

Baldassare Castiglione

The First Book of the Courtier

Translated by Sir Thomas Hoby

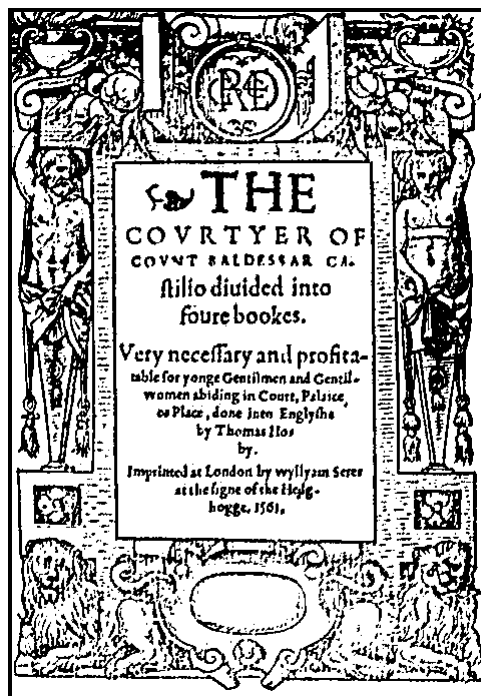
[1561]



Hoby



Castiglione



THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE COURTYER OF COUNT

BALDESSAR CASTILIO

UNTO MAISTER

ALPHONSUS ARIOSTO



HAVE a longe time doubted with my self (most loving M. Alphonsus) which of the two were harder for me, either to denye you the thinge that you have with suche instance manye tymes required of me, or to take it in hande: bicause on the one side me thoughte it a verye harde matter to denye anye thyng, especially the request beinge honest, to the personne whom I love deerlye, and of whom I perceyve my selfe deerlye beloved. Againe on the other syde, to undertake an enterpryse whiche I do not knowe my selfe able to brynge to an end, I judged it uncomely for him that wayeth due reprooves so much as they oughte to be wayed. At length after muche debatynge, I have determined to prove in this behalfe what ayde that affection and great desyre to please, can bring unto my dilygence, whyche in other thynges is wont to encrease the laboure of menne. You then require me to wryte, what is (to my thynkynge) the trade and maner of Courtyers, whyche is most fyttyng for a Gentilman that lyveth in the Court of Princes, by the whiche he maye have the knoweledge howe to serve them perfectlye in everye reasonable matter, and obtaine thereby favour of them and prayse of other men. Fynallye, of what sort he ought to be that deserveth to be called so perfect a Courtyer, that there be no wante in him: wherefore I, considering this kinde of request, say, that in case it should not appeare to my selfe a greater blame to have you esteame me to be of smal frendeshippe, then all other men of litle wysdome, I woulde have ryd my handes of this laboure, for feare leaste I shoulde bee counted rashe of all such as knowe, what a harde matter it is, emonge suche diversitye of maners, that are used in the Courtes of Christendome, to picke out the perfectest trade and way, and (as it were) the floure of this Courtiership. Because use maketh us manye times to delite in, and to set litle by the self same thinges: wherby sometime it proceedeth that maners, garmentes, customes, and facions whiche at sometye have beene in price, becumme not regarded, and contrarywyse the not regarded, becumme of price. Therfore it is manifestlye to be discerned, that use hath greater force then reason, to brynge up newe inventions emonge us, and to abolishe the olde, of the whiche who so goeth about to judge the perfection, is often tymes deceyved. For which consideration, perceyvinge this and manye other lettes in the matter propunded for me to write upon, I am constreyned to make a peece of an excuse, and to open playnelye that this errour (yf it may be termed an errour) is commune to us both, that if anye blame happen to me about it, it may be also partned with you. For it ought to be reckned a no lesse offence in you to laye uppon me a burden that passeth my strengthe, then in me to take it upon me. Let us therfore at length settle oure selves to begin that is oure purpose and drifte, and (if it be possible) let us facion suche a Courtier, as the Prince that shalbe worthy to have him in his servyce, although hys state be but small, maye notwithstandynge be called a myghtye Lorde. We will not in these bookes folow any certaine order or rule of appointed preceptes, the whiche for the moste part is wont to be observed in the teaching of any thinge whatsoever it be: but after the maner of men of olde time, renuinge a gratefull memorye, we will repeat certaine reasoninges that were debated in times past betwene men verye excellent for that purpose. And althoughe I was not there present, but at the time when they were debated, it was my chaunce to be in Englande, yet soone after my retourne, I hearde them of a person that faithfullye reported them unto me. And I will endeuvre my selfe, for so muche as my memorye wyll serve me, to call them perticularly to remembraunce, that you maye see what, men worthy greate commendacion, and unto whose judgement a man maye in everye poynt geve an undoubted credyt, have judged and beleved in this matter. Neyther shall we swarve from the pourpose to arryve in good order at the ende unto the whiche all oure communication is directed, yf wee disclose the cause of the reasoninges that hereafter folowe.

As everye man knoweth the lytle Citye of Urbin

Situation of Urbin. is sytuated upon the side of the Appenine (in a maner) in the middes of Italy towards the Golf of Venice. The which for all it is placed emonge hylles, and those not so pleasaunt as perhappes some other that we behoulde in many places, yet in this point the element hathe been favourable unto it, that all aboute, the

Mare Adriaticum. cuntrye is very plentyfull and full of fruites: so that beside the holsomenesse of aer, it is very abundant and stored wyth all thinges necessarye for the lief of man. But amonge the greatest felycities that men can reckon it to have, I counte thys the chief, that now a longe tyme it hath alwayes bene governed with very good Princes, although in the commune calamyties of the warres of Italy it remayned also a season with out anye at all. But without searching further of this we maye make a good prooffe wyth the famous memorye of Duke Fridericke, who in his dayes was the light of Italy. Neyther do we want true and very large

Duke Fredericke. testimonies yet remayninge of his wisdom, courtesye, justice, liberalite, of his invincible courage and pollycy of warr. And of this do his so many vycoryes make prooffe, chye flye his conqueringe of places impregnable, his sodyne redynesse in settinge forward to geve battaile, his putting to flyght sundrye tymes wyth a small nombre, verie greate and puissaunte armyes, and never suteined losse in any conflict: so that we may, not without cause, compare hym to manye famous men of olde time. This man emong his other deedes praiseworthy, in the hard and sharpe situation of Urbin buylt a Palaice,

The palaice of Urbin. to the opinion of many men, the fayrest that was to be founde in all Italy, and so furnished it with everye necessary implement belonging therto, that it appeared not a palaice, but a Citye in fourme of a palaice, and that not onelye with ordinarie matters, as Silver plate, hanginges for chambers of verye riche cloth of golde, of silke and other like, but also for sightlynnesse: and to decke it out withall, placed there a wonderous number of auncyent ymages of marble and mettall, verye excellent peinctinges and instrumentes of musycke of all sortes, and nothyng would he have there but what was moste rare and excellent. To this with verye great charges he gathered together a great number of most excellent and rare bookes, in Greke, Latin and Hebrue, the which he garnished wyth golde and sylver, esteaming this to be the chiefest ornament of his great palaice. This duke then folowing the course of nature when he was lxxv. yeares of age, as he had lived, so did he end his lief with glorye. And left Duke after him a childe of x. yeares,

Guidubaldo duke of Urbin. havynge no more male, and wythout mother, who hight Guidubaldo. Thys chylde as of the state, so did it appeare also that he was heyre of all his fathers vertues: and sodenly wyth a marveyllous towardnes beeganne to promise so much of himselfe, as a manne woulde not have thought possyble to be hoped of a man mortall. So that the opinyon of men was, that of all duke

Friderickes notable dedes there was none greater then that he begat suche a son. But fortune envyinge this so great vertue, wythall her myght gainstooke this so glorious a beginnyng, in suche wyse that before duke Guidubaldo was xx. yeares of age, he fell sicke of the gout, the which

Troubled with the gout. encreasinge uppon him wyth most bitter paynes, in a short tyme so nummed hym of all hys members, that he coulde neyther stande on foote nor move hymselfe. And in this maner was one of the best favoured and towardlyest personages in the world deformed and marred in his greene age. And beside, not satisfyed with thys, fortune was so contrarye to him in all his pourposes, that verye sildome he brought to passe any thyng to hys minde. And for all he had in him moste wise counsayle, and an invincible courage, yet it seemed that whatsoever he tooke in hande bothe in feates of armes and in everye other thinge small or greate, it came alwayes to yll successe.

