or sincerity; the demonstrations of their truth are taken for counterfeited: In them Caution is accounted Malice; Prudence, Dissimulation; and Circumspection, Deceit. Some charge his Catholick Majesty with these Vices, because that by the natural Vivacity of his Judgment, and his continual experience in War and Peace, he was well acquainted with the treacherous dealing, unsincerity of the times, defending himself with so great Prudence, that his Enemies were either taken in their own Snares, or wholly broken by Counsel and Time. For this reason some Princes feign Sincerity and Modesty, the better to palliate their intentions, or that Malice may not so easily trace them. So *Domitian* did (10). A Prince who would be thought wise in all things, is for that reason not so. To know how to be ignorant seasonably is the greatest Prudence: there's nothing more advantageous, nothing more difficult than to be wise with Moderation:

(10) *Simul simplicitatis, ac modestiæ imagine conditus, studiumque literarum, & amorem carminum simulans, quo velaret animum.* Tac. 4. hist.

this *Tacitus* commends in *Agricola* (11). All conspire against the most knowing, either through Envy, or to defend their own ignorance; or perhaps, because they suspect that which they cannot comprehend. *Saul* seeing that *David* was too wise, he began to be cautious of him (12).

Other Princes appear diverted in their actions, that they may be thought to act casually and without design. But such is the Malice of Policy now a days, that it not only penetrates those arts, but cavils too at the most plain sincerity, to the great prejudice of Truth and Publick Tranquility. There being nothing that is interpreted rightly; and Truth consisting in one point, and those in the circumference, from whence Malice may take aim, being infinite, they fall into great errors, who will wrest from anothers words and actions a different sense from what they appear; and interpreting others Designs in the worst sense, cause both parties to arm themselves, and so to live in continual Distrust and Jealousie of each other. He who is most ingenious in these Suspicions is farthest from Truth; for by the acuteness of his wit he penetrates farther than what is generally comprehended; and we are often positive of that in others which is only a deceit of our own imagination. So to a Sailor the Rocks seem to run, when 'tis only the Ship that is in motion. The shadows of Policy are usually greater than the Body it self, and sometimes this is neglected, and this made use of, so that there often arises greater Damage from the prevention, than could arrive from the thing fear'd. How oft has a Prince, through a groundless Jealousie, declared War against him who never thought of offending him? and both taking arms, that which was at first but a slight and ill-grounded presumption, ends in a bloody War: 'tis the same with such, as with ill built Ships, which the more they fall from side to side, are the sooner lost. I don't blame Diffidence, when 'tis the Daughter of Prudence, as we said elsewhere; but a total defect of good faith, with-

(11) *Retinuitque quod difficillimum est, ex sapientia modum.* Tac. in vit. Agr. (12) Wherefore when *Saul* saw that he behaved himself very wisely, he was afraid of him, 1. Sam. 18. 15.

out which, neither Friendship, Society nor Covenants can be lasting. The Law of Nations would be invalid, and all things would be expos'd to Fraud and Deceit. All things are not acted with an ill intention. The greatest Tyrant sometimes proposes just and honourable ends.

EMBLEM XLIV. ++



Uncertain and dubious is the motion of the Serpent winding it self first one way then another, with such uncertainty, that its very body knows not where it will erect its head. You'd think it made this way, and immediately it moves contrary, without leaving any tract of its passage, nor can the intention of its motion be discover'd (1). So occult should be the Counsels and Designs of Princes. None ought to know whither they tend; they should imitate God the great Governour of all things,

(1) But canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth. *Job. 3. 8.*
whose

whose ways are past finding out (2): for which reason the Seraphim cover'd his feet with his wings (3). Princes ought so carefully to conceal their designs, that their Ministers themselves should not penetrate them; nay, that they should be the first that should believe otherwise and be deceiv'd, thereby the more naturally and effectually, without the danger of Dissimulation, which is easily discover'd to confirm and secure their real intentions, instilling the same error into others, that so it may pass current, and be believed on all sides. Thus *Tiberius* did, when some murmur'd that he did not go to pacifie the mutinous Legions in *Hungary* and *Germany*, he pretended he would go with all speed, by which deceiving the prudent, he deceiv'd also the People and Provinces (4). The same also did King *Philip* the Second, who conceal'd his designs from his own Ambassadors, pretending others, when 'twas convenient for them to believe them, and perswade others to do so. A Prince can by no means use these arts, if his ingenuity be not so cautious and circumspect, as not to discover the real motions of his mind by his manner of Government, and let his Rivals and Enemies penetrate his heart and thoughts; that he may slip out of their hands, when they think they have him secure. This method by which another is deceiv'd is rather a sort of self defence than malice, where it is used according to reason, as the greatest Heroes have always done. What necessity is there of discovering the heart, which nature has on purpose hidden within the breast? even in the most slight and frivolous affairs, 'tis pernicious to divulge them, because it gives occasion by way of discourse to discover farther. Yet though the heart be hid within the breast, its ails and distempers are discover'd by the Arteries. Execution loses its force, not without loss of the reputation of a Prince's prudence, if he divulges his designs to the people. Secret and unknown designs threaten all, and distract and puzzle an Enemy. Secrecy in War is more necessary than in other

(2) And who is able to discover his ways? *Ecc. 16. 19.* (3) And with twain he covered his feet, *Isai. 6. 2.* (4) *Primo prudentes, dein vulgum, diutissime Provincias sefellit Tac. 1. ann.*

Affairs. Few Enterprizes unseasonably detected succeed well. How is he surpriz'd who receives the Wound before he sees the Weapon; he who will not stir till he hears the clashing of Arms!

This I would have understood of Wars against Infidels, not of those between Christians, which ought to be proclaim'd, that there may be time for satisfaction, by which the effusion of Blood may be avoided, this being required to render a War lawfull and just. In this the *Romans* were to be commended, who instituted a College of twenty Priests whom they call'd Heralds, whose business it was to proclaim War, to make Peace, and to establish Alliances: These were also Judges in such cases, and took care that the party injur'd should receive satisfaction, appointing a term of thirty-three days for an amicable composition; in which time, if the disputes were not ended, they declar'd War by throwing a Spear into the Enemies Country (5), from which day commenc'd acts of Hostility and Incurfions. Of these declarations there are divers examples in the Scriptures. *Jephtha* being chosen Prince of the *Israelites*, did not take up Arms against the *Ammonites*, before, by Ambassadors, he had enquir'd into the reason which mov'd them to the War (6). The method of our times is not so humane and generous. We experience the effects of War before we know the cause thereof. An unexpected and sudden Invasion makes the Injury the greater, and renders the minds of the parties implacable, this generally springs hence, that they take up arms not to satisfy Injuries, or atone for Damages receiv'd, but only from a blind Ambition to enlarge their Dominions: in which, without respect to Religion, Consanguinity or Friendship, they trample upon the most sacred Laws of Nature and Nations.

If a Prince suspects any of Infidelity, let him not immediately change the serenity of his Looks, or shew any sign of his suspicion, but rather by new Flattery and Honours endea-

(5) *Et baculum intorquens emittit in auras, Principium pugnae. Virg.*
 (6) And *Jephtha* sent Messengers unto the King of the Children of *Ammon*, saying; What hast thou to do with me, that thou art come against me to fight in my Land? *Judg.* 11. 12.

vour to confirm their Minds and oblige them to Fidelity. Rigour is not always the best and safest remedy. Branches lopt off die, and revive not again. Thus *Marcellus* conniv'd at *Lucius Bancus* of *Nola*, a very rich, and withal very factious person, and though he well knew he sided with *Hannibal*, he call'd him to him, told him, how his Vertue and Valour were esteem'd by all, particularly by the *Roman* Generals, who were Witnesses of his Bravery at the Battle of *Canna*: he honour'd him with words, supported with hopes and promises; gave him at all times free access to his presence, and by this courteous usage so oblig'd him, that from that time the *Roman* State had not a more faithfull Friend than he. This Dissimulation requires great care and prudence, for if the Offender should mistrust it, he would interpret it a design to bring him to Punishment, and so would sooner fire his Mines, or endeavour to preserve himself by other violent means. Which is chiefly to be fear'd in Tumults and Crimes of the Multitude. Thus *Fabius Valens*, though he would not punish the Authors of a certain Commotion, yet did he permit some of them to be tried (7). But since 'tis very difficult to purge the mind of Treason once conceiv'd, and since such crimes ought not to go unpunished, 'tis then only fit to connive, when greater danger attends the declaration, or the number of Offenders makes the punishment impracticable. This *Julius Cæsar* consider'd, when he commanded some Letters from *Pompey* to the *Roman* Nobility against him, which he had intercepted, to be burnt unopen'd, thinking 'twas the mildest method of pardoning, not to know the crime. A piece of true Generosity and singular Prudence, since 'twas impossible to punish all, not to oblige himself to the inconveniencies of connivance. Those of mean condition may be made examples, and the great ones conniv'd at, till a more convenient opportunity. But where the Delinquents may be punished without danger, 'tis safer, by punishing them, to consult self-security, than to trust to Dissimulation; for this often emboldens great Spirits. *Hannibal* plotted to poison the *Carthaginian* Senate, and upon

(7) *Ne dissimulans suspectior foret.* Tac. 2. hist.

the discovery of the Treason, the Senators thought it sufficient to make a Law to regulate the Excess and Expences of Feasts, which gave *Hannibal* occasion to plot afresh against them.

That Art and Cunning most becomes a Prince, and that Dissimulation is most allowable and necessary, which so composes and forms the Looks, Words and Actions towards him whom it would deceive, as that he mayn't mistrust that his designs are discover'd: for by that means there will be time to search farther into them, and either to punish or elude them, while the party is not so sollicitous in the concealment of them; but if he once find himself betray'd, he begins to tremble, and thinks himself not secure, till he has put his designs in execution. This oblig'd *Agrippina* to pretend not to understand the Murther which her Son *Nero* design'd her (8). This Dissimulation or feign'd Simplicity is very necessary for Ministers who serve cunning and designing Princes, who make it their care to conceal their intentions; in this *Tiberius* was a great Master (9). The same artifice the Roman Senate us'd, when the same *Tiberius*, after the death of *Augustus*, let them know, to try their thoughts, that he would not accept of the Empire, it being a burthen too heavy for him; they by a studied ignorance and forc'd tears begg'd he would please to accept it, all being afraid to seem to understand his meaning (10). Unjust Princes hate those who they think understand their ill practices, and take them for Enemies. They claim an absolute Authority over mens minds, not subject to anothers understanding, they will have their Subjects Intellects at as much command as their Bodies, esteeming it part of their duty and respect not to understand their designs (11). Wherefore 'tis disallowable and dangerous to pry into the privacies and secret thoughts of Princes (12). *Tiberius* complaining

(8) *Solum insidiarum remedium esse si non intelligerentur.* Tac. 14. ann.
 (9) *Consulto ambiguus.* Tac. 13. ann. (10) *Quibus usus metus si intelligere viderentur.* Tac. 1. ann. (11) *Intelligebantur artes: sed pars obsequii in rene deprehenderentur.* Tac. 4. hist. (12) *Abditos Principis sensus. & si quid occultius parat exquirere illicitum, anceps, nec ideo assquare.* Tac. 6. ann.

that he was in danger from some of the *Roman* Senators, *Afinius Gallus* desir'd to know who they were, that they might be brought to Justice, which *Tiberius* took very ill, that he should desire to know what he had a mind to conceal (13). *Germanicus* acted more prudently, who though he well understood *Tiberius's* meaning, and that he was recall'd from *Germany*, only to stop the progress of his Glory, readily obey'd without seeming to understand (14). Since Princes commands can't be declin'd, 'tis prudence to obey them chearfully, pretending ignorance of the motives, to avoid danger. Thus *Archelaus*, though he knew he was call'd to *Rome* by *Tiberius's* Mother through Craft and Treachery, yet he dissembled it, and fearing violence if he should be thought to understand it, made what hast he could thither (15). And this Dissimulation is yet more necessary in the Errors and Vices of Princes, for they esteem them as enemies, who are acquainted therewith. In the Banquet at which *Germanicus* was poison'd, some ran for't, but the more prudent sat still looking upon *Nero*, that they might not be thought to mistrust the Murther, but rather to believe that it was natural (16).

(13) *Eo agrius accepit recludi quæ premeret.* Tac. 4. ann. (14) *Haud cunctatus est ultra Germanicus; quanquam fingi ea seque per invidiam parto jam decori abstrahi intelligeret.* Tac. 2. ann. (15) *Si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat.* Tac. 2. ann. (16) *Trepidatum à circumsedentibus, diffugiunt imprudentes, at quibus altior intellectus, resistunt defixi, & Neronem intuentes.* Tac. 13. ann.

EMBLEM XLV.

45



THE Lion, the body of this devise, was among the *Egyptians* the Emblem of Vigilance, and us'd to be set in the Frontispieces and Porches of their Temples. Hence *Alexander* the Great was engraven upon his Coin with a Lion's skin upon his head, to intimate that he was not less carefull and vigilant than valiant; for if at any time affairs requir'd that he should not spend much time in sleep, he was us'd to lie with his arm out of bed, holding a Silver ball in his hand, that if he should fall asleep, that falling into a brass Bason set underneath for that purpose, might waken him. He had never conquer'd the world, had he been sleepy and lazy, he ought not to snore away his time, who has the Government of People committed to him †.

† *Non decet ignavum totâ producere somnum
Nocte virum, sub consilio, sub nomine cuius
Tot populi degunt, cui rerum cura, fidesque
Credita summarum est.*

Thus the Lion knowing himself to be King of Beasts, sleeps but little, or if he does, 'tis with his Eyes open: he does not confide so much in his Empire, nor relie so much on his Majesty, as not to think it necessary to seem to be awake even while he sleeps. The Senses do indeed require rest sometimes, but even then 'tis necessary Princes should be thought to be awake. A sleeping King differs not from another man: This Passion he ought to conceal from Friends as well as Enemies; he may sleep, provided others think him waking. Let him not depend so much upon his Authority and Power, as to shut his Eyes to Care and Circumspection. 'Tis a cunning Dissimulation in the Lion to sleep with his Eyes open, not with a design to deceive, but only to hide his sleepiness. And if any one designing against him be deceiv'd, finding him awake whom he thought he had seen sleeping, 'tis his own fault not the Lion's. Nor is this pretence below the greatness of his Mind, no more than that other piece of cunning, of smoothing over the Tract of his feet with his Tail to deceive the Huntsmen. There is no Fortress secure unless guarded by Vigilance. The greater the Prince is, the greater care he ought to be crown'd with, not with the Sincerity of innocent Doves, but the prudence of subtle Serpents. For as when the Lion enters the Field, the other Beasts lay aside their natural Enmity, and give over fighting, and with joint force combine against him, so among men all arm and unite against the strongest. Nothing is more pernicious to the Kingdom of *England*, than the greatness of the *Dutch*, for they take from them the Dominion of the Seas; nothing more prejudicial to *France*, than the Grandure of those same Rebels, who once breaking down the Dikes oppos'd by *Spain*, would, like an Inundation soon o'erwhelm the Kingdom of *France*, as King *Henry* the Fourth wisely observ'd: and yet what weigh'd more with both these two Crowns than their danger, their hatred, I mean, and fear of the *Spanish* Monarchy, rais'd that people to that Grandure and Power, which upon alteration of affairs they may fear against themselves. We are more sollicitous and carefull to avert present dangers than future ones, though these are often greater. Fear obstructs the

Senses, nor permits the Mind to survey things at a distance. A groundless Fear is often of more force than the greatest reason of State. The power of *Spain* in *Italy* is a preservative against the distempers of the *Genoese* liberty; the same also preserves the Dukedom of *Tuscany*, augments the Spiritual Empire of the Church, maintains the Authority of the House of *Austria*, and secures the *Venetians* from the Tyranny of the *Turks*; yet I know not whether the Ministers of these Princes will acknowledge this, or act conformable to this their Interest. Such Jealousies as are not guided by reason, work their own ruin. They who thought they should be safe in disarming the Emperour *Ferdinand* the Second, found afterwards that they had need of those arms which they had caus'd him to disband. Many Provinces, which for Reasons of State sought the ruin of the *Roman* Empire lost their own liberty with its ruin.