His ill lucke. And of thys make prooffe his manye and dyvers calamities, which he alwayes bore out with suche stoutnesse of courage, that vertue never yelded to fortune. But wyth a bould stomake despising her stormes, lyved wyth great dignytie and estimation emonge all men: in sicknesse, as one that was sounde, and in adversitie, as one that was most fortunate. So that for all he was thus diseased in his bodye, he seved in time of warre wyth moste honourable enterteinment under the most famous kinges of Naples, Alphonsus and Ferdinande the yonger.

Hys service with princes and commune weales. Afterward with Pope Alexander the vi. with the lordes of Venice and Florence. And when Julius the ii. was created Pope, he was then made generall Captayne of the Churche: at whych tyme procedyng in hys accustomed usage, he sett hys delyte above all thynges to have hys house furnished with most noble and valyaunte Gentylnen, wyth whom he lyved very famylyarly, enjoying theyr conversation, wherein the pleasure whyche he gave unto other menne was no lesse, then that he receyved of other, because he was verye wel seene in both tungen, and together wyth a lovyng behavoure and pleasauntnesse he had also accompanied the knowlege of infinite thinges. And beside this, the greatnesse of his courage so quickened hym, that where he was not in case with hys personne to practise the feates of Chivalrye, as he had done longe before, yet dyd he take verye great delyte to behoulde them in other men, and with his wordes sometyme correctinge, and otherwhyle praysing everye man accordyng to hys desertes, he declared evydentlye howe greate a judgment he hadde in those matters. And upon this at Tylt, at Tourneye, in rydyng, in playng at all sorts of weapon, also in inventing devyces, in pastymes, in musicke, fynallye in all exercise s meete for noble Gentilmen, everye manne stryved to shewe hymselfe suche a one, as myght deserve to bee judged woorthye of so noble an assemblye. Therefore were all the houres of the daye devyded into honourable and pleasaunt exercyses, aswell of the bodye as of the mynde. But because the Duke

Elizabeth
Gonzaga
dutchesse of
Urbini.
L. Emilia Pia.

used continuallye, by reason of his infirmitye, soone after supper to go to his rest, everye man ordinarelye, at that houre drewe where the Dutchesse was, the Lady Elizabeth Gonzaga. Where also continuallye was the Lady Emilia Pia, who for that she was endowed with so lively a wytt and judgement as you knowe, seemed the maistresse and ringe leader of all the companye, and that everye manne at her receyved understandinge and courage. There was then to be hearde pleasaunte communication and merye conceytes, and in every mannes countenance a manne myght perceyve peyncted a lovyng jucoundenesse. So that thys house truelye myght well be called the verye mansion place of Myrth and Joye. And I beleave it was never so tasted in other place, what maner a thyng the sweete conversation is that is occasioned of an amyable and lovyng companye, as it was once there. For leavyng aparte what honoure it was to all us to serve such a Lorde, as he whom I declared unto you right nowe, everye man conceived in his minde an high contentacyon everye tyme we came into the dutchesse sight. And it appeared that this was a chaine that kept all lincked together in love, in suche wise that there was never agrement of wyll or hearty love greater betweene brethren, then was there betweene us all. The lyke was betweene the women, with whom we hadde such free and honest conversation, that every manne myght commune, syt, daly, and laugh with whom he had lusted. But such was the respect which we bore to the Dutchesse wyll, that the selfe same libertye was a very great bridle. Neither was there anye that thought it not the greatest pleasure he coulde have in the worlde, to please her, and the greatest grieve to offende her. For this respecte were there most honest condicions coupled with wonderous greate libertye, and devises of pastimes and laughinge matters tempred in her sight, besyde most wyttie jestes, with so comelye and grave a majesty, that the verye sober moode and greatnesse that dyd knyt together all the actes, woordes and gestures of the Dutchesse in jesting and laughynge, made them also that had never seene her in their lief before, to count her a very greate Ladye.

The
behavyoure of
the Dutchesse.

And all that came in her presence havynge this respect fixt in their breast, it seemed she had made them to her becke: so that every man enforced himself to folowe this trade, takynge (as it were) a rule and ensample of faire condicions at the presence of so greate and so vertuous a Lady. Whose most excellent qualities I entend not now to expresse, for it is neyther my purpose, and againe they are well inoughe knowen to the worlde, and muche better then I am able either with tunge or with pen to endite. And such as would perhaps have lien hid a space, fortune, as she that wondreth at so rare vertues, hath thought good with many adversities and temptacions of miseries to disclose them, to make trial therby that in the tender breast of a woman, in companye wyth synguler beawtie, there can dwell wysdome, and stoutenes of courage, and all other vertues that in grave men them selves are most seldome. But leavyng this apart, I say that the maner of all the Gentilmen in the house was immediatlye after supper to assemble together where the dutchesse was. Where emonge other recreations, musicke and dauncynge, whiche they used contynuallye, sometyme they propounded feate questions, otherwhyle they invented certayne wytty sportes and pastimes, at the devyse some tyme of one sometyme of an other, in the whych

under sundrye covertes, often tymes the standers bye opened subtylly their imaginations unto whom they thought beste. At other tymes there arose other disputations of divers matters, or els jestinges with prompt inventions. Manye tymes they fell into pourposes, as we nowe a dayes terme them, where in thys kynde of talke and debating of matters, there was wonderous great pleasure on all sydes: because (as I have sayde) the house was replenyshed wyth most noble wyttes. Emonge whych (as you knowe) were moste famous the Lord Octavian

Noble
personages in
the Court of
Urbino. Fregoso, Sir Friderick his brother, the L. Julian de Medicis, M. Peter Bembo, the L. Cesar Gonzaga, Count Lewis of Canossa, the L. Gaspar Pallavicin, the L. Lodovicus Pius, M. Morello of Ortona, Peter of Naples, M. Robert of Bari, and infynyte other most

woorthye knyghtes and Gentlymen. Beesyde these there were manye that for all ordinarilye they dwelled not there, yet spent they most of their tyme there, as M. Bernard Bibiena, Unico Aretino, Johnchristopher Romano, Peter Mount, Therpander, M. Nicholas Phrisio, so that thither ran continually poetes, musitiens, and al kinde of men of skylle, and the excellentest in every faculty that were in al Italy. After pope Julius the ii. had with his owne presence by the ayde of the Frenchmen brought Bolonia to the obedyence of the Apostolyke See again, in the yere mdvi. in hys retourn toward Roome he tooke Urbino in his way, where he was receaved as honorably as was possible, and with as sumptuous and costely preparation, as coulde have bine in any other Citie of Italy whatsoever it be. So that beesyde the Pope, all the Cardinales and other Courtyers thought themselves thoroughly satisfied. And some there were that provoked wyth the sweetnesse of this companye, after the Pope and the Court was departed, contynued manye dayes together in Urbino. At which time they did not onely proceade in their accustomed trade of disportinge and ordinary recreations, but also every man sett to his helping hande to augment them somewhat, and especially in pastymes, which they had up almost everye nyght. And the order therof was such, that assoone as they were assembled where the Dutchesse was, every man satt him down at his will, or as it fell to his lot, in a circle together, and in sittinge were devyded a man and a woman, as longe as there were women, for alwayes (lightely) the number of men was farr the greater. Then were they governed as the Dutchesse thought best, whiche manye times gave this charge unto the L. Emilia.

So the daye after the Pope was departed, the companye beeinge gathered to the accustomed place, after much pleasaunt talke, the Dutchesse pleasure was that the

Devises of
pastimes. L. Emilia should beginne these pastimes: and she after a litle refusing of that charge, sayd in this maner: Syth it is your pleasure (Madam) I shall be she that must give the onsett in oure pastimes this night, bicause I ought not of reason disobey you, I thinke meete to propounde a pastyme, wherof I suppose shall ensue little blame, and lesse travayle. And that shall be to have every man, as nigh as he can, propounde a devyse not yet hearde of, then shall we chuse out such a one as shall be thought meete to be taken in hande in this companye.

And after she had thus spoken, she tourned her unto the L. Gaspar Pallavicin, willynge him to propounde his: who immediatlye made answer: But first (madam) you must beeginne to propounde yours.

Then saide the L. Emilia: I have alreadye done. But your grace must commaunde hym (Madam) to be obedient.