Let not a Prince put much confidence in exterior respect and ceremony, for 'tis all feign'd, and far from what it appears to be; Complaisance is Flattery; Adoration, Fear; Respect, Force; and Friendship, Necessity. The good opinion which a Prince conceives of others, they make use of to circumvent and betray him. All watch his motions, to make a prey of him; all strive to overcome him by Stratagem whom they can't by force; few or none act sincerely with him; for he who is fear'd, seldom hears truth; and therefore he ought not to sleep in confidence of his own power. Let him oppose Stratagem with Stratagem, and Power with Power. A generous mind closely and cautiously prevents, or courageously resists dangers.

But though in the present Emblem we allow of the arts of Dissimulation, nay and think them necessary with the aforesaid restrictions, yet does it more become the Ministers than the Princes themselves, for in them there is a certain occult Divinity which is offended at that care: Dissimulation is usually the Daughter of Fear and Ambition, neither of which ought to be discover'd in a Prince. The conveniences of Dissimulation he ought to supply by silence and reservedness. A Prince is more belov'd for being prudent and wary, provided he act with a Royal Sincerity. All hate Artifice,
and

and on the contrary, a natural and open freedom is agreeable to all, as *Tacitus* remarks in *Petronius* (1).

(1) *Dicta factaque ejus quanto solutiora, & quandam sui negligentiam præferentia, tantò gratius in speciem simplicitatis accipiebantur. Tac. 16. ann.*

E M B L E M XLVI.



AN Oar under Water appears crooked and broken, which is caus'd by the refraction of Species: so in many things our opinion deceives us. For this reason the Sceptick Philosophers doubted of all things, and durst affirm nothing for certain. A wary piece of Modesty and prudent Distrust of humane Judgment, and not without ground: for to a certain knowledge of things, there are required two dispositions, that which is to know, and that which is to be known; the first is the Understanding, which uses the external and internal Senses to form Imaginations; the

the external are variously chang'd according to the abundance or defect of humours. The internal are also subject to changes, either from the same cause, or from the different Affections of the Organs. Whence proceed such different Opinions and Judgments, one judging differently of the same things from another, and both with equal uncertainty; for things change their shape and colour with their places, by being near or at a distance, or because none are purely simple, or because of natural Mixtures and Species which interpose between them and the Senses; so that we can't affirm things are so and so, but that they seem such, forming an Opinion not certain Knowledge. *Plato* found a yet greater uncertainty in them, when he consider'd that there was nothing of so pure and perfect nature as God; and that in this life we could have no perfect knowledge of anything, but saw only things present, and those too, Reflections and Shadows of others, so that 'twas impossible to reduce them to a Science. Not that I would have a Prince a Sceptick, for he who doubts all determines nothing; nor is there any thing more pernicious to Government, than Hesitation in resolving and executing. I only advise that he would not be too positive in his opinions, but believe that he may easily be deceiv'd in his Judgment, either through Affection, or Passion, or false Information, or Flattery and Insinuation, or because he don't care to hear truth which prescribes bounds to his Authority and Will, or because of the uncertainty of our own apprehension; or lastly, because few things are really what they appear, especially in Policy, which is now a-days nothing but the art of cheating, or not being cheated; wherefore they ought to be viewed in different lights, and a Prince ought carefully to consider and weigh them not slightly to pass them over, least he should give credit to appearances and groundless Stories.

These Cheats and politick Tricks can't be well known, unless the nature of man be also known; for the knowledge of him is absolutely necessary for a Prince, that he may know how to govern and beware of him. For tho' Government be an invention of men, 'tis in no danger but from them; for Man has no greater Enemy than Man. The Eagle hurts

not the Eagle; nor the Serpent the Serpent; but man is continually plotting against his own kind. The Dens of Beasts are open and unguarded, but three of the four Elements are not sufficient for the guard of Cities, *viz.* Earth cast up into Walls and Entrenchments, Water confin'd to Ditches, and Fire enclos'd in Artillery. That some may sleep, the rest must watch. What instruments are there not invented against Life, as if it were not of it self short enough, and subject to the infirmities of Nature; and tho' the Seeds of all Vertues and Vices are in man as their proper Subject; 'tis with this difference, that those can't grow and increase without the Dew of celestial and supernatural Grace; but these do spontaneously bud out and flourish, which is the effect and punishment of man's first Sin; and as we always suffer our selves to be led by our Inclinations and Passions, which hurry us to ill, and as there is not the same danger in Vertue as in Vices, we therefore will lay before a Prince a short description of deprav'd human Nature.

Man is then the most inconstant Animal in the Creation; pernicious both to himself and others; Changes with his Age, Fortune, Interest and Passion; nor does the Sea vary so oft as his condition. He is deluded by empty appearances, and through self-conceit persists in his Error. Revenge and Cruelty he esteems praise-worthy and honourable. Is well vers'd in Hypocrisie, and can dissemble his Passions a great while. With Words, Laughter and Tears he conceals his Thoughts. Veils his Designs with Religion. Confirms and maintains Lyes with Oaths. Is a Slave to Hope and Fear. Favours make him ungratefull. Dominion proud. Constraint vile and abject. Law fearfull. Benefits he inscribes on Wax; Injuries receiv'd on Marble; and those he offers on Brass. He is subject to Love, not out of Charity, but an appearance of good. A mere Slave to Anger. In Adversity prostrate and cringing. In Prosperity arrogant and proud. What he commends in himself; and affects, he wants; calls himself a true Friend, but knows not what Friendship means. Slights his own and covets others goods. The more he has, the more he desires. The good Fortune and Prosperity of others kills him with En-

vy. Under shew of Friendship, he is the greatest Enemy. Loves the Rigour of Justice in others, but hates it in himself.

This is a description of humane nature in general, nor are all these Vices in one person, but dispers'd in severall. And though a Prince think that some one is wholly free from them, let him not therefore be less cautious of him, for there is no certainty in the Judgment which is made of the condition and nature of men. Vice often puts on the Mask of Vertue, the better to deceive, and the best of men may be deficient sometimes, either through human frailty, or the inconstancy of the times, or necessity, or interest, or appearance of publick or private good, or over-sight, or want of knowledge; whence it happens that the good are not less dangerous than the bad; and in case of doubt, 'tis more prudent for a Prince to avoid the danger, remembering (not to offend, but to defend) that, as *Ezekiel* said, *Briars and Thorns are with him, and he dwells among Scorpions* (1), whose Tails are always ready to strike (2). Such generally are Courtiers, they all advance their own pretensions by deluding the Prince, or by removing his best and most deserving Favourites, by means of his own power. How often have waves of Envy and Jealousie been interpos'd between the Eyes of the Prince, and the Minister's actions, making those appear crooked and disloyal which are drawn by the rule of Justice and his Service. Thus Vertue suffers, the Prince loses a good Minister, and Malice triumphs in its Practices; which that he may practically know, and not suffer Innocence to be wrong'd, I will here set down the most usual.

There are some Courtiers so subtle and cunning, that while they seem to excuse their Rival's faults, they then most accuse them. So *Augustus* reprehended the Vices of *Tiberius* (3).

(1) Ezek. 2. 6. (2) *Semper cauda in iestu est, nulloque momento mediari cessat, ne quando desit occasio.* Plin. lib. 11. c. 25. (3) *Quaquam honora oratione, quaedam de habitu, cultuque & institutis ejus fecerat, que velus excusando exprobraret.* Tac. 1 ann.

Others there are, who to cover their Malice, and gain credit under pretence of Goodness, begin under the title of Friendship, with the praises of him whom they would remove, extolling some little insignificant Service, and at the same time by a feign'd zeal for the Princes interest, which they pretend to prefer before all Friendship and Relation, gradually discover his faults, which may procure his Disgrace or loss of Place. But if their Ambition and Malice can't procure this, they at least establish their own Reputation by carping at their Friends faults, and gain themselves Glory by his infamy (4). *Alphonso the Wise King of Naples* was well acquainted with all these practices; wherefore when he heard one full of the praises of his Enemy; *Observe, says he, the Artifice of that man, and you will find that the drift of these commendations is only to do him more mischief.* And so it fell out, when he had for six Months endeavour'd to gain credit to his intentions, that he might afterwards the sooner be believ'd in what he should say against him. Mines are always sprung at a distance from the Walls where they are to do execution. Those Friends who praise you are worse than Enemies who murmur at you (5). Others, that they may cheat more securely, praise in publick, and in private scandalize (6).

Nor is their subtilty less malicious, who so adorn their Calumnies, that they look like praises; as *Aleto* did in *Tasso*.

*Gran fabro di calumnie adorne in modi
Novi, che sono accuse e payen lodi.*

These the Psalmist meant, when he said, *They were turned aside like a deceitful bow* (7).

Or as *Hosea* the Prophet says, *like a deceitfull bow, which aims at one place and hits another* (8).

Some extoll their Rivals to that degree, that it may

(4) *Unde amico infamiam parat, inde gloriam sibi recipere.* Tac. 1. ann. (5) *Pessimum inimicorum genus, laudantes.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (6) *Secretis cum criminationibus infamaverat, ignarum, & quo cautius deciperetur, palam laudatum.* Tac. 1. hist. (7) *Psal* 78. 57. (8) *Hof.* 7. 16.

Plainly appear they don't speak seriously and really, as was observ'd in *Tiberius* when he prais'd *Germanicus* (9).

Others make use of these commendations to raise their Enemy to such posts as may at last ruin them, or at least procure their removal from Court, though to his greater advantage; which I believe was among others, the reason why *Ruigomez* caus'd *Ferdinand Duke of Alba* to be sent into *Flanders*, when those Provinces revolted. With the same intention *Mucian* prais'd *Anthony* in the Senate, and propos'd for him the Government of the *Neither Spain* (10); and to facilitate it, he divided his Offices and Honours among his Friends. 'Tis scarce credible, how liberal Envy is, when it would remove him who eclipses its Glory or obstructs its Rise: 'tis a wave which drives him who can't swim, upon the Shore of Fortune.

Sometimes Commendations are us'd with a design of creating Envy to the party prais'd; a strange way of striking, with others Vices. Many endeavour to introduce their own Creatures with such Artifice, as no one can penetrate their designs; and to that end, they first carp at some trivial faults committed by others in the same Offices, then praise and cry up others as more fit for those places, and sometimes they entertain them as if they had no knowledge of them, as *Lacon* did *Piso*, that he might be adopted by *Galba* (12).

Others, the better to conceal their Passion, lay their Plots at a distance, and instill their hatred gradually into the Prince's Mind, that being at last full, he may burst upon their Enemies. These means *Sejanus* us'd to alienate the Mind of *Tiberius* from *Germanicus* (13). And these the Holy Spirit seems to condemn under the Metaphor of plowing Lyes (14). Which is the same as sowing Tares in the

(9) *Multaque de virtute ejus memoravit, magis in speciem verbis adoranda quam ut penitus sentire crederetur.* Tac. 1. ann. (10) *Igitur Mucianus quia propalam opprimi Antonius nequibat, multis in senatu laudibus cumulatam secretis promissis orerat, Citeriorem Hispaniam ostentans discessu Cluvii Rufi vacuam.* Tac. 4. hist. (12) *sed callide ut ignotura secebat.* Tac. 1. ann. (13) *Odia in longum jacens, quae rezonderet, auctaque promeret.* Tac. 1. ann. (14) *Devile not (Lat. voli arare) a lye against* thy Brother, *Eccle* 7. 13.

Mind, that they may afterwards reap the fruit of Wickedness (15).

Some, not with less cunning, first deceive those Ministers in whom the Prince has most confidence, by insinuating into them some Falshoods, which they afterwards imprint in the Prince. This was the art of that lying Spirit of the Prophet *Micaiah*, which propos'd to deceive King *Achab*, by being in the Mouth of all his Prophets, and God permitted it as the most effectual means (16).

There are others, who make advantage of the injuries the Prince has receiv'd, and perswade him to revenge, either that they may themselves be thereby reveng'd of their Enemies, or else cause him to be turn'd out of Favour and Trust. By this Artifice *John Pacheco* perswaded King *Henry* the IVth. to apprehend *Alphonso Fonseca* Archbishop of *Sevil*, and afterwards advis'd him privately to provide for his own safety.

These are the usual practices of Courts, and though they are oft discover'd, yet they never want Patrons, nay, there are those who will suffer themselves to be cheated twice; whence we often see bare-fac'd Impostors remain at Court so long; an effect of the weakness of our deprav'd Nature, which is more taken with Lyes than Truth. We are more apt to admire the Picture of a Horse than a real one, that being but a Lye of th'other. What is Rhetorick with all its Tropes and Figures, but a kind of Falshood and Cheat? From all which we may see, how much danger there is of a Prince's being deceiv'd in his opinion, unless he with great application and diligence examine things, suspending his belief, untill he not only sees the things themselves, but also as it were, feels them, those especially which he has only by hear-say. For the Breath of Flattery, and the Winds of Hatred and Envy enter at the Ears, and raise the Passions and Affections of the Mind, before there can be any Certainty of the truth of the thing. 'Twould therefore be very convenient for a Prince to have his Ears near his

(15) Ye have plow'd wickedness, ye have reaped iniquity, ye have eaten the fruit of Lyes, *Hos.* 10. 13. (16) And he said, I will go forth and be a Lying Spirit in the mouth of all his Prophets, *1 Kin.* 22. 22.

Thoughts and Reason. As are the Owl's (for that reason perhaps sacred to *Minerva*) upon the top of its head, the Chamber of the Senses, all of which we have need of in hearing, lest our ears should deceive us. Let a Prince therefore take great care thereof, for when the ears are once free from affections, and reason sits there as judge, every thing is well examin'd; all things relating to Government depend upon the relation of others: therefore what *Aristotle* said of Bees seems improbable; that is, that they are deaf; for that would be a great inconveniency for that prudent and politick little Animal, since those two Senses, Hearing and Seeing, are the Instruments through which we draw Wisdom and Experience; both these we have need of to prevent our being deceiv'd by Passion, Nature or Inclination. The prepossess'd *Moabites* thought the Waters upon which the Sun shone, were Blood (17). The same noise of the people, to the Ears of Warlike *Joshua*, seem'd their Shoots to Battle; and to those of gentle *Moses* a Harmony of Musick (18). For which cause, God, though omniscient, would verifie with his Eyes what he had heard of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah* (19). When therefore a Prince shall have seen, heard, and felt things, he can't be deceiv'd, or if he be, 'twill not be his fault. From all which we may see how ill contriv'd was that image of the *Thebans*, by which they express'd the qualifications of their Princes, for it had ears, but no Eyes, these being full as necessary as those: the Ear to know things, and the Eyes to believe them, in which the Eyes are most trusty, for truth is no farther distant from a Lye than the Eyes from the Ears.

(17) And they rose up early in the Morning, and the Sun shone upon the Waters, and the *Moabites* saw the water on the other side as red as Blood, *2 Kings* 3. 22. (18) And *Joshua* heard the noise of the people, as they shouted, he said unto *Moses*, There is a noise of war in the camp. And he said, it is not the voice of them that shout for Mastery, neither is it the voice of them that cry for being overcome: but the noise of them that sing, do I hear, *Exod.* 32. 17, 18. (19) I will go down now, and see whether they have done altogether according to the cry of it, which is come unto me; and if not, I will know, *Gen.* 22. 21.

Nor has a Prince need of less diligence and attention in discussing the Counsels and Proposals of his Ministers, before he puts them in execution; such as concern raising Money, regulating the Government, and other matters relating to Peace and War, for their usual aim is their own particular interest, and effects don't always correspond to our expectations. Ingenuity often approves Counsels which Experience afterwards rejects. Yet is it imprudence wholly to slight them, for the success of one only makes amends for the vanity of the rest. *Spain* had never obtain'd the Empire of the new world, if their Catholick Majesties had not gave more credit to *Columbus* than other Princes. Yet to be over credulous or confident to act whatever is propos'd, is either Levity or Folly. *First*, The condition of the Proposer is to be consider'd, his Experience in the matter; what end he may have in deceiving; what interest if he succeeds; also the means and time by which he thinks to accomplish it: *Nero*, for want of these considerations, was much disappointed about a Treasure which one told him he had found in *Africk* (20). Many Projects at first seem considerable, which prove at last vain and useles. Many seem light and frivolous, from whence result great advantages. Many which have been successfullly experienc'd in small matters, in affairs of greater moment succeed not. Many seem easie to reason, which are difficult in the operation. Many are prejudicial at first, and advantageous afterwards, and so on the contrary; and many have different effects from what were at first propos'd.

The lazy and blind Vulgar don't know truth, unless they light on it by chance, for they foolishly form opinions of things before Reason foresees the inconveniences, and promise themselves a more certain knowledge from the success, the guide of the ignorant, and so if any one should go about to argue these people out of their opinions he would lose his time and pains. There are no better means, than to make them see and feel their Errors; so startling Horfes use to be

(20) *Non auctoris, non ipsius negotii fide satis spectata, nec missis visoribus per quos nosceret an vera affererentur.* Tac. 16. ann.

whip'd and spur'd to make them go forwards to see the vanity of the shadow which frightened them. This means *Pacuvius* us'd to appease the people of *Capua*, who rose against the Senate: he first shut all the Senators by their own consent, into a certain Hall; then calls the people together, tells them, that if they have a mind to take off or punish the Senators, now is their time, for they are lock'd up without Arms; but withal tells them, it would be necessary to take them one by one, and immediately to elect another in the room of him whom they took off, for that without those heads the State could not subsist a Moment: He puts all their Names in a Pot, draws out one, and asks the people what they would have done with him; they all cry out, let him die; then he advises them to elect another; this confounds them, and they don't know who to propose; and so a second and third time they could not agree upon their choice. At last their confusion taught them, that 'twas better to bear with an ill already experienc'd, than to attempt a remedy, and so they immediately commanded the Senators to be releas'd. The people is very furious in its opinions, and 'tis often, especially upon any imminent danger, a piece of great management in a Prince to govern it with his own hand, keeping pace with it in its ignorance. The people are often reduc'd to their duty, by laying before them the inconveniences which have hapned in the like cases; for they are more mov'd by Example than Reason (21).

(21) *Plebsia ingenia exemplis magis quam ratione capiuntur.* Macrobi.

E M B L E M XLVII.



EVEN Vertues have their Dangers; they should be always in a Prince's Mind, but not always in exercise. Publick interest ought to dictate when and where to use them. Us'd without Prudence, they either become Vices, or are not less hurtfull than them. In a private person they respect only him; in a Prince both him and the State too. They ought to suit with the common interest of all, not with that of particular persons. Civil Science prescribes certain limits to the Vertue of him who commands and him who obeys. Justice is not in the power of the Minister, but ought always to be directed by the Laws. In the Prince, who is the Soul thereof, it has certain considerations, which respect the Government in common. In the Subject Commiseration can never be excessive; in a Prince 'tis often dangerous. To demonstrate this in the present Emblem, I have made use of that method, which according to

to *Sanzaro* and *Garcilazo*, the Shepherds us'd to catch Crows. Which shews Princes with how much circumspection they ought to interest themselves in the misfortunes and dangers of others. They fastned a Crow by the Pini-
ons of its Wings to the ground, this seeing others fly by, would by making a grievous noise, excite them to pity, and come down to its assistance.

*Cercavanta, i alguna mas piadosa
Del mal ageno de la companera.
Que del syo à visada, ô timerosa, &c.*

For that which was fastned to the ground, catches hold of another with its Claws, thereby to free it self, and that again of another, which the same Compassion brought to their assistance; & that for the sake of one another, they are all caught. In which something may be attributed to the Novelty of the accident, for sometimes that appears Compassion which is only a motion of natural Inquietude. I allow the Eyes and Heart to be mov'd with Compassion, at the Misfortunes and Complaints of foreign Princes. But not to arm upon every slight occasion for their Defence. For a private person to expose himself to dangers to serve his Friend, is brave and commendable, but in a Prince blame-
able, if he hazzards the publick safety for the service of a Foreigner, without good grounds and reasons of State; nor are those of Conanguinity or private Friendship sufficient. For a Prince is born more for his Subjects than his Relations and Friends; he may indeed assist them, but without incurring any damage or danger. When assistance renders the danger so common, that the ruin of one draws after it that of the other, here is no tie of Obligation or Piety can excuse it: but when interests are so interwoven and united, that one must follow the fate of th'other, who-ever assists in that case acts his own cause; and 'tis more prudence (as we have said) to oppose dangers in a foreign State than to expect them at home. Also when 'tis the publick interest to assist the oppressed; the Prince who is most potent, is, without doubt, obliged to it. For between Prin-
ces Justice can't have recourse to the common Tribunals;

'tis in the Authority and Power of the strongest, that it finds Refuge. In such case 'twould be a kind of Tyranny to be an idle Spectator only, and give way to that Policy which aims to imbroil other Princes, that themselves may be more secure through their dissensions, and raise their own fortunes upon the ruin of others, for such as these the supreme Judge of the intentions severely punishes.

These cases require great Prudence, to weigh the engagement with the interest, lest we should entangle our selves in others Misfortunes, and make their danger ours, for we must not afterwards expect the same return. *Spain* pitied the Misfortunes of the Empire, and assisted it with its Blood and Treasures, from whence proceeded the Invasions which *France* made in *Italy*, *Flanders*, *Burgundy* and *Spain*, the whole War lying at present upon this Monarchy, yet won't some in *Germany* acknowledge this, or believe that it is for their sakes.

Experience therefore in our own and others Misfortunes ought to make us more cautious in our Commiseration and Assistance. How often, by assisting the Misfortunes of our Friends, have we lost both our selves and him, being afterwards ungratefull for the benefit! How often have these incurr'd the hatred of a Prince by those very means by which they have endeavour'd to serv'd him. *Germanicus* was adopted by *Tiberius*, appointed to succeed him in the Empire, and so faithfull in his Service, that he took it as an affront, that the Legions should offer him the Empire (1), and when they press'd him to it would have stabbd himself (2); and the more faithfully he behav'd himself, the less gratefull he was to *Tiberius*. His care in appeasing the Legions with Donatives was distastfull (3). His Piety in gathering and burying the Relicts of *Varus's* Army, he interpreted Ambition (4). The Compassion of his Wife *Agrippina* in cloathing the Soldiers, seem'd a desire of rule (5).

(1) *Quasi scelere contaminaretur.* Tac. 1. ann. (2) *At ille moriturum potius quam fidem exueret, clamitans, ferrum à latere diripuit, elatumque deferrebat in pectus.* Id. ibid. (3) *Sed quod largiendis pecuniis & missione festinata favorem militum quæsisset, bellica quoque Germanici gloria arguatur.* Id. ibid. (4) *Quod Tiberio haud probatum.* Id. ibid. (5) *Id Tiberii animum altius penetravit.* Id. ibid.

In a word, all *Germanicus's* actions were misinterpreted (6). *Germanicus* knew this Hatred, and that he was call'd upon pretence of Honour, from his true Glory in *Germany*, and endeavour'd to oblige him more by Obedience and Observance (7); but this made him still more odious, till Gratitude, oppress'd by the weight of Obligation, he sent him to the Eastern Provinces (8), where he caus'd him to be poison'd by *Piso*, rejoicing in the death of him, who was the support of his Empire (9). Some Princes are Idols, whose Eyes are, (as *Jeremiah* says) blinded with the dust of those who enter in to worship them (10). They acknowledge no Services, and what is worse, won't be convinc'd of them, nor that their liberty is subject to desert, and therefore take great care to disengage themselves from it. Him who has perform'd signal Services they charge with some Crime or other, that his pretension to reward being reduc'd to a desence, he may take his Pardon for a sufficient Recompence. They seem dis-satisfied with those very Services which they inwardly approve; to avoid being oblig'd, or they attribute them to their own orders, and sometimes that very thing which they desir'd and commanded to be done, they repent of afterwards, and are angry with him who facilitated it, as if he had done it from his own motive. The Heart of a King is unsearchable (11). 'Tis a deep Sea which is today boisterous and raging, from the same cause which made it yesterday calm and serene. The Goods of Fortune and Mind, and also Riches and Honours, they sometimes esteem meritorious, sometimes injurious and criminal (12).

The most officious diligence often displeases them. That of *Uzzah* to God, in putting forth his arm to support the

(6) *Cuncta Germanici in deterius trahenti. Id. Ibid.* (7) *Quanto summo spei propior, tanto impensius pro Tiberio nitit. Id. ibid.* (8) *Novisque provinciis impositum, dolo simul & casibus objectaret. Tac. 2. ann.* (9) *Nam Germanici mortem inter prospera ducebat. Tac. 4. ann.* (10) Their eyes be full of dust, through the feet of them that come in. *Baruc. 6. 17.* (11) *Prov. 25. 3.* (12) *Nobilitas, opes, omissi gestique honores pro crimine & ab virtutes certissimum exitium. Tac. 1. hist.*

falling Ark, cost him his life (13). Princes usually recompence negligence rather than care, and reward the least Services with greatest Honours. To be oblig'd they reckon servile and mean, and chuse Ingratitude rather than Acknowledgment. The prompt zeal and liberality of *Junius Blafus* towards the Emperor *Vitellius* got him his Hatred instead of Thanks (14). The renown'd *Roger* of *Catalonia*, being at *Constantinople* to assist *Fadricus* King of *Sicily*, was recall'd by the Emperor *Andronicus* to defend the Empire; he did things beyond belief; with a small number of his valiant *Catalonians*; he repell'd the *Turks*, and when he expected a reward for his Services, the Emperour upon some slight pretence, put him to death. And very often some frivolous pretence is more regarded than the greatest Services; for Gratitude is esteem'd a burthen to the mind, but Revenge discharges the Bile. There is this Misfortune in the Service of Princes, that no man knows when he obliges or disoblige them (15). And if we would form any method of Policy from the light of History, and the Misfortunes which we incur through our over-officiousness, we had need distinguish between Vertues, that we may know how to use them, by considering that though they are all in us as their proper Subject, yet do they not all operate within us. Some are practis'd externally, others internally. These are Fortitude, Patience, Modesty, Humility, Religion, among which, some are only so far for us, that those external ones contribute no more thereto, than the security of humane Society, and an esteem for their own Excellence, as are Humility, Modesty, and Humanity. So that the more perfect these Vertues are, the more they work upon the Minds and Approbation of others, provided we can keep a

(13) And *Uzzab* put forth his hand to the Ark of God, and took hold of it, for the Oxen shook it. And the anger of the Lord was kindled against *Uzzab*, and God smote him there for his error, and there he died by the Ark of God, 2 Sam. 6. 6. (14) *Lugdunensis Gallie* rector, genere illustris, largus animo, & par opibus, circumdaret Principi ministeria comitaretur liberaliter, eo ipso ingratus quamvis, odium *Vitellius* humilibus blanditiis velaret. Tac. 2. hist. (15) And no man knoweth either Love or Hatred, by all that is before them, Eccl. 9. 1.

Decorum. Other of those Vertues, though they are internal, yet their Operation depends upon external Actions; as Valour and Magnanimity. In these there is no danger, if they be govern'd by Prudence, which prescribes time and manner to all Vertues. For excessive and imprudent reservedness usually obstructs our interest; we losing our selves under a Notion of Reputation and Glory, while those who suit themselves to the Times, Necessity and Flattery, obtain the Rewards and Commendations. In the exercise of those Vertues which respect the good of others, such as Liberality and Compassion, there is always some danger, because neither the Rewards of Princes, nor the acknowledgments of Friends are answerable to them; we persuade our selves that our Services will be acceptable, and that to assist our Misfortunes, they will reciprocally expose their own Lives and Fortunes. Into this error we are led by our own Sense of Gratitude, which often makes us heedless of our own ruin, to satisfy for Obligations receiv'd. But if we fall into any Calamity they withdraw and desert us. There were but three of *Job's* Friends who visited him in his Afflictions, and they too by God's Command (16): nor did they assist him but with Words and severe Advice, which he had need of all his Patience to bear. But after God again smil'd upon *Job*, and began to heap on him Riches in abundance, then came flocking to him, not only his Brethren and Relations, but those too who knew him not but by sight, and sat down at Table with him, that they might partake of his Prosperity (17).

This error, under pretence of mutual assistance and obligation has been the ruin of many, who have reap'd nought but Ingratitude and Hatred from their benefits and kindnesses, and created Enemies of those who before were their Friends, so that they die friendless and miserable. The Ho-

(16) Now when *Job's* three Friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his own place, *V. Lat. venerunt sicut locutus est dominus ad eos*, *Job* 2. 9. (17) Then came there unto him all his Brethren, and all his Sisters, and all that had been of his acquaintance before, and did eat Bread with him in his house, *Job* 42. 11.

ly Spirit has cautioned us of this: *My Son*, says he, *if thou be surety for thy Friend, if thou hast stricken thy hand with a stranger; thou art snar'd with the words of thy mouth, thou art taken with thine own words* (18). He advises us to deliver our selves from the hand of a Friend, as a Roe from the hand of the Hunter, and as a Bird from the hand of the Fowler (19). Do good but look about ye, is a *Spanish Proverb* drawn from Experience. Those are not subject to these Misfortunes who live only to themselves, nor suffer themselves to be mov'd by Compassion or Charity, to assist the calamities of others, being deaf to their Tears and Groans, avoiding all occasions of intermeddling with them, whence they live free from cares and troubles, and if they gain not new Friends, they however keep those they have; not being esteem'd for the good they do, but for the ill they don't do, this being in them accounted Prudence. Besides we naturally esteem them most, who have least need of us, who without being beholden to us, live content with their own. Whence considering the usual custom of Mankind, it may perhaps seem advisable to be an idle Spectator of others Calamities, and minding only our own interests, not to engage our selves in their dangers and troubles. But this policy would be against our duty as Christians, Charity, and generous Vertues, which gives us a nearer access to God. This would dissolve all civil Society, which wholly consists in the mutual assistance of one another. Vertue needs no outward acknowledgments; being to it self a fair reward. Nay, 'tis then most perfect and glorious, when it expects the least return; for 'tis a kind of Avarice to do good in hopes of a Retaliation, which if not obtain'd creates a lasting resentment. Let us therefore be guided by the consideration of what we owe our selves, and also by the example of God Almighty, who bestows his Blessings even on the Ungratefull. Yet 'tis Prudence to have respect to the time when and where acknowledgments may be expected, for 'tis too hard for a man, after great Expences, great Hazards and Hardships undergone for another, to meet with nothing

(18) Prov. 6. 1. (19) Ibid.

but Ingratitude in return. To him who understands the nature and usual ways of Mankind, this will not seem at all new; but foreknowing it, will ward the blow, and avoid being hurt.