Then the Dutchesse laughynge: To thintent (quoth she) every man shal obey you, I make you my deputy, and give unto you all mine authority.

It is surely a great matter, aunswered the L. Gaspar, that it is alwaies lawfull for women to have this privilege, to be exempt and free from paines takyng, and truely reason woulde we should in any wise knowe why. But bicause I will not be he that shall geve example to disobey, I shal leave thys untill an other time, and will speake of that I am now charged withall, and thus I beginne. Mine oppinion is, that oure mindes, as in other thinges, so also in lovyng are diverse in judgemente,

The L.
Gaspar
devise and therefore it chaunceth often tymes, that the thyng whyche is most acceptable unto one, is most abhorred of an other. Yet for all that they alwayes agree in that everye man counteth most deere the wight beloved. So that many times the overmuch affection in lovers doth so deceive their judgemente, that they weene the person whom they love, to be so garnished wyth all excellent vertues and wythout faulte, that he hath no peere in the worlde. But bycause the nature of man doth not admytte suche full perfectyons, and there is no mann that hath not some defaulte or want in hym, it can not be sayde that suche as these be are not deceyved, and that the lover doeth not become blynde as touchyng the beloved. I would therefore oure pastyme should be thys nyghte to have everye manne open what vertues he would principally the person he loveth should be indowed with all. And seeyng it is so necessariye that we all have some spotte, what vyce he woulde also have in hym: to se who can fynde out most prayse woorthye and manlye vertues, and most tollerable vyces, that shoulde be least hurtfull bothe to hym that loveth, and to the wyghte beloved.

The L.
Constance
Fregosa. After the L. Gaspar hadde thus spoken, the L. Emilia made a signe unto the Lady Constance Fregosa, bicause she was next in order to folow: who was about to speake, whan the Dutchesse sodeinlye said: Seinge the L. Emilia will not take the paine to fynde out some pastime, reason willeth that the other Ladyes should be partakers of the same privilege, and be also fre from this burden for this night: especially seing there are so many men in place, for assure your self we shall want no pastimes.

So shall we do, aunswered the L. Emilia, and puttinge the L. Consataunce to silence tourned her to the L. Cesar Gonzaga, that sat next her, commaunding him to speak,

The L. Cesar and thus he began: Whoso wyll diligently consider all our doynge,
Gonzagas he shall fynde alwayes in them sundrye imperfections. And that
devise. happeneth, bicause nature doth varye, as well in this, as in all other
thinges. Unto one she hath geven the lyght of reason in one thyng, and unto an
other, in an other thyng. Therefore it commeth to passe, where one man knoweth
that another knoweth not, and is ignoraunte in the thyng that the other hath
understandynge in, eche man doth easilye perceyve the errour of hys felow, and
not hys owne, and we all think oure selves to be verye wyse and peradventure in
that poynt most, wherein we are most foolysh. So that we have seene by
experience in this house manye men whyche at the beegynnyng were counted
most wise, in processe of tyme were knowen to be most foolysh. Whiche hath
proceeded of no other thyng but of oure owne dilygence, lyke, as it is sayde to be
in Pulia of them that are bitten with a

A kind of spiders, whiche Tarrantula, about whom men occupye manye instrumentes
beyng dyvers of nature of musicke, and wyth sundrye sounes goe searchynge out,
causes divers effectes, untyll the humor that maketh this dysease by a certayn
some after their biting fal concordance it hath wyth some of those sounes, feling it,
a singyng, some laugh, doth sodeinly move, and so stirreth the pacient, that by that
some wepe, some styrrynge he recovereth hys health agayne. In lyke maner
watche, some sweate: we, whan we have felt some privie operacion of folye we
and this disease is onely provoke it so subtillye, and with suche sundrye
cured with instrumentes perswasions, and so divers wayes that at length we
of musick, whiche must understand whether it tended. Afterward the humour
never cease until the knowen, we so stir it that alwayes it is brought to the
diseased beyng perfection of open folye. And some is wexed foolish in
constrained with the verses, some in musicke, some in love, some in daunsinge,
melodye thereof to fall some in makynge antiques, some in rydinge, some in
daunsinge with long playnge at fence, everye man accordinge to the moine of
exercise overcommeth his mettall, wherby hath ensued (as you know) marveyulous great pastime. I houlde
the force of this poysen. therfore for certeine, that in everye one of us there is some seede of folye, the
which beyng stirred may multiplie (in a maner) infinite. Therfore I would this
night our pastime were to dispute upon this matter: and that everye man myght
say his mynde, seeynge I must be openly foolysh, in what sort of folye I am
foolysh, and over what matter, judginge it the issue for the sparkles of folye that
are daylye sene to proceade from me. And let the lyke be sayd of all the rest,
kepinge the order of our devises, and let everye man do his best to grounde his
opinion upon some sure signe and argument, and so by this our pastime shall
everye one of us get profite, in that we shal know our defaultes, and then shall we
the better take heede. And in case the veyne of folye whiche we shall discover, be
so ranke that it shall appeare to us past remedy,

Frier Marian we will set therto oure helpynge hande, and according to the doctrine
of Frier Marian, wee shal gaigne a soule whiche shalbe no small gaigne. At this
devise there was much laughing, and none coulde refraine from speakinge. One
sayde, I shoulde be founde foolysh in imagining. An other, in viewinge. An other
sayde, he was alreadye become foolysh for love: and suc[h] lyke matters.

Then frier Seraphin after his maner, laughing: This (quoth he) should be to tedious a matter. But if you wyll have a pretye pastime,

Frier
Seraphin. let everyman tel his opinion, how it cummeth that (in a maner) all women abhorre rattes, and love serpentcs, and you shall see that none will hit upon it, but I, that knowe this misterye by a straunge means.

And now began he to enter into his triflyng tales, but the L. Emilia commaunded him to silence, and overscipping

Unico
Aretinos
devise. the Lady that satt there, made a signe to Unico Aretino that was next in order, and he without looking for anye more biddying, I (quoth he) would gladlye be a judge of auctoritye that I might with all kinde of tourment bolte out the truth of offenders: and that, to discover the deceytes of an ungrate woman, who with the eies of an angel, and heartc of a Serpent, never agreeth her tunge with her mynde, and with a feygncd deceyvable compassion, purposeth nothyng els but to make Anatomie of hartcs. Neither is there in all the sandie cuntry of Libia to be found so venemous a serpent that is so deirous of mans blood, as is this false creature. Which not onely for the sweetenesse of voice and pleasant sounc of woordes, but also for her eyes, for her laughing, for her countenaunce, and for all her gestures is a most perfect meremayden. Therfore seying it is not lawful for me, as I would, to use chaines, ropes, or fier, to understand a matter of trouthe, my desire is to compasse the knowledge of it with a mirye pastyme, whiche is this: That every man should expresse his fansye what the S dothe signify that the dutchess carieth in her foreheade. For although this be also an artificial covert, the better to beguile, perhappes there may be an interpretacion whiche she never thought upon. And who knoweth whether fortune, with pity behoulding the tormentes of men, hath stirrid her with this small token to discover against her wyll the inwarde desire she hathe to slea and bury alyve in calamitie hym that honoureth and serveth her. The duchesse laughed: and Unico, perceiving she would have excused her self of thys interpretacion, No (quoth he) speake you not (madam) for it is not your turne to speake nowc.

The L. Emilia then tourned her and sayd: M. Unico, there is none of us all here that geveth not place to you in everye thyng, and especiallye in knowynge the disposicion of the Dutchesse. And as you by your dyvyne wit knowe her better then all the rest, so do you love her better then all the rest, whych lyke byrdes of a feble sight, that cannot looke stedfastlye into the circle of the Sunne, cannot so well perceyve the perfection of it. Therfore all laboure were in vaine in cleeryng of thys doubt, savyng your judgement alone. Thys interprise then is reserved onely to you, as unto him that alone can brynge it to an ende, and none other.

Unico, after he had pawsd a while being stil called upon to say his fansy, at length rehersed a rime upon the aforesaide matter, expoundynge what signified the letter S, the which many judged to be made at the first sight. But because it was more witty and better knitt then a man would have beleved the shortnes of time required, it was thought he had prepared it before.

So after mens favourable voyce geven in the praise of this rime, and after sufficient talke, the L. Octavian

The L.
Octavian
Fregosos
devise.