We should also well consider, whether it be really our Friend's interest for us to undertake his assistance: for sometimes we do him an injury by our diligence, because 'tis either unseasonable or imprudent, by which we ruin both our selves and him too. This officiousness *Thraseas* check'd in *Rusticus Arulenus*, though in his own behalf, knowing that kindness would be prejudicial to the Intercessor, and of no advantage to the criminal (20).

Nor is it less imprudent and dangerous to be over zealous for the publick good and welfare of the Prince, then especially, when without obligation of duty, or certain prospect of remedy, we intermeddle with their concerns to our own apparent ruin. I don't mean, that we should be insensible at the sight of others sufferings, or that for our own ease and quiet we should basely truckle to the Times and Tyranny. But that we should not foolishly ruin our selves, and that we should follow the example of *Lucius Piso*, who in difficult and deplorable times, knew how to preserve himself with such Prudence, that he was never the Author of any fervile proposition, and upon absolute necessity, did it with great Moderation (21). Oftentimes we are forward in giving our advice in things which don't concern us, persuaded that therein consists the remedy of the publick ills: not considering how easily we are deceiv'd with a conceit of our own opinions, without particular knowledge of the motives upon which Princes act. Nothing is more dangerous than to advise; even he who is oblig'd in duty to it, ought to avoid it if not ask'd; for Advice is judg'd by the event, and that depends upon future accidents, which no Prudence can foresee, and that which falls out ill is attributed to the Counsellor, but not that which succeeds well.

(20) *Ne curam, & reo non profutura, intercessori exitiosa inciperet.* Tac. 16. ann. (21) *Nullius servilis sententia sponta auctor, & quoties necessitas ingruerit, sapienter moderans.* Tac. 6. ann.

EMBLEM XLVIII.



HOW are Princes arm'd against foreign Enemies ! and how unprovided against domestick ones ! who follow them even through the midst of their Guards, yet do they take no notice of them. These are Flatterers and Parasites ; nor is there less danger from their Fawns than from an Enemy's Sword. Flattery has ruin'd more Princes than force. What Royal Purple has not this Moth eaten ? What Sceptre has not this Worm gnaw'd ? It insinuates it self into the tallest Cedars, and preying upon the root soon brings them to the ground. 'Tis a damage not discern'd, but by entire ruin ; the effect is sooner seen than the cause. 'Tis a false Silk-worm which inhabits the gilded Roofs of Palaces. The present Emblem compares it to a Lizzard, with a gay starry back and poison'd Breast. It appears to the Prince under the shining Cloak of Zeal, the better to conceal its pernicious

cious designs (1). Let a Prince know, that all brightness does not denote the Excellence of the Subject; for in the Scripture it is a sign of a Leprosie (2); and rotten wood gives a kind of light in the dark. There are some glimmerings of good, even in the blackest Soul. Sometimes in the very bowels of Severity, the Assertor of Liberty, and Opposer of the Prince. Flattery basely discovers it self; as when *Valerius Mesalla* propos'd the administering the Oath of Allegiance to *Tiberius* each year, and being ask'd by whose order he did it, he reply'd, That 'twas from his own proper motive; for that in all matters of publick concern, he would follow the Dictates of his own reason, even though he should offend by it (3). Not unlike this, was that of *Ateius*, who when *Lucius Ennius* was accus'd of having destroy'd the Silver Statue of *Tiberius*, to make house Plate on, and *Tiberius* being willing to wave the Accusation, openly oppos'd it, saying, That the Senators ought not to be depriv'd of the power of judging, nor should such a Crime go unpunish'd; that he might indeed forgive his own Grievances, but should not be prodigal of the Injuries done the State (4).

The Lizzard changes its skin every year, so also does Flattery, as oft, I mean, as the Prince changes his mind. The Ministers of King *Alphonso* the Tenth, advis'd him to Divorce Queen *Violante*, for Barrenness, arguing, that the Marriage was void, which they afterwards declar'd valid, and perswaded the King to retake her to his Bed †

There is no Animal more cunning than the Lizzard, whence the Lawyers call all false practice *Crimen Stellionatus*. Who uses more cheats than the Flatterer, imposing

(1) Wo unto them that call evil good and good evil; that put darkness for light, and light for darkness; that put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter, *Isai.* 5. 20. (2) When a man shall have in the skin of his Flesh, a rising, a scab, or bright spot, *Levit.* 13. 2. (3) *Sponza dixisse, Respondit; neque in eis que ad remp. pertinerent, consilio nisi suo usurum, vel cum periculo offensiois, ea sola species adulandi supererat. Tac.* 1. ann. (4) *Palam asperrante Atico Capitone quasi per libertatem. Non enim debere cripi patribus vim statuendi, neque tantum maleficium impune habendum; sanè lentius in suo dolore esset; respub. dolores ne largire-* Tac. 3. ann. † *Mar. hist. Illisp.*

upon the Will, the noblest faculty of man ; so much above the other Senses, that without it the rest would be enslav'd.

The Lizzard does not kill him whom it wounds, but only benumbs him, and puts him, as it were, beside himself, by raising divers passions in him. The proper quality of a Flatterer, who with specious pretences charms the Eyes and Ears of Princes, and put them so beside themselves, that they can't search the truth of things. The Lizzard is so inveterate against man, that when it casts its skin, it eats it up, least it should be usefull in the cure of the Falling-sickness. A Flatterer desires a Prince may not recover from his errors ; for Disabuse is the Son of Truth, which is an utter Enemy to Flattery. Flatterers envy the prosperity of Princes, and hate them as those who by their power, and a certain necessity oblige them to the Slavery of Dissimulation and Flattery, and force them to speak one thing and think another.

A Prince has need of great Prudence to distinguish Flattery : for it consists in Praise, which he will find from those who are far from that Vice. This is the difference that a Flatterer promiscuously commends all, honourable or base, good or bad ; but the other only that which is just and good. When therefore a Prince sees things attributed to him which are due to others, or which are mere accidents (5) ; frivolous things commended and extoll'd which don't deserve it, such as tend more to pleasure than Reputation. Such as avert his mind from the toil of affairs, such as respect more his own advantage than the publick interest, and that the person who so commends these things, does not rightly govern himself, that he does not shew any concern or readiness to admonish him, when he commits any thing below his Person and Majesty ; nay, that he excuses his Errors, and regards more his own Interest than his Service, that he never seems offended at any thing, that he may be always near him, that he does not associate with those who are zealous Patriots and lovers of their Country. That he

(5) O my People, they which lead thee cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy paths, *Isa. 3. 12.*

praises those whom he thinks agreeable to him, and whom, if he would, he cannot turn out of favour, that when he finds himself fixt therein, makes it his business to gain the esteem of others, by attributing all good success to himself, and by accusing the Prince in that he did not follow his Counsel; that to gain credit, he brags that he reprehended his Errors, when in private he excus'd commended and approv'd. Such a one as this a Prince may well mark for a Flatterer, whom he ought to avoid as the most venomous Poison, and directly opposite to that sincere Love with which he ought to be serv'd (6).

But though these marks are plain enough, yet is self Conceit generally so blind, as not to discern Flattery, but suffer it self to be coax'd with its own Praises, which exercise an agreeable Tyranny over the Senses, so that there is no Flattery so gross, which it does not believe its due. Sometimes this happens from a remis and negligent Goodness, which not duly considering the inconveniences of Flattery, bears it, and interprets it Submission and Zeal. This was the fault of *Ferdinand King of Galicia*, who was hated of his Subjects for listening too much to Flatterers. And King *Alphenso the Ninth*, for the same reason, did not a little obscure the Glory of his other Vertues and Exploits. Let Princes therefore believe, that they may be so deceiv'd either through Self conceit, or their natural Goodness, that though there be sufficient tokens to distinguish Flattery, which that they may know and avoid, I would advise them to read History, and observe by what Tricks and Cheats their Ancestors were cajol'd, and what Losses they have incur'd thereby, and then consider, whether or no they are not serv'd in the same manner. One time only, when King *Abasacrus* could not sleep, and commanded the Chronicles to be read to him, he presently learn'd from thence what never any one durst tell him, the Designs and Tyranny of his Favourite *Haman*, and the faithfull Services of *Mordecai*: those hid hitherto by Dissimulation and Flattery, these

(6) *Blanditi e pessimum veri affectus venenum; sua cuique utilitas.* Tac. hist.

flisted through Malice, by which being disabus'd, he punish'd the one and rewarded the other. Yet even in this they ought to beware of Flattery, wherefore let them read themselves; for perhaps if another reads, he will either pass over those cases which should instruct them, or change some Sentences and Words. O unhappy State of Majesty, which can't be sure of the truth even of Books, which are esteem'd the faithfullest Friends of Mankind.

A Prince ought also to get a sight of all Libels which are publish'd against him: for though Malice dictate them, yet Truth writes them, and he will find therein what his Courtiers conceal, and gather Prudence and Instruction from his Infamy. *Tiberius* seeing how he had been cheated, in not discovering the practices of *Sejanus* in time, caus'd to be publish'd the Will of *Fulcinius Trius*, which was a Satyr upon him, that he might see, though to his shame, the Truths which Flattery had conceal'd from him (7).

Let not a Prince always view his own actions in the glass of those that are about him, but rather let him consult Strangers, zealous Men, and such as are of strict Lives and Conversation, and observe if they all agree in one opinion: for the variable and inconstant glasses of Flattery never represent things as they really are, but as the Prince would have them. And 'tis better to be corrected by the wise, than cheated by the Flattery of Fools (8). To this end 'tis necessary sometimes to consult one, sometimes another, making them lay aside Modesty and Fear, by letting them know the obligation they are under to speak Truth. Even *Samuel* durst not freely tell what God commanded him, to *Eli* the High-Priest (9), until he entreated him (10).

(7) *Quæ ab hæredibus occultata, recitari Tiberius jussit: patientiam libertatis alienæ ostentans, & contemptor suæ infamie, an scelerum Sejani dici nescius, mox quodam modo dicta vulgari malebat, veritatibus cui officit adulatio, per probra saltem gnarus fieri Tac. 6. ann. (8) It is better to hear the rebuke of the wise, than for a man to hear the Song of Fools, *Ecl.* 7. 6. (9) And *Samuel* feared to shew *Eli* the Vision, *1 Sam.* 3. 15. (10) And he said, What is the thing that the Lord hath said unto thee? I pray thee hide it not from me, *ibid.**

Let a Prince sometimes view himself in the glass of the people, in which the least spot immediately appears, for the Mob can't dissemble. *Lewis* the Fourth of *France*, would, disguis'd, mix himself with the Crowd, and hear what they said of his Actions and Government. He that would find Truth, must seek her in the Streets. *Lewis* the Eleventh of *France* us'd to complain, that he wanted one piece of Furniture in his Palace, which was Truth. Which is too modest and plain to live in Courts, being confounded in the presence of Kings. For this reason *Saul* disguised himself when he went to consult the Witch of *Endor*, that she might answer him with more freedom; and he did this himself without trusting to another (11). *Jeroboam* also observ'd the same method, when he sent his Wife to *Abijah* to enquire about their sick Child. He commanded her to disguise her self, that he might not know her, least if he should, he might either give her no answer at all, or not tell her truth (12). Since then Truth is not to be found in the Palaces of Princes, she must be trac'd out else-where; 'tis the honour of a King to search out a matter (13). King *Philip* the Second had a Favourite, whom he lov'd extremely, who us'd to inform him of whatever was said of him as well within as without the Court. 'Tis observable, that though the discourses of the people in the absence of the Prince, be true, yet when they come to his ears they are so softned, and gilded with Flattery, that they rather encourage, and blindly make him pursue his Vices, perswading him that his actions are highly approv'd by all. No Government was more tyrannical than that of *Tiberius*; no Favourite more hated than *Sejanus*; yet when they were at *Caprea*, the Senate earnestly begg'd, that they would please to let them see them (14). *Nero* was so miserably deceiv'd by the Flattery of the people, that he believ'd they could not bear his absence from *Rome*, though for never so small a time, and that his presence comforted them

(11) And *Saul* disguised himself, and put on other raiment, and he went, 1 Sam. 28. 8. (12) 1 Kings 14. 2. (13) Prov. 25. 2. (14) *Cicrisque precibus efflagitabant, visendi sui copiam facerent.* Tac. 4. ann.

in their Adversity (15); though he was really so odious, that the Senate and Nobility were in doubt, whether he was more cruel in his Absence than his Presence (16).

There are other ways to know Flattery, but few Princes care to make use of them, it being so agreeable to their inclinations and nature; and so we see Coiners punish'd, but not Flatterers, though the last are most guilty; these gild and counterfeit our Money, those our Vices, putting them off even to our selves for Vertues. This is a great fault, which is still decry'd, yet still maintain'd in the Courts of Princes; where Truth appears not without danger, especially with haughty and passionate Princes (17). *Bernardo de Cabrera* lost his life for his friendly advice in some affairs to *Peter* the IVth of *Arragon*, notwithstanding his signal Services, and his having been his Tutor. He who advises or informs another, seems to accuse his Actions and Judgment, which Princes won't endure; for they think he don't sufficiently respect them, who talks to them freely. *Gutierrez Fernandez* of *Toledo* with an honest and well-meaning Sincerity, told King *Peter* the Cruel, what he thought of his Government, and advis'd him to moderate his Severity; which meritorious Advice the King took for such a crime, that he caus'd him to be beheaded for it*. A Prince looks upon him as his Judge, who observes his Actions, nor can he endure him who finds fault with them. The danger is in admonishing a Prince what he should do, not what he would do (18: which is the reason Truth is so timorous, and Flattery so audacious. But if any Prince would be so generous, as to think it base and mean to be coax'd by Flattery, and look upon it as a contempt for others to pretend to impose upon him, by false praises, and speak more of his Grandure than his Per-

(15) *Vidisse civium maestos vultus, audire secretas quarimonias, quod tantum aditurus esset iter, cujus ne modicos quidem egressus tolerarent, fueri adversum fortuita aspectu Principis reformari.* (16) *Senatus & Primates in incerto erant, procul, an coram atrocior haberetur.* Tac. 15. ann (17) *Consumacius loqui non est tutum apud aures superbus, & offensionis promiores.* Tac. 4. ann. * *Mar. hist. Hisp.* (18) *Nam juadere Principi quod oportet, mali laboris, & periculi.* Tac. 1. hist.

son (19), he would soon be rid of this sort of cattle by arming himself with severity; for none will dare attempt a stanch and severe Prince, who fathoms the truth of things, and has learnt to contemn vain Honours. *Tiberius* with the same composure of countenance, heard the freedom of *Piso*, and the Flattery of *Gallus* (20). And though he dissembled so well, he knew the Flattery, as he did that of *Ateius Capito*, considering their Thoughts, not their Words (21). Let a Prince also publicly gratifie those who shall be so ingenuous as to tell him Truth. Thus *Clisthenes* the Tyrant of *Sicily* did, who erected a Statue to one of his Counsellors, who contradicted his Triumph, by which he wonderfully gain'd the hearts of his Subjects, and encouraged his other Counsellors to speak their Sentiments more freely. King *Alphonso* the Twelfth, being once advising about an affair of great moment, with his Sword in his right hand, and his Sceptre in his left, spoke to this effect: *Come*, says he, *speake all your minds freely, and frankly advise me what you think for the glory of this Sword, and the advantage of this Scepter* *. Happy that Kingdom, in which Counsel is neither embarrass'd by Respect, nor aw'd by Fear! All men know the baseness of Flattery, but they know too the inconveniencies of Truth, and see more danger from this than that. Who would not speak with more sincerity and zeal to Princes, were they all of the same temper with *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, who when one petition'd for some vacant Office, reply'd, That he had long since promis'd it to a faithful Servant, who never spoke to please, but to serve him and the State †. But this generous Sincerity is very rarely to be found: Princes being usually of King *Achab's* mind, who calling a council of Prophets, would have *Micah* excluded, because, says he, *he doth not prophecy good concerning me, but evil* (22). For this reason, Ministers often run great Risques, who through zeal are too forward in telling their Thoughts

(19) *Etiā ego & tu simplicissimè inter nos hedi loquimur, ceteri libentius cum fortunâ nostrâ quam nobiscum.* Tac. 1. hist. (20) *Audiente h. c. Tiberio, ac flente.* Tac. 2. ann. (21) *Intellexit hæc Tiberius, ut erant magis, quam ut dicebantur.* Tac. 3. ann. * *Mar. hist. Hisp.* † *Mar. hist. Hisp.* (22) 1 Kings 22. 8.

of future dangers, that they may be seasonably prevented. For Princes had rather not know them than fear them; their ears are prepar'd for the soft Harmony of Musick, but can't bear the jarring sounds of impending dangers. Whence they chose for their Counsellors and Confidants, such as will tell them nothing but what they approve of (23), and not what God inspires as the Prophet *Micah* did (24). What wonder then, if without the light of Truth they lose their way and are lost?