Fregoso whose tourne was then next, began in this sorte smilyng:
My lordes, if I should say unto you that I never felt passion of love in my daies, I am sure the Dutchesse and the L. Emilia, althoughe they beleved it not in deede, yet would they make semblant to beleve it, and would saye that it proceded bicause I mistrusted I should never frame any woman to love me. The which trulye I have not hytherto proved with such instance, that of reason I should dispare to obtain it once. Neither have I forborne the doynge of it, bicause I set so much by my self and so litle by women, that I thinke none worthye to bestowe my love and service upon. But rather amased at the continual bewailings of some lovers, that with their palenes, sorow, and silence, it appeareth they have evermore their owne discomfort painted in their eyes. And if they speake, accompanyinge everye worde with certeyne treblefolde syghes, they reason of nothing elles, but of teares, of tourmentes, of desperacions, and of longyng for death. So that whansoever any sparckle of love hath beegonne to kyndle in my breast, I have by and by enforced my self wyth all dyligence to quenche it, not for anye hatred that I have conceyved agaynst women (as these Ladyes suppose) but for myne owne health. On the other side, I have knowen some other cleane contrarye to these sorowfull, whiche do not onelye avaunce and content theymselves with the cheerfull lookes, lovinge woordes, and sweete countenances of their ladies, but also sauce their sorowes with sweetnesse, so that they count the debates, the angers and the disdeignes of them, most sweete. Therefore these men seme unto me to be much more then happy, for whereas they fynde so muche sweetnesse in the amorous disdeignes, whiche some men reckon much more bytter then death, I beleve in lovyng gestures they should feele that wonderfull blisse, whyche we seeke for in vayne in thys worlde. Therefore would I oure pastyme were this nyght to have everye manne shew, where there muste be a dysdeygne againste him in the person beloved, what the cause should be that should make the person conceive thys disdeygne. For if there be anye here that have proved those sweete disdeignes, I am sure they wil desire for courtesy one of these causes that make them so sweet. And perhappes I shall with a better will proceade somewhat farther in love, in hope that I shall also fynde thys sweetnesse, where as some finde bitternesse, and so shall not these Ladies geve me anye more this slaunderous reporte, that I am not in love.

This pastime was muche praysed, and therefore dyd everye man setle himselfe to reason uppon this matter.

M. Peter
Bembos
devyse.

But the Lady Emilia holdying her peace, M. Peter Bembo, that satt next in order, spake in this maner: My Lordes, this pastime that the L. Octavian hath propounded hath raysed no smal doubt in my mind, where he hath resoned of the disdiegnes of love, the whiche though they be sondry, yet unto me have they alwaies bin most bitter. Neither do I beleve that I can learne any sauce that shalbe sufficient to sweten them. But peradventure they are the more and the lesse bitter according to the cause wherof they arrise. For I

have in my daies (I remember) seene the woman whom I served, stirred against me, eyther upon a vaine suspicyon that she conceyved her self of my trustinesse, or elles upon some other false opinyon that that had bine put into her head by some mennes report to my hindraunce, so I beleaved no grief might be compared to myne. And me thought that the greatest sorowe I felt was to suffer wythout deservyng, and to sustayne this affliction, not for any offence of mine, but for the small love that was in her. At other times I saw her disdeigne full for some oversight of mine, and knew that her anger proceeded of myne offence, and at that instante I judged the former vexation to be verye lyght in comparison to that whych I felt then. And me thought to be in displeasure and that for myne owne trespas, wyth the persone to whom onelye I coveted and with suche diligence sought to please, was the greatest torment of all other. Therefore woulde I oure pastyme were to have every man declare his opinion, where there must be a disdeigne agaynst hym in the person beloved, of whom he woulde the cause of this disdeigne shoulde have his beeginning, whether of her or of him selfe: to know which is the greater grief, eyther to dysplease the wight beloved, or to receyve dyspleasure of the wyght beloved.

Every man looked what the L. Emilia woulde make aunswere to this, but without anye woord speakyng to Bembo, she tourned her and made a signe to Sir Friderick

S. Friderick
Fregosos
divise.

Fregoso to shew his devyse. And he incontinentlye began thus:
Madam, I woulde it were lawfull for me, as the maner is manye tymes to remytte me to the judgement of an other, for I for my part woulde wyth all my heart allowe some of the pastymes that have bine already propounded by these Lordes, bicause in deede me thinke they would be worth the hearing. Yet least I shoulde breake the order, thys I saye: who so woulde take in hande to praise oure Court, leaving a part the desertes of the dutchesse, which ghostly spirite, with her influence, is sufficient to drawe from the earth up into heaven the simplest wittes in the world, he might wel do it without suspicion of flattery. For peradventure in all Italy a man shall have muche a do to fynde out

Good
Courtyers in
the court of
Urbino.

so many gentlemen and noble personages that are so worthy, and besyde the principall profession of Chivalrye so excellent in sundry thinges, as are presently here. Therfore if in any place men may be founde that deserve the name of good Courtyers, and can judge what belongeth to the perfeccion of Courtyership, by reason a man may beleve them to be here. To disgrace therefore many untowardly asseheades, that through malepertnes thinke to purchase them the name of a good Courtyer, I would have suche a pastime for this night, that one of the company myght bee picked out who should take in hand to shape in woordes a good Courtyer, specifying all suche condicions and particuler qualities, as of necessitie must be in hym that deserveth this name. And in suche thinges as shall not appere necessarie, as of necessitie must be in hym that deserveth against them, as the maner of Philosophers schooles is against him that kepeth disputacions.

Syr Friderick proceeded still forward in his talke, whan the L. Emilia interruptyng hym, sayde: If it bee my L. the dutchesse pleaser, this shall be our pastime for this once.

The Dutchesse aunswered: I am wel pleased. Then (in maner) all the company began to say both to the dutchesse, and among themselves that this was the trimmest pastyme they could have, and without looking for answere the one of the other thei craved the Lady Emilia to appoint who should first beginne. Who tournynge her towarde the dutchesse, sayde: Commaunde you (madam) whom shall please you to take this enterprise in hand, for I wyll not by chousing, more one then an other, declare my selfe to judge in this behalf, whom I thinke to be better skilled then the rest, and so do wrong to some.

The Dutchesse aunswered: Make you this choise your selfe, and take hede that in disobeying you bee not a president to the rest to be disobedient.

Then the Lady Emilia saide laughyng unto Lewis count of Canossa: Therefore for leesyng any more tyme, you (Count) shall be he that shall take this enterprise uppon hym in fourme and maner as Syr Friderick hath declared. Not for that we knowe ye are so good a Courtyer that you have at your fingers endes that belongeth thereto: but because in repeateinge everye anniversary, as we hope ye wyll, we shall have somuch the more pastyme, and everye one shall be able to answere you, where if an other more skilfull then you should take it in hande, there should bee nothing sayde againste hym for tellyng the trueth, and so shoulde we have but a colde pastime.

The Count aunswered by and by: We neede not feare (madam) that we shall wante contrarying in wordes againste hym that telleth the truth, as longe as you be here. And after they had laughed a whyle at this answer, he proceded on: But truely I would with al l my hearte bee ridde of this burthen, for it is to hard for me. And I know that to be most true in me which you have spoken in jest: namelye, that I have no understandyng in that belongeth to a good Courtyer. And this dooe I not seeke to prove with anye other tryall, for seeyng I dooe not the deedes, a manne may judge I understande it not, and I beleve I am the lesse to bee blamed. For oute of doubte it is a woorse matter not to dooe well, then not to understande howe to dooe it. Yet seynge youre pleaser is, that I shall take the charge uppon me, I can not, nor wyll refuse it, for withstandyng youre order and judgement, the which I knowe is much better then myne.

Then the L. Cesar Gonzaga: Because it is nowe (quoth he well forward in nyghte, and have here redy for us other sortes of pastimes, peradventure it shoulde not bee amysse to deferre this resonyng untyll to morowe, and the Counte shall have leysure to thynke better uppon that he hathe to saye: for in verye deede to entreate uppon suche a matter at the fyrste syghte, it is a harde thyng.

Then aunswered the Count: I wyll not dooe as he dyd, that strypped himself into his dublette, and leaped lesse grounde then he didde before in his Coate. And me

thynke my lucke is good that it is late, because the shortenesse of tyme shall make me use few e woordes, and the sodeinnesse of the matter shall so excuse me, that it shall be lawfull for me to speak without blame whatsoever commeth firste to mynde. Because I wyll not therefore carye this burthen of duetye anye longer uppon my shoulders, this I saye: in everye thyng it is so harde a matter to knowe the true perfeccion, that it is almoste

The true
perfeccion in
thinges. impossible, and that by reason of the varietie of judgements.
Therefore manye there are, that delite in a manne of muche talke,
and hym they call a pleasaunt felowe. Some wyll delite more in
modestie, some other wyll fansye a manne that is actyve and alwayes doynge:
other, one that sheweth a quietnes and a respecte in everye thyng. And thus
dooeth everye man prayse or dyspraise accordynge to hys fansye, alwayes
coverynge a vyce with the name of the next vertue to it, and a vertue with the
name of the nexte vice: as in calling him that is sawcye, bolde: hym that is sober,
drie: hym that is seelye, good: hym that is unhappye, wittie: and lykewyse in the
reste.

Vice cloked
with the name
of a vertue,
and
contrariwise. Yet doe I thinke that eche thing hath his perfeccion, althoughe it be
hid, and with reasonable dyscourses myght be judged of hym that
hath knowledge in the matter. And for as much as the trueth (as I
have sayd) is oftentimes hid, and I take not upon me to have this
knowledge, I cannot praise but that kind of Courtyers which I set
most by, and allow that whiche semeth unto me most nigh the trueth, in my smal
judgement. The which you shal folowe if ye thinke it good, or els sticke to youre
owne, yf it shal vary from mine. Neither will I (for all that) stand stiffe that mine
is better then yours, for not onely one thyng maie seme unto you, and an other
to me, but also unto my self it may appere sometime one thing, sometime another.

The facioning
of a Courtyer.
A Gentleman
borne. I wyll have this our Courtyer therfore to be a Gentleman borne and
of a good house. For it is a great deale lesse dyspraise for him that is
not born a gentleman to faile in the actes of vertue then for a
gentleman. If he swarve from the steppes of his auncestours, he
stayneth the name of his familie, and doeth not onely not get, but
loseth that is already gotten. For noblenesse of birth is (as it were) a clere lampe
that sheweth forth and bringeth into light, workes bothe good and badde, and
enflameth and provoketh unto vertue, as wel with the feare of slaunder, as also
with the hope of praise. And wheras this brightnesse of nobleness dothe not
discover the workes of the unnoble, they have a wante of provocation and of feare
of slaunder, and they reckon not themselves bounde to wade anye further then
their auncestours did before theym, whereas the noble of birth counte it a shame
not to arrive at the leaste at the boundes of their predecessors set foorth unto them.
Therefore it chaunceth alwaies (in a maner) bothe in armes and in all other
vertuous actes, that the moste famous menne are gentlemen. Because nature in
every thing hath depely sowed that privie sede, which geveth a certain force and
propertie of her beginning, unto whatsoever springeth of it, and maketh it lyke
unto her selfe. As we see by example not onely in the race of horses and other

beastes, but also in trees, whose slippes and graftes alwayes for the moste parte are lyke unto the stocke of the tree they came from: and yf at any time they growe out of kind, the fault is in the husbandman. And the lyke is in men, yf they

Gentlemen of most prowesse.	be trayned up in good nourtour, moste commonlye they resemble them from whom thei come and often times passe them, but yf they
Good bringing up in youthe.	have not one that can well trayn them up, thei growe (as it were) wylde, and never come to their ripenesse. Truth it is, whether it be
Some borne full of graces and comelines.	through the favour of the starres or of nature, some there are borne endowed wyth suche graces, that they seeme not to have bene borne, but rather facioned with the verye hand of some God, and abounde in all goodnesse bothe of bodye and mynde. As againe we see some
Some borne very asseheds.	so unapte and dull, that a man wyl not beleve, but nature hath brought them into the worlde for a spite and mockerie. And lyke as these with continual diligence and good bringyng up for the most
Hypolitus da Este brother to the Duke of Ferrara.	parte can bring small fruite: even so the other with litle attendance clime to the full perfeccion of all excellency. Marke me the Lorde Hyppolitus da Este Cardinall of Ferrara, he hath hade so happye a birthe, that his person, his woordes, and all his gestures are so facioned and compact with this grace, that among the moste

aunciente prelates (for all he is but yonge) he dothe represente so grave an auctoritie, that a man woulde weene he were more meete to teache, then nedefull to learne. Likewise in company with menne and women of all degrees, in sportynge, in laughynge, and in jestynge he hath in hym a certayne sweetenesse, and so comely demeanours, that whoso speaketh with hym or yet beholdeth hym, muste nedes beare him an affeccion for ever. But returnyng to our purpose I saye, that betwene thys excellent grace, and that fond foolyshnesse there is yet a meane, and they that are not by nature so perfectly furnished, with studye and diligence maye polishe and correct a great part of the defaultes of nature. The Courtyer therefore, besyde noblenesse of birthe, I wyll have hym to be fortunate in this behalfe, and by nature to have not only a wytte, and a comely shape of persone and countenance, but also a certain grace, and (as they saie) a hewe, that shall make him at the first sight acceptable and lovyng unto who so beholdeth him. And let this be an ornament to frame and accompanye all his actes, and to assure men in his looke, such a one to bee woorthy the companye and favour of every great man.

Here without any longer taryng the L. Gaspar Pallavicin saide: That our pastime may have the fourme and maner agreed upon, and least it shoulde appeare that we litle esteme the auctoritie geven us to contrary you, I say (in mine advise) that this noblenesse of birth is not so necessarie for the Courtyer. And if I wiste that anye of you thought it straunge or a newe matter, I woulde alledge unto you sondrye, who for all they were borne of moste noble bloude, yet have they bene heaped full of vyces: and contrarywise, many unnoble that have made famous their posteritie. And yf it be true that you sayde before, that the privie force of the firste seede is in everye thyng, we shoulde al bee in one maner condicion, for that we had all one selfe begynnyng, and one shoulde not bee more noble then an

other. But besyde the diversityes and degrees in us of highe and lowe, I beleve there bee manye other matters, wherein I judge fortune to be the chief, because we see her beare a stroke in al worldlye thinges, and (as it were) take a pastime to exalt many time whom pleaseth her without any desert at all, and burie in the bottomles depth the most worthy to be exalted. I confirme your saying as touching the happines of them that are borne abounding in all goodnes both of minde and bodie: but this is seen aswel in the unnoble, as in the noble of birthe, for nature hath not these so subtile distinctions: yea (as I have sayde) we se many times in persons of most base degree, most high giftes of nature. Therefore seing this noblenes is gotten neither with force, nor art, but is rather a praise of oure ancestours then our own, me think it a strange opinion that the parentes of our Courtyer being unnoble, his good qualities should be defaced, and these oure good condicions whiche you have named should not be sufficient to bring him to the top of al perfeccion: that is to say, wit, beauty of fisnamy, dispicion of person, and that grace which at the first sight shal make him moste acceptable unto all men.

Then aunswered Count Lewis: I denie not, but in men of base degree may reigne the very same vertues that are in gentlemen. But to avoyd rehersal of that we have already said, with many other reasons that might be alleged in commendacion of noblenesse, the which is evermore honored of al men because it standeth with reason that good should spring of good, forsomuch as our entent is to facion a Courtyer without ani maner default or lack in hym, and heaped with all praise, me thinke it a necessarye matter to make him a gentleman, as well for many other respects, as also for the common opinion, which by and by doeth leane to noblenesse. For where there are two in a noble mans house which at the first have geven no prooffe of themselves with woorkes good or bad,

Noblenes of birthe in estimacion with all men. The imprintings of the mind with expectacion.	assoone as it is knowen that the one is a gentleman borne, and the other not, the unnoble shall be muche lesse esteemed with every manne, then the gentleman, and he muste with much travaile and long time imprint in mennes heades a good opinion of himselfe, whiche the other shal geat in a moment, and onely for that he is a gentleman: and howe waighty these imprintinges are every man may easily judge. For, to speake of our selves: we have seen menne come to thys house, whiche for all they were fooles and dulwitted, yet had they a report through all Italye of great Courtyers, and though at length they were discovered and knowen, yet manye daies did thei beguyle us, and mainteyned in our mindes that oppinion of themselves, whiche at the fyrste they found there imprinted, although they wrought accordyng to their small skil.
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The yl incynction of princes in favouring them that deserve it not.	We have seen other at the fyrste in very smal estimacion, and afterwarde in the ende have acquitted themselves marveilous well. And of these errors there are divers causes and among other the obstinatenes of princes, whiche to prove mastries oftentimes bend themselves to favor him, that to their seeming, deserveth no favour at all, and manye tymes in deede they are deceyved. But because thei
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have alwaies many that counterfait them, a very great report dependeth upon their favor, the which most commonly judgements folow. And if thei find any thing that semeth contrary to the common opinion, thei are in doubt for deceiving themselves, and alwaies loke for some matter secretly because it semeth, that these general opinions ought to be founded upon a trothe, and arise of reasonable causes.