Would these Tell-truths be guided by Prudence, doubtless a Prince would more value Truth, than vain and empty Flattery; but there are few who use it seasonably, or with that Modesty and Address that is requisite. For all that are free are morose, and offend Princes with the asperity of their Looks, especially when arm'd with Truth; for some Vertues are odious, such as obstinate Severity, and a Spirit not to be gain'd by favours. For Princes think themselves slighted, when they see those measures, which are usually taken to obtain their favour are contemn'd, thinking he who does not study to acquire them, neither acknowledges himself their Subject, nor has occasion for them. The Superiour uses the Lancet or incision Knife of Truth, to cure the distempers of the inferiour, but this only a causick, which without pain benumbs, and wears away the parts infected in the Superiour. To be troublesome with unseasonable and improper Truths, is rather Malice than Zeal, rather Sauciness than Admonition. God himself uses singular Prudence and Caution in revealing them; for though he might have told *Pharaoh* and *Nebuchadnezzar* their future Calamities by *Joseph* and *Daniel*; yet he chose rather to do it by Dream, when the Senses were lull'd and Majesty buried in Sleep, and even then not clearly, but by Figures and Hieroglyphicks, that there might be some time allow'd for their Interpretation, to avoid sudden Terror and Consternation, as also the danger of the Ministers,

(23) After their own Lusts they shall heap to themselves teachers.
2 Tim 4. 3. (24) And *Micah* said, as the Lord liveth, even what re-
God saith, that will I speak, 2 Chron 18. 13.

should they unask'd declare such things (25). 'Tis sufficient, if the Minister can make the Prince understand them; which if he can effect by signs, let him not use words. Yet are there some so imprudent, that they glory in bold Truths, and are fond to be the bearers, nay sometimes the inventors of ill News. Let these learn of what befell King *Balthazar*, to whom the hand that pronounc'd his death upon the Wall, was not wholly visible, but only the fingers appear'd, and but the ends of them neither; so that it could not in the least be discover'd, who guided them; nor this by day light but by night, writing that decreetory Sentence by Candle-light, upon the Wall in such Characters, as required some time to be understood. While therefore the intention is good, and accompanied by Prudence, 'twill be easie to walk a secure and middle path, between the Slavery of Flattery and the Arrogance of Truth; for all Truths may be spoken, provided it be with discretion, by proposing only the amendment of those to whom they are directed. Thus the discretion and address of *Agricola* mollified the stern humour of *Domitian* (27). He who with his Services and Modesty mingles Valour and Industry, may live safe under the worst of Princes (28); and gain more Reputation, than those, who by being too ambitious of Glory, do foolishly ruin themselves, without any advantage to the State; by this circumstance *M. Lepidus* turn'd to his advantage many dangerous Flatteries, and preserv'd the favour of *Tiberius* (29). *Thrasea Petus's* going out of the Senate, to avoid being present at the Votes, which to flatter *Tiberius*, they were making against the Memory of *Agrippina*, was pernicious to the Senate, and dangerous to himself, without giving any foundation to the peoples Liberty, as he propos'd (30).

(25) Gen. 41. 22. & Dan. 4. 2. (27) *Moderatione tamen prudentiâque Agricola leniebatur, quia non contumaciâ, neque inani jactatione libertatis famam, fatumque provocabat.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (28) *Pessetiam sub malis Principibus magnos viros esse.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (29) *Nam pleraque ab servis adulationibus aliorum in melius flexit: neque tamen temperamenti egebat, cum quabili auctoritate, & gratiâ apud Tiberium vigerit.* Tac. 4. ann. (30) *Thrasea Petus silentio vel brevi assensu priores adulationes transmittere solitus, exiit, tum Senatu, ac sibi causam periculi fecit, ceteris libertatis initiana non prebuit.* Tac. 14. ann.

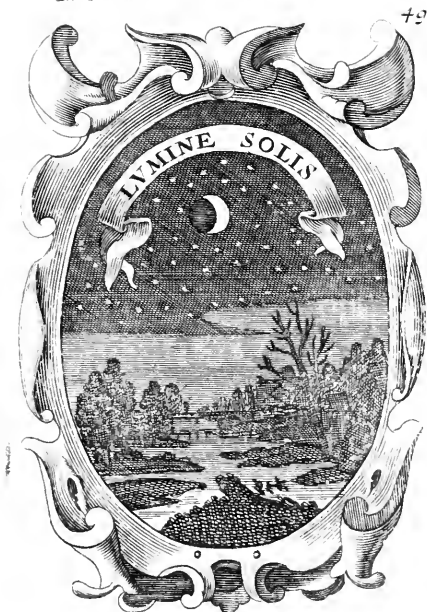
Truth is yet more dangerous in those, who avoiding Flattery, to seem free and plain, carp at the actions and failures of Princes, with sharp Jest, which stick long by the great ones, especially where they are grounded upon Truth (31): As *Vestinus* found by *Nero*, who put him to death for reprehending his Vices with too much freedom (32). To speak Truth only to publish the faults of the Government, is a kind of freedom which looks like Advice, but is Reflection; it appears Zeal but is Malice. And this I look upon as not less pernicious than Flattery it self. For if one be an odious Slavery, the other is a false kind of Liberty. Hence the wisest Princes dread freedom as much as Flattery, neither being safe, and therefore the extremes of both are to be avoided; which was observ'd in the time of *Tiberius* (33) Yet 'tis certain, there ought to be some allowance for Flattery, thereby to introduce Truth; for not to flatter in somethings, is to accuse in every thing; and in a corrupt Government, there is as much to be fear'd from too much as too little Flattery (34). The State would be in a desperate condition, and the Prince inhuman and barbarous, if neither Truth nor Flattery durst approach him. He would be like an Adder, if he should be deaf to that Flattery which would persuade him to what is glorious and honourable (35). With such as these God threatned the people of *Jerusalem* by the Prophet *Jeremiah*; *I will send Serpents among you, Cockatrices which will not be charm'd, and they shall bite you* (36). That Mind is wild and savage, which a gentle and modest Flattery can't sooth into good Temper, and Compliance with its wholesome Advice. Truth being of it self something bitter, we must sweeten the brim of the Cup, that Princes may drink with more pleasure: They won't hear it if it be dry, nay are often worse for it.

(31) *Tiberius acerbis facetiis irridere solitus, quarum apud prepotentes in longum memoria est.* Tac. 5. ann. (32) *Sape asperis facetiis illusus, quæ ubi multum ex vero traxere, acrem sui memoriam relinquunt.* Tac. 15. ann. (33) *Unde angusta & lubrica oratio sub Principe qui libertatem metuebat, adulationem oderat.* Tac. 2. ann. (34) *Quæ moribus corruptis, perinde anceps, si nulla, & ubi nimia est.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) *Psal.* 57. 6. (36) *Jer.* 8. 17.

The more *Tiberius's* Cruelty was exclaim'd against, the more severe and bloody he grew (37). 'Tis of use sometimes to commend some famous actions in them, as if they had actually done them, that they may be thereby prompted to put them in execution; or to be extravagant in the commendation of Valour or other Vertues, that they may be the more eager to follow them. This enflames the mind more to honour than Flattery. *These means, says Tacitus, the Roman Senate us'd to Nero in the beginning of his Reign* (38). 'Tis of very ill consequence to commend Vices under the name of Vertues; for this is encouraging Princes to commit greater. *Nero* seeing his Severity taken for Justice, became a perfect Tyrant (39). We ill consult our own Liberty, Fortunes and Lives, in endeavouring to extend the unjust power of Princes beyond their due bounds, by administering them means to satisfy their Ambition and Lusts. Scarce any Prince would be bad, were not his Ministers Flatterers. They gain that favour by publick Mischief, which they can't merit by their Vertues. Prodigious Villany! For a momentary favour, which they are very often disappointed of too, or rather ruin'd with, to betray their Country and promote Tyranny! What wonder, if God chastises Subjects for the faults of Princes, if they are the cause of them, while Princes act all by their Ministers, who teach them several ways of burthening their Subjects with Taxes, of oppressing the Nobility, and turning the Government into Tyranny, by violating Privileges, Laws and Customs, and so are at last their own Executioners.

(37) *Cæsar objectam sibi adversus reos inclementiam, eo pervicacius amplexus est.* Tac. 4. ann. (38) *Magnis patrum laudibus, ut juvenilis animus levium quoque rerum gloria sublatus, majores continuaret.* Tac. 13. ann. (39) *Postquam cuncta scelerum pro egregiis accipi videt, conturbat Oſtaviam.* Tac. 14. ann.

EMBLEM XLIX.



MANY reasons make me doubt, whether the chance of birth has any part of the favour or hatred of Princes; or whether our Conduct and Prudence, can, without ambition and peril, find a secure path, between a froward Obstinacy, and a despicable Slavery. There seems to be a certain occult force, which, if it does not compell, does at least move our Will, and incline it to one more than another: and if in the Senses and natural Appetites there is a Sympathy and Antipathy to things, why not in the Affections and Passions? They may perhaps, have more power and force over the Appetite than the Will, because that is more a Rebell to Free-Will than this, but it can't be deny'd, but that the inclination too is of great force, being generally attended by reason, especially when Art and Prudence know how to adapt themselves to the humour

mour of the Prince. We see in all things as well animate as inanimate, a secret Correspondence and Friendship, whose chains are easier broken than parted. Neither the injuries nor adversities which King *John* the Second suffer'd for his affection to *Alvarez de Luna*, nor the apparent danger of the latter, could dissolve that firm bond of Friendship with which their Souls were united. And though this inclination be not natural, yet gratitude for past Services, or the extraordinary merits of the Subject usually produce it. Vertue is of it self amiable, and gratefull to the Will. 'T would be barbarous to oblige a Prince to balance his affections with indifferency to all, for they proceed from the heart by the Eyes and Hands: what stanch severity can always resist the charms of favour? How reserv'd was *Philip* the Second? Yet had he not one but many particular Favourites. God himself had some whom he peculiarly favour'd, giving them power to stop the course of the Sun and Moon (1); The Lord obeying the voice of man (2). And why (as King *Peter* observ'd) is particular Friendship allow'd to private persons and not to Princes? Many are the troubles of Government, to alleviate which, 'twill be necessary to have some one near you in whom you can put a more particular Confidence. There are many difficulties in it, which are not to be surmounted by one. The burthen of a Crown is too weighty and cumbersome for one to bear, the strongest yield to it, and, as *Job* says, bend under it. For this reason, though God was assistant to *Moses*, and supply'd him with ability and instructions to administer his Office, yet he commanded to make use of the elders in the Government of his people, that they might help to bear the burthen (3). And *Jethro* his Father in-Law, thought the burthen greater than he was able to bear (4). *Alexander* took *Parmeno* to his assistance;

(1) And he said in the sight of *Israel*, Sun, stand thou still upon *Gibcon*; and thou Moon, in the valley of *Ajalon*. *Jos.* 10. 12. (2) The Lord harkened to the voice of man, for the Lord fought for *Israel*, *Ibid* (3) And they shall bear the burthen of the people with thee, that thou bear it not thy self alone. *Numb.* 11. 17. (4) For this thing is too heavy for thee; thou art not able to perform it thy self alone, *Exod.* 18. 18.

David, Joab; Solomon, Zadock; Darius, Daniel; by whose directions they succeeded in their affairs. No Prince is so prudent and discreet, as of himself to know all things, nor so carefull and diligent, as to manage all affairs alone. Which natural impotency oblig'd Princes to erect Courts and Counsels, and to create Presidents, Governours, and Viceroyes, in whom the power and authority of Princes might reside. For alone (says King *Alphonso the Wise*) they can't penetrate and examin all things, but have need of the assistance of others, in whom they can confide, who should use the power which they receive in performing those things which Princes can't do themselves †. And if Princes use the assistance of Ministers abroad, why should he not in the more private affairs of his Cabinet? 'Tis necessary he should have some one near him, whom he may deliberate with about the Advice and Counsel which is given him. That he may with him compare his own Scruples and Propositions, and be by him instructed. Whom, in fine, he may safely trust to expedite and execute Affairs (5). Would it not be worse, if embarras'd with such weighty cares, he should communicate himself to none? Besides, 'tis absolutely necessary that the Prince should have some assistant, who, disengag'd from all other business, should be as a Mediator between him and his people: Otherwise it would be impossible for him to hear and satisfy all, nor would it suit with his Majesty. For this reason, the *Israelites* besought *Moses* that he would speak to God for them, for they themselves were afraid of his Presence (6). And *Absalom*, that he might render *David* odious to the people, urg'd that he had no Ministers about him to receive the complaints of the distressed (7). The Zeal and Prudence of a Favourite may with ease rectifie the defects of Government, and the inclinations of Prin-

† L. 2. tit. 1. p. 2. (5) *Solacium curarum frequenter sibi adhibent maturi Reges, & hinc meliores aestimantur, si soli omnia non presumunt* Casiod. lib. 8. epist. 9. (6) Exod. 20. 19 (7) Thy matters are good and right, but there is no man deputed of the King to hear thee, 2 Sam. 15. 3.

ces (8). *Agricola* by his prudent address, reclaim'd *Domitian*, and though *Sejanus* was bad, *Tiberius* was worse, when without him he follow'd his own inclinations (9). And truly by such Favourites God often saves a whole Kingdom, as he did *Syria* by *Naaman*, and *Egypt* by *Joseph* (10). Since then 'tis necessary that the weight of Government should be divided; 'tis natural in the choice of such an assistant to be guided in some measure by inclination, or some secret Sympathy in the persons of each; which choice, if it be founded upon desert, can be no ways dangerous; nay, 'tis requisite that the humour of the party whom the Prince takes to assist him, should be chosen to him. The question is. Whether one or many should be chosen to this Office; if many equally favour'd and respected, Emulation will arise, and their Counsels will thwart one another to the detriment of the State. So that it seems more agreeable to natural order, that affairs should be committed to one alone, who should supervise the rest, and by whom affairs should come digested and methodized to the Prince, who should only substitute him to his cares and trouble, not his power and authority, in his Counsels not his Rewards. The Sun alone imparts Light to the whole world, and when he sets, he leaves not many but only one Vicegerent, the Moon, with a Lustre much greater than that of the other Stars, who seem but as so many inferior Ministers to assist her. Yet neither this nor those shine with their own, but borrow'd Light, which the Earth acknowledges receiv'd from the Sun. Nor does this favour misbecome Majesty, when a Prince devolves part of the burden of Affairs upon his Favourite, so as to preserve the sovereign power and authority to himself: for this is not favour but employment, not so much an obligation, as a communication of trouble; nor is this so much to be envied, if Princes would be so prudent, as to give it another

(8) *Qui in regie familiaritatis sacrarium admittuntur multa facere possunt, & dicere, quibus pauperum necessitas subleuetur, foveatur religio, fiat equitas, Ecclesia diluatur.* Petr. Blif. Epist. 150. (9) *Oblectis libidinis, dum Sejanum dilexit, timuit ve postremo in scelera simul ac alicora prorupit, postquam remoto pudore, & metu, suo tantum ingenio utebatur.* Tac. 6 ann. (10) 2 Kings 5. 1.