We be moved to passions without anye manifest cause why. And forsomuch as our mindes are very apte to love and to hate: as in the sightes of combates and games and in all other kinde of contencion one with an other, it is seene that the lookers on many times beare affeccion without any manifest cause why, unto one of the two parties, with a gredy desire to have him get the victorie, and the other to have the overthrow. Also as touching the opinion of mens qualities, the good or yll reporte at the first brunt moveth oure mynde to one of these two passions: therefore it commeth to passe, that for the moste part we judge with love or els with hatred. You see then of what importance this first imprinting is, and howe he ought to endeavoure himself to get it good in princes, if he entende to be set by, and to purchase him the name of a good Coutyer. But to come to some particularitie, I judge the principall and true profession of a Courtyer ought to be in feates of armes, the which

Armes the Courtyers chiefe profession. That he take no foile. above all I will have hym to practise lively, and to bee knowen among other for his hardinesse, for his acheving of enterprises, and for his fidelitie toward him whom he serveth. And he shall purchase himselfe a name with these good condicions, in doing the dedes in everie time and place: for it is not for him to feint at any time in this behalfe without a wonderous reproche. And even as in women honestye once stained dothe never retourne againe to the former astate: so the fame of a gentleman that carieth weapon, yf it once take a foile in any litle point through dastardlines or any other reproche, doeth evermore continue shameful in the worlde and full of ignoraunce. Therefore the more excellent our Courtyer shalbe in this arte, the more shall he bee worthy praise: albeit I judge not necessarye in hym so perfect a knowledge of thynges and other qualities that is requisite in a capitaine. But because this is overlarge a scope of matters, wee wyll holde oure selves contented (as we have sayde) with the uprightnesse of a well meaning minde, and with an invincible courage, and that he alwaies shew himself such a one: for many times men of courage are sooner knowen in small matters then in greate. Often times

Cowardes sometime hardie. in daugers that stande them upon, and where many eyes be, ye shall see some that for all their hearte is dead in their bodie, yet pricked with shame or with the company, go forward (as it were) blindfold and do their dutie. And God knoweth bothe in matters that litle touche them, and also where they suppose that without missynge they may convey themselves from daunger, how they are willing ynough to slepe in a whole skinne. But such as think themselves neither marked, seen, nor knowen, and yet

Who have the stoutenesse of courage. declare a stout courage, and suffer not the leaste thyng in the worlde to passe that maie burthen them, they have the courage of spirite whiche we seke to have in our Coutyer. Yet will we not have him for al that so lustie to make braverie in woordes, and to bragge that he hath wedded his harneys for his wife, and to threaten with suche grim lookes, as we have seene Berto do oftentimes. For unto suche maie well be saide that a worthie Gentlewoman in a noble assembly spake pleasauntly unto one, that shall be namelesse for this tyme, whome she to shewe hym a good countenance, desired to daunce with her, and he refusing both that, and to heare musick and many other entertainentes offred him, alwaies affirming suche trifles not to be his profession, at last the Gentlewoman demaunding him, What is then your profession? He aunswered with a frowning looke: To fight.

Then saide the Gentlewoman: Seing you are not nowe at the warre nor in place to fight, I woulde thinke it best for you to bee well besmered and set up in an armorie with other implementes of warre till time wer that you should be occupied, least you waxe more rustier then you are.

Thus with much laughinge of the standers by she left him with a mocke in his foolish presumpcion.

A stout-herted man. He therefore that we seeke for, where the enemies are, shall shewe himselfe moste fierce, bitter, and evermore with the firste. In everie place beside, lowly, sober, and circumspecte, fleeing above all thinge bragginge and unshamefull praising himself, for therewith a man alwaies purchaseth himself the hatred and yll will of the hearers.

To avoide praising a mans selfe.

And I, aunswered the L. Gaspar, have knowen few men excellent in any thing whatsoever it bee, but they praise them selves. An me thinke it may wel be borne in them: for he that is of skill, whan he seeth that he is not knowen for his woorkes of the ignoraunte, hath a disdeigne that his connyng should lye buried, and needes must he open it one waie, least he should bee defrauded of the estimation that belongeth to it, whiche is the true rewarde of vertuous

Estimation the reward of vertuous actes. travailes. Therefore among the auncient writers he that muche excelleth doeth sildome forbear praisynge hymself. They in deede are not to be borne withall that havynge no skill in theym, wyll prayse themselves: but we wyll not take our Courtyer to be suche a one.

Then the Count: Yf you have well understoode (quoth he) I blamed the praysinge of a mans selfe impudently and withoute respecte. And surelye (as you saye) a man ought not to conceyve an yll oppinion of a skifull man that praiseth hymselfe dyscretely, but rather take it for a more certaine witnes, then yf it came out of an other mans mouth. I agree well that he, whiche in praising himselfe falleth not into errour, nor purchaseth himself lothsomenes or hatred of the hearers, is moste discrete: and beside the praises whiche he giveth himselfe, deserveth the same of other men also, because it is a very hard matter.

Then the L. Gaspar: This (quoth he) muste you teache us.

In what sort a man maye praise himself. The Count aunswered: Emong the auntient writers there hathe not also wanted that hathe taught it. But in mine opinion, all doth consist in speaking such thynges after a sort, that it maye appeare that they are not rehearsed to that ende: but that they come so to purpose, that he can not refrayne tellyng them, and alwaies seemynge to flee his owne prayse tell the trueth. But not as those lustie laddes dooe, that open their mouthe and thruste oute woordes at aventure they care not how. As within these few dayes one of oure company

Brave roysters. being pushed throughe the thygh with a pyke at Pysa, thought that it was the bytynge of a flie. And an other sayde that he occupied no lookynge glasse in his chamber, because in hys rage he was so terrible to beholde, that in lookynge upon his owne count enaunce he shoulde put himself into much feare.

At this every one laughed. But the L. Cesa Gonzaga saide unto them: At what laugh you Knowe ye not that the great Alexander, hearing a certaine Philosophers oppinion

Anaxagoras. to be that there were infinite worldes, fell in weping: and when he was asked the question why he wept, he aunswered: Because I have not yet one in hande, as thoughe hys mynde was to have them all. Dooe you not thynke that this was a greater braverie, then to speak of the fly biting.

So was Alexander a greater person then he that so sayde, aunswered the Count. But excellent men in very deede are to be held excused, whan they take muche upon them: because he that undertaketh great enterprises muste have a boldnesse to dooe it, and a confidence of hym selfe, and not of a bashfull or cowardly mynde, but yet sober in woores: shewing as though he tooke lesse upon hym then he dothe in deede, so that his taking upon him do not extend unto rashnesse.

Here the Count respetyng a while, M. Bernard Bibiena saide merelye: I remember you saide before, that this oure Courtyer oughte of nature to have a faire comelynesse of fisnamye and person, with the grace that oughte to make hym so amiable. As for the grace and beautie of fisnamie, I thynke not the contrary but they are in me, and therefore doe so many women burne for the love of me, as you knowe. But for the comelinessse of persone, I stande somewhat in doubte, and especiallye by reason of my legges here, for me thinke in deede thei are not so wel made as I could wishe thei were: the body and the rest is meetely wel. Therefore declare som what more particularly this comelines of person, what it should be, that I may be out of this doubt and set my heart at reste.

Whan thei had a while laughed at this, the Count sayde: Certes, the grace of the fisnamy, may wel be said to be in you without any lye. And no other exaample. doe I alledge but this, to declare what maner thing it should bee: for undoubtedly we see your countenance is most acceptable and pleasant to beholde unto every

man, although the proporcion and draughtes of it be not very delicate, but it is manly and hath a good grace withall. And this qualitie have many and sundrye shapes of visages. And suche a countenaunce as this is, will I have our Courtyer to have, and not so softe and womanishe as many procure to have, that do not onely courle

The countenaunce of the Courtyer. Menne that would appere women.	the hear, and picke the browes, but also paumpre themselves in every point like the most wanton and dishonest women in the worlde: and a man would thinke them in goyng, in standing, and in all their gestures so tender and feint, that their members were ready to flee one from an other, and their woordes they pronounce so drawningly, that a man would weene they were at that instant yelding up the ghost: and the higher in degree the men are they talke withall, the more they use such facyons. These men, seing nature (as they seeme to have a desire to appeare and to bee) hath not made them women, ought not to be esteamed in place of good women, but like common Harlottes to be banished, not onely out of prynces courtes, but also oute of the companye of Gentlemen. To come therefore to the qualitie of the person,
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Good to bee of a meane stature.	I say he is well, if he bee neither of the least, nor of the greatest sise. For bothe the one and the other hath with it a certayne spytefull wonder, and suche men are marveyled at, almoste, as muche as men marveile to behoulde monstrous thynges. Yet if there must needes be a defaulte in one of the two extremities, it shall be lesse hurtfull to bee somewhat of the least, then to excede the common stature in height. For men so shut up of bodie, beside that manye tymes they are of a dull wit, they are also unapte
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Rather with the lowest then to high. To be a man of warre. To handle al kind of weapon.	for all exercyses of nimblenesse, whiche I much desire to have in the Courtyer. And therefore will I have him to bee of a good shape, and well proporcioned in his lymmes, and to shewe strength, lightnes, and quicknesse, and to have understandyng in all exercises of the bodie, that belonge to a man of warre. And herein I thinke the chief point is to handle well all kynde of weapon both for the footeman and horseman, and to know the vauntages in it. And especially to be skilfull on those weapons that are used ordinarily among gentlemen, for beside the use that he shall have of them in warre, where peradventure nedeth no great connyng, there happen often times variaunces betwene one gentleman and an other, whereupon ensueth a combat. And manye tymes it shall stande him in stede to use the weapon whiche he hath at that instant by his side, therefore it is a very sure thing to be skilfull. And I am none of them whiche saye, that he forgetteth his conning whan he commeth to the poynte: for to abide by,
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Fightinge
maketh not a
man to forget
his fence.

Wrastlynge.

To knowe
what is to be
done in
quarrels whan
they happen.

Not rashe to
fight
combattes.

Howe a man
ought to
behave
himself in
fightyng a
combatte.

whoso loseth his conning at that time, sheweth that he hath firste loste his hearte and his spirites for feare. I think also it will serve his turne greatly, to know the feate of wrastling, because it goeth much together with all weapon on foote. Againe it is behouffull bothe for him selfe and for his frendes, that he have a foresight in the quarrelles and controversies that may happen, and let him beware of the vauntages, declarynge alwaies in everye pointe bothe courage and wisdom. Neither let him runne rashely to these combattes, but whan he muste needes to save his estimation withall: for beside the greate daunger that is in the doubtfull lotte, hee that goeth headlonge to these thynges and without urgent cause, deserveth verye great blame, although his chaunce bee good. But whan a man perceiveth that he is entred so farre that hee can not drawe backe withoute burdeyn, hee muste, bothe in suche thinges he hath to doe before the combat and also in the combat be utterly resolved with hymselfe, and alwayes shewe a readinesse and a stomake. And not as some dooe, passe the matter in arguing and pointes, and having the choise of weapon, take such as have neyther poynte nor edge. And arme themselves as though they shoulde goe against the shotte of a Cannon. And weening it sufficyent not to be vanquished, stande alwaies at their defence and geve ground, in so muche that they declare an extreme faint hert, and are a mocking stocke to the verye chyldren. As those two of Ancona: that a while agoe fought a combat beside Perugia, and made them to laughe that looked on.

And what were they? quoth the L. Gaspar Pallavicin.

The L. Cesar aunswered: Cousins Germains of two sisters.

Then said the Count: At the combat a man would have thought them naturall brethren, then he went forward. Also men occupie their weapon oftentimes in tyme of peace aboute sondrie exercises, and gentlemen are seen in open shewes in the presence of people, women and Princes. Therefore will I have our Courtyer a perfecte horseman for

A perfecte
horseman.

everye saddle. And beside the skylle in horses and in whatsoever belongeth to a horseman, let him set all his delite and dylygence to wade in everye thyng a litle farther then other menne, so that he maye be known among al menne for one that is excellent. As it is reade of Alcibiades, that he excelled all other nations wheresoever he came, and every manne in the thyng he hadde moste skylle in.

Alcibiades
excelled other
nations in
theyr owne
feates.

Property of
Italians.

Property of
Frenchmen.

Property of
Spaniardes.

Huntyng.

Swimming.

Leapyng.

Running.

Castying the
stone.

Play at tenyse.

Vawting.

So shall this our Courtyer passe other menne, and every manne in his owne profession. And because it is the peculyer prayse of us Italians to ryde well, to manage wyth reason, especialle roughe horses, to runne at the ryng and at tylte, he shall bee in this amonge the beste Italyans. At tourneyment, in kepyng a passage, in fightinge at barriers, he shall be good emonge the best Frenchemen. At *Joco di canne*, runninge at Bull, castinge of speares and dartes, he shall be amonge the Spaniardes excellent. But principallie lette hym accompanye all his mocion wyth a certayne good judgemente and grace, yf he wyll deserve that generall favour whiche is so muche set by. There bee also manye other exercises, the whiche thoughte they depende not throughlye upon armes, yet have they a greete agreemente with them, and have in them muche manlye activitie. And of them me thinke huntyng is one of the chiefest, for it hath a certaine lykenesse with warre, and truelye a pastyme for great men, and fitte for one lyvyng in courte. And it is founde that it hath also bene muche used amonge them of olde tyme. It is meete for hym also to have the arte of swimming, to leape, to runne, to cast the stone: for beside the profite that he maie recyve of thys in the warres, it happeneth to hym manye tymes to make prooffe of himselfe in such thynges, whereby he getteth hym a reputacion, especialle among the multitude, unto whom a man muste sometye applye hymselfe. Also it is a noble exercyse and meete for one lyvyng in courte to play at tenyse, where the disposition of the bodye, the quicknesse and nimblenesse of everye member is much perceyved, and almoste whatsoever a manne can see in all other exercises. And I reckon vauytyng of no lesse prayse, which for all it is peynefull and harde, maketh a man more light and quicker then any of the rest: and beside the profite, yf that lightnesse be accompanied with a good grace, it maketh (in my judgemente) a better shewe then anye of the reste. If our Courtyer then be taught these exercises more then indifferently well, I beleve he may sette a syde

Tumblyng
not fit for a
Gentleman.

tumblyng, clymyng upon a corde, and suche other matters that taste somewhat of jugglers crafte, and doe lytle beseeme a Gentleman. But because we can not alwayes endure emonge these so paynefull doynge, besyde that the contynuaunce goeth nyghe to geve a manne hys fyll, and taketh awaye the admyracion that menne have of thynges sildome seen, we muste contynuallye alteroure lyfe with practysynge sondrye matters.

To frame
himself to the
company.

Therefore wyll I haveoure Courtyer to descende manye times to more easye and pleasaunt exercyses. And to avoyde envye and to keepe companye pleasauntlye with every man, let him do whatsoever other men do: so he decline not at any time from commendable dedes, but governeth himselfe with that good judgement that will not suffer him to enter into any folye: but let him laugh, dalie, jest, and daunce, yet in such wise that he maie alwayes declare himselfe to bee wittie and discrete, and everie thyng that he doeth or speaketh, let him doe it with a grace.

Truelye, saide then the L. Cesar Gonzaga, the course of this comunicacion shoulde not be stopped: but if I shoulde houlde my peace, I should not satisfie the libertie whiche I have to speake, nor the desyre that I have to understand one thing. And let me be pardoned if where I ought to speake against, I demaund a question: because I suppose I maie lawfully do it after the example of M. Bernard, who for the to great desire he hadde to be counted a welfavoured man, hath offended agaynst the lawes of our pastime in demaunding without speakinge against.

Behoulde I beseeche ye, saide then the Dutchesse, howe one errour bringeth in a great sorte. Therefore who so offendeth and geveth yll example, as M. Bernard hath done, deserveth to be punished not onely for his owne offence, but for other mens also.

Then answered the L. Cesar: Therefore must I (madam) escape punishmente, for that M. Bernard ought to bee punished for his owne offence and mine bothe.