Vol. I. *depends solely on the Power of the Prince.* 353
name; as President of the Council, or Chancellour; as the
Magistrates call'd *Præfecti* at Rome, incur'd no Envy, though
they were second *Cæsars*.

The felicity of Subjects consists not in the Prince's being
like a loadstone, attractive of Iron and not of Gold, but in
his knowledge in chusing such a Minister as will attribute
whatever is great and commendable to him; and take all
the Reflections and Odium of the people upon himself;
one whose mind is wholly bent upon the publick good; who
manages affairs without Ambition; hears without Disdain
and debates without Passion; whose Resolves and Determinations
have no respect to self-interest. In a word, whose
whole aim is the service and advantage of his Country, not
himself, or the preservation of his Master's favour. By this
rule one may know whether this Familiarity proceed from
pure Zeal or Tyranny. Princes ought to take great care in
the choice of such a Minister, endeavouring not to be byass'd
by Affection or fanfifull Inclination, but by rare and excellent
Qualifications and Merits, for sometimes such Friendship
is not the result of deliberation but accident; it is not fa-
vour but diligence: Courts usually erect and adore some I-
dol which they deify, and treat with Royal Splendor and
Magnificence; they worship it upon their Knees, burn Ta-
pers, and offer Incense to it, imploring its assistance with
Prayers and Vows (11). As industry can change the course
of Rivers, and turn them another way; so it often happens
that those who have business at Court, not regarding the
Prince, the true channel of affairs, apply themselves to the
Favourite, whose arts do, by this, so secure the Prince's
favour, that he can never disengage himself from it. No
Prince was more cautious, none more free than *Tiberius*,
yet was he subject to his Favourite *Sejanus* (12). In which
case 'tis difficult to say, whether such favour be human
choice, or some superiour power, for the greater good or

(11) And so the multitude, allured by the grace of the work, took
him now for a God, which a little before was but honoured as a man,
Misa 14. 20. (12) *Tiberium variis artibus devinxit, adeo ut obscurum
adversus alios sibi uni incertum, intellectumque efficeret.*

ill of the Commonwealth: The Holy Spirit says, 'tis a particular judgment of God (13). *Tacitus* attributes the favour and fall of *Sejanus* to the anger of the Gods for the ruin of the Empire (14). A misfortune scarce avoidable, when this favour falls upon a person of great quality, as it usually does in Courts where the chief of the Nobility are Ministers. For he who is once possess'd of it, will, by the preheminance of his Birth and Grandure of his Family endeavour what he can to preserve it, nor will he easily suffer himself to be supplanted by any one. As was seen in *John Alphonso Robles*, in the time of King *John the Second* †. The heart of a Prince is never safe in the power of a Subject, whose Nobility and Authority make him too much respected by others. Though this inconveniency is lessen'd, when this favour falls upon some great man who is truly zealous and intent upon his Prince's Service, and the honour and welfare of his Country, for then the people's Envy and Odium will not be so great, and the orders which are dispatch'd through the hands of such a one will be the more readily observ'd; yet 'tis always highly necessary, if a Prince could balance his favour between his own Authority and the Merits of his Favourite, to commit only that part of the administration to him, which he cannot manage himself; for should he commit it wholly to him, he would experience the same misfortunes with King *Ahasuerus*, when he entrusted *Haman* with the Government of his people (15). Let him not give by another's hand what he can dispose of with his own; nor borrow others Eyes, when he can see with his own. As to what is done in Courts of Justice and Councils, let him afterwards consult the Presidents and Secretaries, from whose relations he may receive a just account of the affairs therein transacted; and his Resolutions will be more concise and ready, when he confers with those by whom the affairs have been managed. This method the Popes and Emperors use, as did also the Kings of *Spain* till

(13) Prov. 29. 26. (14) *Non tam solertia (quippe iisdem artibus vitus est) quam delicti ira in rem Romanam, cujus pari exitio viguit ceciditque.* Tac. 4. ann. † Mar. hist. Hisp. lib. 20. l. 25. (15) Esth. 3. 11.

Philip the Second, who being an excellent Pen-man, introduc'd the custom of taking debates and consultations in writing, which afterwards prevailing, gave rise to private favour: for the Kings being embarras'd with such a vast number of writings were oblig'd to communicate them to some one, and this must of necessity be a Favourite. On such a one let a Prince bestow more peculiar marks of favour and benevolence. For he who merits his favour and shares his trouble, ought to have Pre-eminence above others. The shadow of *St. Peter* worked Miracles (16). What wonder then, if a Prince's Favourite, who is but his shadow, acts with more Authority than others? Nevertheless, some favours should be reserv'd for others; nor should those other be so great, as to exceed the condition of a Subject, and make him equal to the Prince, so as to have Court made to him as Co-partner in the Empire, and to draw the whole body of affairs after him, which derogates much from the Authority and Esteem of the Prince. A Favourite should act as the shadow not the Substance. In this the Kings of *Castile*, who, in times past, had Favourites, run great Risques; for as the power of the Kings being then not so large, how little soever they granted, it endanger'd the whole Kingdom; as it befell King *Sancho* the Strong, for his favour to *Lopez de Hara*; King *Alphonso* the Eleventh, for his to Count *Alvaro Osorio*; King *John* the Second, and King *Henry* the Fourth, for theirs to *Alvaro de Luna*, and *John Pacheco*. The whole point of Favouritism consists in the Prince's knowing how much he ought to allow his Favourite, and he how much he ought to receive from his Prince. Whatever exceeds this rule, creates (as we shall mention anon) Jealousie, Envy and Danger (17).

(16) Acts 5. 15. (17) *Sed uterque mensuram implevimus & tu quantum princeps tribuere amico posses, & ego quantum amicus à principe accipere: cetera invidiam augent.* Tac. 14. ann.

E M B L E M L.

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THE Mountain looks down with disdain upon the other works of Nature, and proudly rises above them, so as to have communication with the Skies. Let not the Vallies envy it this Glory, for though it be nearer the favours of Heaven, 'tis also more expos'd to the strokes of its Thunder too. About its head Clouds gather, and Storms prepare their rage, and upon it they first exert it. 'Tis the same in Offices and Employments more immediately under Princes. The Activity of their power is most offensive to those who are nearest it. Their Conversation is as venomous as that of a Viper (1). Whoever walks among them, walks among Snares, and the Arms of his offended Enemies (2). The favour and disdain of Princes are so im-

(1) Eccles. 9. 13. (2) Ibid

mediate, that nothing intervenes. Their Love knows no Moderation; when turn'd to Hatred, it leaps from one extreme to th'other, from Fire to Frost. The same instant sees them love and hate, with the effects of Thunder, which while the noise is heard, or the flash seen, reduces the bodies to Ashes. The favour of Princes is like flame, extinguish'd with the same ease 'twas lighted. Nay some have thought it absolutely fatal to those on whom it falls (3). And many examples as well past as present, are sufficient evidences of it; we have fresh instances of the sudden falls of the most exalted Favourites. The Duke of *Lerma* in *Spain*; the Marshal *D'Ancre* in *France*; The Duke of *Buckingham* in *England*; *John Olden Barnvelt* in *Holland*; Cardinal *Clesel* in *Germany*; at *Rome* Cardinal *Nazaret*; yet may this be ascrib'd to divers causes, either because the Prince having given all that he could, or the Favourite obtain'd all he desir'd, he was mounted to the highest step, and so must of necessity descend (4). But suppose there be moderation in the favours of the one, and the ambition of the other; yet what constancy can there be in the minds of Princes, which the more vehement they are, are the more subject to variety and contradiction? who can fix the affections of him whose Senses see double, and is like the first matter, not resting in one form, but pleas'd with variety. Who can preserve that favour which is liable to so many chances and turns of Humour? Who can behave himself with so nice integrity, as to maintain the Prince's good opinion of him with the people? The Eyes of all are upon the Favourite. The Prince's Friends think him an Usurper of their Rewards, his Enemies that he incenses the Prince farther against them. These, if they return to their duty, must make the disgrace of the Favourite one of the conditions; those if they forsake it, lay all the blame upon him. Ambition and Envy are always in Arms, intent upon every occasion to ruin him. The people are so imbitter'd against him, that they impute

(3) *Esto potentie raro sempiternae Tac. 3. ann.* (4) *An satius capis, aut illos cum omnia tribuerunt; Aut hoc, aut jam nihil reliquam est quora capiant? Tac. 3. ann.*

even natural misfortunes, and the Prince's Vices, all to him. *Bernardo de Cabrera* lost his head for the Tyrannies of *Peter the Fourth*, King of *Arragon*, whose Favourite he was. By the same means that a person endeavours to gain the favour of the Prince, he incurs the Odium of the Subjects; so that it was truly said by that great Man, *Alphonso de Albuquerque*, Governour of the *East-Indies*, that a Minister in obliging his Prince, offended the People: and if he endeavour to gratifie the People, he disoblige the Prince.

If this favour be only founded upon exterior Adoration, fomented by Court-Artifices, 'tis violent and momentary, and the Prince will endeavour to free himself from this impes'd involuntary Slavery.

If it proceed from a natural propensity of the Mind, 'tis very subject to second Causes, and is effac'd by time or the ingratitude of the Subject, when he forgets from whence he took his rise (5).

If a person's Mein and Carriage do, as it were, ravish the Prince's favour, it either soon fades, or is only superficial, as in common Friendship.

If it be from some qualifications of Mind greater than those of the Prince, when-ever he knows it, there's an end of his favour, for none can endure in another Pre-eminency in Wit or Valour, which is usually esteem'd above Power and Authority.

If it be from assiduity and care in business, diligence is not less dangerous than negligence; for success does not always correspond to means, because of the diversity of accidents; and Princes will be disappointed in nothing that they wish and desire. Success is attributed to chance, or to the fortune of the Prince, and not to the prudence of the Favourite (6), but miscarriages to him alone, though the fault be anothers, for all are willing to father Success, but Misfortunes are laid at another's door (7), that is to the Favourite. Even Casualties are imputed to him, as the falling of

(5) *Wisd. 15. 11.* (6) *Hæc est conditio Regum, ut casus tantum ad-versos hominibus tribuant, secundos fortune sue.* *Æmil. Prob.* (7) *Prospera omnes sibi vendicant, adversa uni imputantur.* *Tac. in vit. Agric.*

the Amphitheatre, and the burning of Mount *Calius* were to *Sejanus* (8). Nor do they only accuse him in affairs of his own management, but also in those of others, or in those accidents that depend upon the Prince's Will and Nature. Thus *Seneca* was blam'd for that *Nero* would have drown'd his Mother (9). Men cannot imagin a wickedness so strange as was not believ'd of *Sejanus* (10). There is no natural death, of a great Minister or Relation of the Prince, but is immediately reflected upon the Favourite. As was that of Prince *Philip Emanuel*, Son to *Charles Duke of Savoy*, to the Duke of *Lerma*.

If this favour proceeds from Obligation, and from signal Services perform'd, the Prince will by degrees grow weary of the burthen, and his Love will turn into Hate, because he looks upon him as a Creditor, and being unable to pay him, he seeks pretences to break with him, and so strike off the Debt (11). Acknowledgment is a kind of Slavery. For he who obliges another, makes himself his superiour, which is inconsistent with the Sovereignty of a Prince, whose power is diminished, if it be not greater than the obligation: and Princes being oppress'd with the weight of Gratitude and Obligation, become notoriously ungratefull, that they may discharge themselves from them (12). The Emperour *Adrian* put *Titian* to death, who had been his Tutor from a Boy, and to whom he ow'd his Empire: Not to mention that the fatigues of many years are effac'd by one oversight; Princes being more apt to punish a slight offence, than to reward signal Services. If they are honourable, they create Emulation and Envy in the Prince himself, for whose Ser-

(8) *Feralemque annum ferebant, & omnibus adversis susceptum Principi consilium absentia, qui nos vulgò ad culpam fornicata trahentes.* Tac. 4. ann. (9) *Ergo non jam Nero cuius immanitas omnium quæstus artebat, sed adverso rumore, Seneca erat, quod oratione tali confessionem scripissit.* Tac. 14. ann. (10) *Sed quia Sejanus facinorum omnium rector habebatur, ex nimia charitate in eum Cesaris, & cæterorum in utrumque odio quamvis fabulosa & immania credebantur.* Tac. 4. ann. (11) *Nam beneficia eo usque læta sunt dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum contemnerè, pro gratia odium redditur.* Ibid. (12) *Quidam quo plus debent, magis oderunt. Leve as alienum debitorem facit, grave inimicum.* Sen. Ep. 19.

vice they are perform'd, for some are more angry with those who have serv'd them successfully and gloriously, than with those who have been more remiss and less successful, of this humour was *Philip of Macedon* (13); a Vice which his Son *Alexander* inherited (14); and was visible in *James the First of Arragon*, who when *Don Blasco de Alagon* had taken *Morella*, he thought he had gotten more Glory than he in that Expedition, and therefore took from him that City, and gave him in exchange that of *Sagasto*. The Victories of *Agricola* made *Domitian* jealous, seeing that the fame of a private man exceeded his (15). So that in the most glorious and successful Exploits there is the greatest danger.

If favour springs from the prompt obedience of the Favourite to the Will of the Prince, it makes the Government incur the above-mention'd inconveniencies of Flattery, and soon ruins both the Prince and Favourite; Obedience is as dangerous as disobedience; for if the command succeeds, 'tis ascrib'd to the Prince, if not, to the Favourite. If this command be not obey'd, 'tis then the reason why it succeed- ed not. If it be unjust, he dares not make that his excuse, lest he offend the Prince; if he obey, the fault is all laid upon him; and the Prince, that he mayn't seem the Author of the mischief, permits him to suffer either in the opinion of the People; or in the hands of the Judge. Thus *Tiberius* serv'd *Piso* after he had by his command poison'd *Germanicus*, whose cause he refer'd to the Senate (16); and coming to *Rome*, he behav'd himself as if he knew nothing of the matter, leaving him confounded to see him so unconcern'd and reserv'd, without either pity or anger (17).

(13) *Quem ita gloriae cupidum esse dicunt familiares, ut omnia clara facinora sua esse videri cupit, & magis indignatur Ducibus & Praefectis, qui prospere, & laudabiliter aliquid gesserint, quam iis qui infeliciter & ignave.* Demost. (14) *Suae demptum gloriae existimans quicquid cessisset alienae.* Curt. (15) *Id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra Principis attolli.* Tac. in vit. Agric. (16) *Integram causam ad Senatum remisit.* Tac. 6. ann. (17) *Nulla magis exterritus est, quam quod Tiberium sine miseratione, sine ira obstinatum, clausumque vidit, ne quo affectu pervumperetur.* Tac. 3. ann.

If this favour falls upon a man of small Qualifications and Merit, he will sink under the weight of affairs; for without a brave and vigorous mind, without a quick and piercing Wit, the favour of Princes cannot be long maintain'd.

If it proceeds from a resemblance and conformity of Vertues, when the Prince bids adieu to them the other is at an end. For he will hate the Favourite, as one who accuses his change (18), and whom he can't make use of in the prosecution of his Vices.

If a Prince loves a Favourite, for that he makes use of him as an instrument to execute his vicious designs and inclinations with; what-ever ills do thence arise, either to the King's Person, or to the Government, all fall upon him; and the Prince with ease clears himself by disgracing him; or else hates him as a witness of his Vices, whose presence does, as it were, upbraid him with his crimes. For the same reason *Nero* disgrac'd *Anicetus* the Murtherer of *Agrippina* (19); so *Tiberius* discharg'd those Ministers who had assisted his Cruelty, and made use of others (20). The Odium of the Death, and the favour of him who commands it, end both with the execution, and the Prince thinks he sufficiently clears himself in punishing the crime, as *Plancina* found (21).

If this favour proceed from the communication of important Secrets, he is in danger from them, for they are Vipers in the breast of the Favourite, which gnaw his Entrails till they eat their way out, for either levity or ambition of seeming a man in favour, reveals them, or they are discover'd by another, or by discourse, which are equally pernicious to the Favourite. But though this should not happen, the Prince will be willing to free himself from the care of having entrusted them, by tearing open the bag in

(18) *Wisd* 2. 15. (19) *Levi post admissum scelus gratia, dein graviore odio, quia malorum facinorum ministri quasi exprobrantes aspiciuntur.* Tac. 14. ann. (20) *Qui scelerum ministros ut perverti ab aliis nolebat, ita plerumque satiat, & oblati in eandem operam recentibus, veteres & prae-graves adfluxit.* Tac. 4 ann. (21) *Ut odium & gratia desiere, jus valuit.* Tac. 6. ann.

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which they are hid: as many Secrets so many dangers (22):

Nor is the danger less, if this favour proceeds from the Favourites being conscious of the Prince's Cowardice and Baseness; for such favour is rather fear than inclination, nor will a Prince indure, that his honour should depend upon another's silence, or that there should be one who inwardly should despise him.

If this favour be but small, it can't resist the fury of Envy, but is blown down by every blast, like a tree not firmly rooted.

If it be great, it creates Envy and Fear in the Prince himself, and so makes him careful to free himself from it; as when we have pil'd Stones upon Stones, we at last fear lest the heap which we have rais'd, should fall upon our own heads, and so push them over th'other way. The Prince sees the Statue which he erected shades his own Grandure, and so pulls it down again. I may venture to say, that Princes seem to delight to shew their power, as well in pulling down those images as in erecting them; for their power being limited, can't seem immense, unless it return to the center from which it proceeded, or keep in a circle.

These are the rocks against which, if the ship of favour strike, 'tis lost, so much the surer, by how much the more sail it makes. But if any one scape, 'tis either because it recover'd port in time, or that it ran first upon the shore of Eternity. Is there then any Pilot so skilfull as to know how to manage the helm of favour, and to sail in so very dangerous a Gulf? What prudence, what art can save him? What Chymist can fix this Mercury of Princes Affections? especially, when favour founded upon eminent merit can't resist Envy and the Machinations of so many as conspire its ruin. Neither the Kings *Darius* nor *Achis* could defend their favour to *Daniel* and *David*, against the hatred of the Princes and Guards (23); but were forc'd for their satisfaction, to banish one, and throw the other into a Den of Lions, though they were well assured of their In-

(22) Isa. 24. 16. *vid. lat. vers.* (23) Dan. 6. 4.

tegrity and Innocence (24). Though no prudence nor attention be sufficient to prevent those accidents which depend not upon the Favourite, yet may he do much in things which depend upon him, and at least will be unblameable if he fall into disgrace. Which consideration oblig'd me here to mark out to him the usual causes of his ruin, arising from his own imprudence and the malice of others, that being forewarn'd he may avoid them. If we would attentively consider the Maxims and Actions of former Favourites, and especially of *Sejanus*, we shall find, that most of them fell, because they could not continue those good methods by which they at first obtain'd the Prince's favour. All to merit it, and gain the applause of the people, enter into favour zealous, humble, courteous, and officious, giving counsel for the Glory of the Prince, and Preservation of his Grandure, the method by which *Sejanus* ingratiated himself (25), but being once masters of this favour, they loose the Helm which before guided them, and believe they have no more occasion for it in their Voyage, but can sail securely with the gale of the Prince's favour.

At first they are diligent to appear wholly disengag'd from their own affairs, and only intent upon the Prince's interest, preferring his service even to their own Lives and Fortunes; whence the Prince, persuaded that he has got in this person a faithful associate in his labours, loves him and extolls him every-where; as *Tiberius* did *Sejanus* to the Senate and People (26).

They endeavour farther by some generous and heroick action to prove their fidelity to the Prince and win his heart, Thus *Sejanus* ingratiated himself with *Tiberius*, by sustaining with his own hands and head, the weight of a Precipice which would else have fallen upon *Tiberius*, causing him thereby to put more confidence in his Friendship and Constancy (27).

(24) 1 Sam. 20. 6. (25) *Quia Sejanus, incipiente adhuc potentia, bonis consiliis nescere volebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (26) *Ut socium laborum non modo in sermonibus, sed apud patres & populum celebraret.* Tac. 4. ann. (27) *Præbuitque ipsi materiam, cur avaritiæ, constantiæque Sejani magis fideret.* Ibid.

Which good opinion of a Favourite's fidelity, if a Prince once imbibes, he easily fancies himself secure of it for the future, and willingly takes his advice though never so pernicious, putting more confidence in him than in himself; as *Tiberius* did after that action (28). And hence proceed very great mischiefs. For he is blinded by this pre-conceiv'd opinion, nay, and himself promotes his Favourite's Credit and Reputation, by permitting extraordinary Honours to be paid him, as *Tiberius* did, hanging *Sejanus's* picture in the Theatres and publick Places (29). This whisper passes immediately from one to another, whence is rais'd a new Idol, like that of *Aaron* out of the Ear-rings (30), for either there would be no favour, or at least, 'twould be but of short continuance, without the applause of the people: This Honour creates Arrogance and Avarice to support it, the usual Vices of the great ones (31). The Favourite forgets himself, and those good qualities which made him at first esteem'd, by degrees fade, Prosperity insensibly disclosing those Vices which Policy had a while conceal'd. So it happen'd to *Antonius Primus*, in whom Prosperity discover'd Pride, Avarice, and other ill qualities which were before unknown (32). Grandure disturbs the reason, and makes the Favourite aspire to things above him; thus *Sejanus* offer'd unmarriage to *Livia* (33). He manages affairs not as a Minister, but a companion (which was *Mucian's* great fault) (34); and would have the Prince but a bare name, reserving all the authority to himself (35). Nor dares any say to him what *Bathsheba* said to *David*, *And now behold Adonijah reigneth, and now, my Lord the King, thou*

(28) *Major ex eo, & quanquam exitiosa suaderet, ut non sui anxius, cum fide audiebatur* Ibid. (29) *Colique per theatra & fora effigies ejus, interque principia legionum sineret.* Ibid. (30) *Exod. 32. 4.* (31) *Avaritiam & arrogantiam, precipua validiorum vitia.* Tac. 1. hist (32) *Felicitas in tali ingenio, avaritiam, superbiam, ceteraque occulta mala patrefecit* Tac. 3. hist (33) *At Sejanus nimiam fortunam socors, & muliebri insuper cupidine incensus, promissum matrimonium, flagitante Livia, comperit ad Casarios concellos.* Tac. 14 ann. (34) *Mucianus cum expedita manu, socium magis imperit quam ministrum agens.* Tac. 4. ann. (35) *Vim principis amplecti, remota respicere.* Tac. 4. hist.

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 knowest it not (36). And 'tis the Favourite's whole aim to exceed the Prince in those qualities which are proper to Royalty, that he may be esteem'd beyond him; which way *Absalom* made use of to disgrace King *David*, affecting affability and a readiness to hear the Subjects Complaints; by which he stole the hearts of the people (37). A Favourite does not think himself such, unless his Servants, Relations and Friends participate of his Authority, and so for his security he confers the chief Offices of State upon them, and so cuts the Nerves of Envy. With this design *Sejanus* preferr'd his own Creatures (38). And because this power derogates from the Authority of the Princes of the Blood, who always oppose favour, not being able to brock that it should be more esteem'd than Birth, and that the Prince should suffer himself to be govern'd by a Subject, on whom they must depend, (a danger which *Sejanus* experienc'd in the Family of *Tiberius* (39). The Favourite breeds discontent between them and the Prince. Thus *Sejanus* inform'd *Tiberius*, that *Agrippina* conspir'd against him, and *Agrippina* that *Tiberius* design'd to poison her (40).

If the Favourite succeeds in any thing of this nature it emboldens him to proceed farther. After the death of *Drusus*, *Sejanus* had a design to cut off the whole Family of *Germanicus*. So that the Favourite being blinded with passion and excess of power, scorns private Artifices, and acts openly against the Prince's Relations, as *Sejanus* did against *Agrippina* and *Nero*. None dare warn him of the danger of his actions, for all tremble at the Majesty of his presence, as the *Israelites* did at that of *Moses*, when he came from conversing with God (41). And as he sees himself as much respected as the Prince, he conspires against him (42), and oppresses his Subjects, knowing he can't gain their good Will; which makes them in Despair, doubt, whether his Avarice and Cruelty would not be less, were

(36) 1 Kings 18. (37) 2 Sam. 15. 6. (38) *Neque Senatorio ambitu abstinebat, clientes suos honoribus aut provinciis ornando Tac. 4. ann.*
 (39) *Ceterum plena Caesarum domus, juvenis filius, nepotes adulti moram capitis adferebant. Tac. 4. ann.* (40) *Inmissis qui per speciem amicitiae mouerent, paratum ei venenum, vitandas secerni epulas Tac. 4. ann.*
 (41) Exod 34 30. (42) Esth 16 2.

he really their Prince, than now when not being so, he treats them as Slaves and Strangers. Which *Otho* consider'd in a Favourite of *Galba* (43).

All attempts of this kind augment the danger, for Envy encreases, and Malice arms against the Favourite, who thinking he can't overcome it, but by some greater, applies all the means that Emulation of favour, more furious than that of Love, can suggest. And since the security of his favour depends upon the constancy of the Prince's Will, he endeavours to oblige him, by pleasures and voluptuousness, the main instruments of favour, which *Vitellius's* Courtiers made use of to preserve his (44). And lest the Prince should give credit to any, he makes him diffident of all, the good especially, for them he fears most. By this artifice *Vatinius* (45), and *Sejanus* ingratiated themselves (46).

The Favourite considering, that nothing is more opposite to favour than the capacity of the Prince, makes it his whole endeavour, to keep him from knowing, understanding, seeing or hearing any thing, or having any one about him to inform him. He procures his aversion to business and fatigue, by filling his mind with the diversions of Hunting, Plays, and Banquets, that his Senses being diverted, neither his Eyes may inspect Transactions, nor his Ears hear the Murmurs and Complaints of his people. Thus in the Sacrifices of the Idol *Moloch*, the Priests made a noise with Drums and Trumpets, to drown the Cries and Groans of the dying Infants. Sometimes by a farther fetch, he embarrasses and confounds him with Affairs and Papers, on purpose to tire him quickly, so we ride Colts in a boggy ground to break them, and make them sooner take the Bit. To which end he perswades him to assist at Audiences, by which being wholly wearied, he may commit the manage-

(43) *Minore avaritia, aut licentia grassatus esset Vinius si ipse imperasset, nunc & subditos nos habuit tanquam suos, & viles ut alienos.* Tac. 1. hist. (44) *Unum ad potentiam iter prodigis epulis, & sumptu, ganeaque satiare inexplicabiles Vitellii libitines.* Tac. 2. hist. (45) *Optimi cujusque criminatione consue valuit, ut gratia, pecunia, vi nocendi, etiam malos præmineret.* Tac. 15. ann. (46) *Sui obtegens in alio, criminator.* Tac. 4. ann.

ment of all to the Favourite, thinking it sufficient to have an account of affairs from him. Whence (as *Jeremiah* said of the *Babylonish* Idols) the Prince is nothing but what the Favourite pleases (47).

He would not have Affairs go smoothly and with success, for any one can fail in a Calm, but he wishes that the Sea may run high, and that the State may be so toss'd by the Waves, that the Prince may be afraid to put his hand to the Helm, and so have more need of him. And then to stop at all Avenues to Truth, and remain sole manager of Affairs beyond the reach of Envy, he draws him from Court to some Retreat among his own Creatures. So *Sejanus* perswaded *Tiberius* to retire from *Rome* (48).

All these Arts redound much to the prejudice of the State, and the Princes reputation, and he who hawks after a Prince's favour by these means, does him more injury than one who openly offends him (49). For an offence is given by one fault, but favour is not acquir'd under many, and these always derogate from the Honour of the Prince, and are opposite to the publick Welfare. A State suffers much upon the sudden death of its Prince, but this grievance is soon remedied in his Successor, which can't be, when the Prince is by these arts render'd unserviceable to the Government, this misfortune must continue as long as he lives, to the utmost Detriment of the Commonwealth. And as 'tis daily more and more felt, it creates Discontent and Murmurs among all, who find that this favour is not voluntary but violent, not choice but force, and many grounding their fortune upon his disgrace, he being an impediment to their promotion; these, I say, being always

(47) Baruch 6. 46. (48) *Ac ne assiduos in domum cætus arcendo, infringeret potentiam, aut receptando facultatem criminantibus præberet; huc flexit, ut Tiberium ad vitam præsul Romæ amænâ locis degendam, impelleret: multa quippe providebat. Suâ in manu aditus, literarumque magna ex parte sibi arbitrium fore cum per milites commearent: mox Cæsarem vigente jam senectâ secretoque loci mollitum munia imperiî facilius transmissurum: & minui ibi invidiam, ademptâ salutatantum turbâ, sublatisque manibus vera potentia augere. Tac. 4. ann. (49) *Plura sæpe peccantur dum demeremur, quam cum offendimus. Tac. 15. ann.**

arm'd against him, 'tis impossible but that at last they shou'd find an opportunity to displace him, or that the Prince should not at last perceive the trick, and that all the Envy and Odium conceiv'd against the Favourite falls upon him, as *Tiberius* at last found (50): and then the Prince beginning to open his Eyes, at the same time begins to fear the power which he has given his Favourite; which made *Tacitus* doubt whether *Tiberius* more lov'd or fear'd *Sejanus* (51); and as before his favour rais'd him, so now his hate procures his ruin.

This is the critical point of favour, in which all are in danger, for neither can the Prince dissemble his dissatisfaction, nor the Favourite remain constant in his Disgrace, whence both being disgusted the bond of Amity is broken. The Prince regards the Favourite as unworthy his favour, and he him as ungratefull for his Services, and believing that the Prince can't be without him, and that he must shortly recall him, he withdraws a while from Court, and gives occasion to another to intermeddle in Affairs, and foment the new rais'd disgusts, whence in a short time the favour is turn'd into hatred, the impatience of the Favourite hastning his ruin. The report of his Disgrace spreads, and all grow insolent and insult over him, it being now not in the power of the Prince himself to assist him. His Relations and Friends fore-seeing his fall, and the danger which threatens them, fear lest they too should be involv'd in the ruin (52). As a lofty Tree falling crushes all that grow under the shadow of its Branches; nay these are the chief promoters of his fall, that they may get out of danger themselves, all joining, some as Friends, some as Enemies, to push down this falling Wall (53). The Prince sham'd of himself, strives to free himself from this Subjection, and to regain his credit, by making the Favourite the principal cause of all mis-carriages, so that he is caught in his own Snares without

(50) *Perque invidiam tui, me quoque incusant.* Tac. 4. ann. (51) *Dum Sejanum dilexit timuitve.* Ibid. (52) *Quidam male alacres, quibus infausa amicitie gravis exitus imminebat.* Tac. 4. ann. (53) Psa. 61. 4.

being able to free himself, as *Sejanus* was (54), and the more he strives to disengage himself, the more he hastens his ruin: For when Favour once sickens it must die, there being no Medicine can recover it.

From all that has been said we may evidently see, that the greatest danger in Favour is in the methods which Ambition takes to preserve it; it being the same with Favourites, as with People who are too curious about their Health, who thinking to preserve it by abundance of Physick, rather destroy it and shorten their days. And as in Distempers of the Body there is no better remedy than Abstinence, leaving the rest to Nature, so when Favour begins to sicken, the best Advice is not to tamper too much with Medicines, but to serve his Prince with sincerity and integrity, without affection or interest, leaving the Operation to Merit and Truth, more durable than Artifice; and using only some Preservatives, such as respect the Favourite, the Prince or his Ministers, or the Court, or the People, or Strangers.

As to the Favourite, he should preserve the same state of Modesty, and Affability that his fortune found him in: He should clear his Looks from the dazzling Beams of Favour; as *Moses* did when he spoke to the People, after he came from communing with God (55). *Daniel*, though he was a Favourite to many Kings, waited with the rest in the Anti-Chambers (56). Let him refuse those Honours, which either belong to the Prince, or exceed the Sphere of a Minister, and if any would offer them, let him advertise both himself and him, that he is only a Servant to the Prince, to whom alone those Honours are due: so the Angel inform'd St. *John* when he would have worshipp'd him (57). Let him not make his Prince's Favour the means whereby to execute his Lusts and Passions. Let him hear with Patience, and answer calmly (58), let him not affect others Favour, nor fear their Displeasure nor conceal his Favour, nor covet Sovereign Power, nor arm against Envy, nor provide against

(54) *Non tam felicitas, quippe ipsam ardentem vitius est.* Tac. 4. ann. (55) Exod. 34. 35. (56) Dan. 2. 49. (57) Revel. 19. 10. (58) Eccles. 22. 9.

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Emulation, for in these Precautions are very dangerous
Let him fear God and Infamy.

The Favourite is also in danger from his Family and Relations, for though the Prince and People do approve of his Actions, it don't thence follow, that they must also those of his Domesticks and Relations, whose Disorders, Indiscretion, Pride, Avarice, and Ambition render him odious and ruin him. Let him not deceive himself by thinking, that his own Creatures are the support and strength of his Favour, for he who depends on many, is in danger of many, and therefore 'tis better to keep them within remembrance of their former Condition, and far from the management of Affairs, that others may see they hold no part in the Government, nor his Favour, or that they are preferr'd meerly for being his Servants. But if they are persons of Worth and Merit, I would not that their being the Favourites Servants and Relations should prejudice them. Christ has taught us this Point, giving to his Relations the Dignity of forerunner and Apostle, but not that of Teacher of Nations, and that of the Pontificate, which were due to the Faith of *St. Peter*, and the Learning of *St. Paul*.

With the Prince let him observe these Maxims. Let him always presuppose, that his Favour or Affection is very subject to change, and if any such change should happen, he enquire not into the Cause thereof, nor pretend to take notice of it, that the Prince may not suspect him, nor his Rivals hope his Fall, for he is in danger of it when he but thinks of it. Let him not build his Favour upon the inclination and fancy of the Prince, but upon his own Merit; for if the Gold of Favour be not well tempered with that Alloy, it can never endure the Hammer of Emulation. Let him love more the Dignity than the person of a Prince. Let him moderate his Zeal by Prudence, and guide his understanding by that of the Prince, for none can suffer a Rival in Sense. Let him think himself his Subject not his Companion, and being a Creature, let him not pretend to equal his Creator (59); let him esteem it honourable, and

glorious to ruin himself to augment his Grandeur. Let him advise with a modest, agreeable and sincere Freedom (60), without fear of Danger or Ambition of being accounted zealous and stanch in his Opinion. Let him make no Affair his own, nor think his Reputation concern'd in its Success, nor be disgusted that his Sentiments are rejected, or that being admitted they were afterwards altered, for such Attempts are very dangerous.

In Debates and Resolutions, let him be neither so hot as to flame, nor so cold as to freeze, but keep a moderate pace according to time and opportunity. Let him be more intent upon his Duty than his Favour, but without Affectation or vain Glory, for he who serves only for Reputation, robs the Prince of his (61). Let his Silence be *a propos*, and his words close and ready upon occasion, which quality King *Theodorick* commended in one of his Favourites (62). Let him prefer his Princes Service to his own interest, nay let them be both one. Let him pay due Veneration to the Royal Family, esteeming their Friendship his greatest Security, without fomenting Differences between them and the Prince, for Blood is easily reconcil'd to the ruin of the Favourite. Let him take care that the Prince has always good Servants, and faithful Ministers about him, and let him instruct him faithfully in the Art of Government. Let him neither shut his Eyes, nor stop his Ears, but rather take care that he see, touch and feel all things himself. Let him discreetly inform him of his Errours and Failures, without fear of offence, if necessity requires. For though his Favour may sicken for a time, 'twill recover again when he finds his Errour, as it happen'd to *Daniel* with the Kings of *Babylon* (63). When the Prince resolves or determines any thing through Heat or Passion, he should endeavour to bend not break those Resolutions, waiting while time and the inconveniencies thereof convince him of his Errour. Let him not prevent his hearing Peoples Complaints, and

(60) Prov. 22. 11. (61) Luk. 17. 10. (62) *Sub Genii nostri luce intrepidus quidem, sed reverenter astant, opportunè tacitus, necessariè cœsiosus*, *Caes.* lib 5. Ep 3. (63) Prov. 28 23.

Satyrs, for when they fall upon Innocence, they are as Grains^s of Salt that preserve Favour, and Admonitions not to err or to amend. Let him ascribe successful Actions to the Prince, but take miscarriages upon himself. Let him always think his ruin sure and certain, waiting for it with Constancy, and a free and disinterest'd mind, without being over solicitous to establish his Favour, for he falls soonest from a Precipice who fears it most. The reflection of the danger disturbs the Brain, and we grow giddy with looking from an height. Whatever Favourites have been thus giddy have certainly fell, when those who have not been so solicitous have pass'd secure (64). Among the Ministers of State, let him behave himself rather as a Companion than a Master, rather as a Defender than Accuser (65). Let him encourage the Good, and endeavour to reform the Bad. Let him not interpose his Authority in their Preferments or Removals; and leave to them their own business. Let him not alter the Course of Counsels in Consultations, nor deny any access to the Prince. If the Prince would have him confer with him, let him declare his Sentiments frankly, without any other Design than to consult for the best.

The Court is the most dangerous Rock of Favour, and yet all use it to establish and confirm it; there is not a stone in it but would strive to fall, if in falling it might crush the Statue of the Favourite, which is as brittle as that of *Nebuchadnezar*, by reason of the diversity of Metals that compos'd it. Not one Courtier is a true Friend to the Favourite; if he chooses some he incurs the Hatred and Envy of the rest. If he introduces them, he is in danger of being supplanted; if he does not he makes them his Enemies. 'Tis therefore the safest way to walk with indifference to all, and not to intermeddle in the Affairs of any one, but endeavour to satisfy all, and (if possible) rather to promote than hinder them in their Pretensions and Interest. If any one shall have insinuated himself into the Prince's Favour, 'twill be the best way to keep him there; for he who

(64) Prov. 10. 9. (65) Eccles. 32. 1.

wrestles with another to throw him down usually falls with him, and opposition confirms Favour. More Favourites have been ruined by striving to displace others, than by advancing them. Let him slight Accusations, or Commendations to the Prince, and leave them to Fortune.

Favour is very subject to the People, for if they disapprove the Favourite, the Prince can never support him against the common Cry; or if he Attempts it, the People usually turn his Judges and Executioners, we having seen a great many fall by their hands. If the People love him to excess he is in danger from thence, for that creates Jealousie and Envy in others, nay in the Prince himself, whence the Peoples Loves are generally short and unlucky (66). And so that the Favourite may walk safe between these two Extreams, he must avoid all occasions of publick Applause and Acclamations. Let him only endeavour to procure to himself a good Esteem, by Piety, Liberality, Complaisance and Affability, making it his Care to see Justice duely administred, that there may be plenty of all things, that the publick Peace be not disturb'd in his time; that Privileges be not violated, nor Novelties introduced into the Government; but above all that there be no Disputes in matters of Religion, nor difference among the Clergy: For he will soon feel the Peoples Rage, if he once incur the name of impious.

Foreigners who want this natural Love for the Prince, depend more upon the Favourite than him, whence they pay him most Respect, that they may by his means accomplish their Designs, to the great dishonour of the Prince, and prejudice of his States. Nay, they often prove the ruin of the Favourite, unless he abundantly satisfy them in their Desires and Requests; wherefore he ought to beware of their Respect, and refuse the incense and worth of Foreigners, letting them who would pay him those Honours know, that he is only the Curtain before the Image, and that 'tis the Prince that works the Miracles.

Ambassadors usually affect the Friendship of the Favou-

(6) *Breves & infansitos populi Romani amores.* Tac. 2. ann.

rite, as the most effectual means to accomplish their Affairs, and judging that the disorders which result from Favour, will be of Service to them, they endeavour to foment it, being often introduc'd thereto by the Favourite himself, and as they take occasion to commend them in Audiences, and seem at first, sight free from Interest and Emulation, it has often very good Effect, yet for all this they are dangerous Friends; for the Favourite can't preserve their Friendship without great Detriment to the Prince and State. And if in consideration of his Duty, he does not abundantly satisfy them, they are utter Enemies and leave no stone unturn'd to ruin him. 'Tis therefore safest not to be more engag'd to them than the Princes Service will permit. Endeavouring only to gain the Reputation abroad of a sincere and affable Person, and one who would rather preserve the good Correspondences and Alliances of his Prince, than break 'em.

A timely Application of these Preservatives may perhaps prevent a Favourites fall, but when he has once incur'd the *Odium* and Envy of the people, these are look'd upon as Tricks and Artifices, and more endanger him. As it happened to *Seneca* who took no method to prevent his Death, but endeavouring to moderate his Favour, when he found himself persecuted (67).

If notwithstanding the Observation of all these Cautions, the Favourite shall fall into Disgrace, his fall will be Glorious, he having liv'd without the little Fears, and the shameful Care of preserving his Favour by methods below a generous Spirit, a torment much worse than the disgrace it self. If there be any thing valuable in a Princes Favour, 'tis only the Glory of having merited his Esteem; the Continuation of which is full of Cares and Dangers. And he is happiest, who soonest and with most Reputation quits it.

I have describ'd, Royal Sir, the Practices of Favourites, but not how a Prince ought to comport himself to-

(67) *Instituta prioris potentie commutat, prohibet ceteris salutantium, utat remittentes carus per Urbem, quasi valetudine infensa, aut sapientia si dies domi astinetur.* Tac. 14. ann.

wards them, not supposing that he ought to have any, for though he must be allow'd to have more inclination to one than another, yet not so as to devolve all his Authority upon one person, from whom the people must expect Orders, Rewards and Punishments; for such Favour is properly an Alienation from the Crown, and dangerous to the Government, even when Favour succeeds in the Election of the Subject, for neither will the people so readily obey, nor so awfully respect the Favourite as the Prince, nor is he so much concern'd for the welfare of the State, nor is he so immediately under the care of God as the Prince: So that though many of your Royal Highness's Ancestors have had Favourites, who with much care and zeal (as we see at present) have endeavour'd to Act with the greatest Integrity, yet have their attempts met with answerable Success. Let not your Royal Highness be deceiv'd by the example of *France*, whose Territories we see indeed much enlarg'd by the Counsels of a Favourite, but not without detriment to the Kingdom, and prejudice to the Royal Prerogative. Whoever shall duely consider the Persecution of the Queen Mother, and Duke of *Orleans*; the Blood of *Monmorency* spilt, that of the Prior of *Vendosme*, of *Paul Remy*, and of *Monsieur de Macrains*, the Imprisonment of the Duke of *Bulloign*, the Exactions and Oppressions of the Subjects, the Usurpation of the Dutchy of *Lorraine*, the Leagues made with the *Dutch*, *Protestants* and *Svedes*, the Design upon *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, the Peace made at *Mouzon* without the knowledge of the Allies, the Curb impos'd upon the *Valroline* and *Grisons*, the Succours sent to *Scotland*, and the *English* Parliament, the Sieges of *Fontarabie*, *St. Omer*, *Thionville*, *Fornavent* and *Catelet*, the loss of so many Soldiers at *Lovain*, *Tarragone*, *Perpignan*, *Salce*, *Valence* upon the *Po*, *Imbree* and *la Roque*, the retaking *Aire* and the *Bass*. He, I say, who shall consider these things, will find that all his measures were grounded upon Violence, and that his Favour was founded upon force; that the Sword so daring against the Persons of Kings, has been timorous and cowardly against this Minister, that Fortune has favoured his Temerity, that he has succeeded by the same means he should

376 *Ministers ought always to be subject, &c.* Vol. I.
should have fail'd, whereas we have lost by the same methods we should have gain'd ; a sure Sign that God prospered this Favourite for the Exercise of Christianity, and for our Chastisement, forestalling our Prudence, and confounding our Valour. Kingdoms destin'd to Ruin, fall by the same means they should be supported ; thus the entrance into the *Adriatick* created Distrust, the Protection of *Mantua* Jealousie, the opposition at *Nivers* Wars, the Diversion, Expence, the Army in *Alsace* Rivals, the War for *Spain* Rebellions. At the Siege of *Casal* we lost an opportunity of putting an end to the War ; the Counsel of Secretary *Passiers* to Prince *Thomas*, hindred the relief of *Turin* and triumph over *France*. The same thing happed at *Aire*, for a foolish piece of Formality, the News that was brought of the Siege of *Arras* made them omit the Care of relieving it. For a vain Scruple *D' Amvilliers* was not succoured, through Cowardize or Treachery, *Chapelle* surrendred. O Providence Divine ! Whither tend such variety of Accidents, so different from their Causes ? 'Tis not by chance that the Government of *Europe* is put into the hands of Favourites. God grant Success may answer the publick Prayers.

The End of the First Volume.



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