Nay (quoth the Dutchesse) you oughte to have bothe double punishmente. He for his offence, and for beyng an occasion for you to commit the lyke: and you for your offence and for taking hym for a president that dyd offende.

I have not hytherto offended, madam, answered the L. Cesar. Therefore because I wyll leave the whole punishmente for M. Bernard I wyll kepe silence.

And now he held his peace, whan the L. Emilia answered: Say what pleaseth you, for (by the dutchesse leave) I perdone thys faulte, and whosoever shall offende in so small a trespase.

Upon that the Dutchesse said: I am well pleased. But take ye heede that ye deceive not your selfe, thinking peradventure to be better reported of for mercy then for justice. For in perdoning the offendour to muche, ye do wrong to him that doeth not offende. Yet wyll not I have my rigour at this time in accusing your mercye to be the cause that we shall lose the hearing of this the L. Cesars demaund.

So he, after the dutches and the L. Emilia had made a signe to him, sayde by and by: if I do well beare in mind, me thynke (Count Lewis) you have this night oftentimes repeted, that the Courtier ought to accompany all his doinges, gestures, demeaners, finally al his mocions with a grace, and this, me think, ye put for a sauce to every thing, without the which all his other properties and good condicions were litle woorth. And I beleve verely that every man would soone be perswaded therin, for by the vertue of the worde a man may saye, that whoso hath grace is gracious. But bicause you have saide sundry times that it is the gift of nature and of the heavens,

Grace. and againe where it is not so perfect, that it maye with studye and diligence be made muche more, that they be borne so happye and so welthe with such a tresure (as some that we se) me thynke therin they have litle nede of anye other teacher, because the bountifull favour of heaven doeth (as it were) in spite

of them, guide them higher then they covet, and maketh them not onely acceptable, but marveyulous unto all the world. Therefore I do not reason of this, because the obtainynge of it of our selves lyeth not in our powre: but such as by nature have onely so much, that they be apte to beecome gracious in bestowing labour, exercise, and diligence, I would faine knowe what art, with that learning, and by what meane they shall compasse this grace, aswel in the exercises of the bodye (wherin ye thinke it so necessarie a matter) as in all other thynges that they dooe or speake. Therefore as you have in praysinge thys qualitee to us engendred (I beleve) in al a fervent thirst to come by it, by the charge ye received of the L. Emilia, so with teaching it us, ye are bound to quenche it.

Bound I am not (quoth the Count) to teache you to have a good grace, nor anye thing els, saving only to shew you what a perfect Courtyer ought to be. Neither will I take upon me to teach you this perfeccion, sins a while a goe, I said, that the Courtier ought to have the feate of wrastlyng and vawtinge, and such other thinges, the which howe I should be able to teache them not having learned them my selfe, I am sure ye knowe it all. It sufficeth that as a good souldyer cann speake his minde to an armourer of what facion, of what temper and goodnesse he will have his harneys, and for all that cannot teache him to make it, nor to hammer or temper it: so perhaps I am able to tel you what a perfect Courtyer ought to be, but not able to teach you how ye should doe to be one. Notwithstanding to fulfill your request in what I am able, althoughe it be (in maner) in a proverbe that Grace is not to be learned, I say unto you, whoso mindeth to be gracious or to have a good grace in the exercises of the body, (presupposing first that he be not of nature unapt) ought to begin betimes, and to learne his principles of cunning men. The which thing how neccessarie a matter Philip king of Macedonie thought it, a man may gather in that his wil was that Aristotel so famous a philosopher, and perhappes

Grace not to be learned.	the greatest that ever hath bine in the world, should be the man that should instruct Alexander his sonne in the first principles of letters.
Aristotle the first that taught great Alexander.	And of men whom we know nowadayes, mark how wel and with what a good grace Sir Galiazzo Sanseverino M. of the horse to the French king, doth all exercises of the body: and that because, besyde the naturall disposition of person that is in him, he hath applyed all
S. Galeazzo Sanseverino.	his study to learne of cunning men, and to have continually excellent men about hym, and of every one to chuse the best of that they have
A good scoler must seeke to be like his maister.	skill in. For as in wrastling, in vawting, and in learning to handle sundry kinde of weapons he hath taken for his guide oure M. Peter Mount, who (as you know) is the true and only maister of al artificial force and sleight: so in ridyng, in justyng, and in every other feate, he hath alwayes had before his eyes the most perfectest that hath ben

knownen to be in those professions: he therfore that wil be a good scolar, beside the practysing of good thinges, must evermore set al his diligence to bee lyke his mayster, and (if it were possible) chaunge himself into him. And when he hath had some entrey, it profiteth hym much to behould sondrye men of that profession: and governing hymselfe with that good judgement that must alwayes

be hys guyde, go about to pyke out, sometyne of one and sometyne of an other, sundry matters. And even as the bee in the greene medowes fleeth alwayes aboute the grasse chousynge out flowres: so shall our Courtyer steale thys grace from them that to hys seming

Howe grace is to be attained. have it, and from ech one that percell that shal be most worthy praise. And not do, as a frende of ours, whom you al know, that thought he resembled much kyng Ferdinande the yonger of Aragon, and regarded not to resemble hym in anye other poynt but in the often lyftyng up hys head, wryng therewythall a part of hys mouth, the whych custome the king had gotten by infymitye. And manye such there are that thynke they doe much, so they resemble a great man in somewhat, and take many tymes the thyng in hym that woorst becommeth hym. But I, imagynyng with my self oftentimes how this grace commeth, leaving a part such as have it from above, fynd one rule that is most general whych in thys part (me thynk) taketh

A generall rule. place in all thynges belongyng to man in worde or deede above all other. And that is to eschew as much as a man may, and as a sharp
To avoid curiositie. and dangerous rock, Affectation or curiosity and (to speak a new
Reckelesnes. word) to use in every thyng a certain Reckelessness, to cover art
withall, and seeme whatsoever he doth and sayeth to do it wythout
pain, and (as it were) not myndyng it. And of thys do I beleve grace is muche deryved, for in rare matters and wel brought to passe every man knoweth the hardnes of them, so that a redines therin maketh great wonder. And contrarywise to use force, and (as they say) to hale by the hear, geveth a great disgrace, and maketh every thing how great so ever it be, to be litle esteemed. Therefore that may be said to be a very art

To cover art. that appeereth not to be art, neyther ought a man to put more diligence in any thing then in covering it: for in case it be open, it loseth credit cleane, and maketh a man litle set by. And I remember that I have reade in my dayes, that there were some excellent Oratours, which among other their cares, enforced themselves to make every man beleve that they had no sight in letters, and dissemblinge their conning, made semblant their orations to be made very simply, and rather as nature and trueth lead them, then study and arte, the whiche if it had bene openly knowen, would have putte a doubte in the peoples minde for feare least he beguiled them. You may see then howe to shewe arte and suche

To seme not to mynde the thing a man doeth excellently well. bent study taketh away the grace of every thing. Which of you is it that laugheth not whan our M. Peterpaul daunseth after his owne facion with such fine skippes and on tipto without moving his head, as though he were all of wood, so heedfullie, that truely a man would weene he counted his paces? What eye is so blind that perceiveth not in this disgrace of curiosity, and in many men and women here present the grace of that not regarded agylitie and slighte conveyance (for in the mocions of the bodye manye so terme it) with a kinde of speaking or smiling, or

gesture, betokening not to passe upon it, and to minde anye other thinge more then that, to make him beleve that loketh on that he can not do amisse?

Here M. Bernard Bibiena not forbearing any longer, sayde: You may se yet that our M. Robert hath found one to praside his maner of daunsing, though the reste of you set litle by it. For if this excellency doeth consist in Recklesness, and in shewing not to passe upon and rather to minde anye other thing then that a man is in hande withall, M. Robert hath no peere in the worlde. For that men should wel perceive that he litle mindeth it, manye tymes his garmentes fall from hys backe, and his slippers from his feete, and daunseth on still without taking uppe againe anye of both.

Then aunswered the Count: Seyng you will nedes have me speake, I wyll saye somewhat also of oure vices. Do you not marke, this that you call in M. Robert Recklesness, is a verie curiositie? for it is well knowen that he enforceth himself with al diligence possible to make a show not to minde it, and that is to minde it to much. And bicause he passeth certain limites of a meane, that Recklesness of his is curious, and not comly, and is a thing that commeth cleane contrarye to passe from the dryfte, (that is to wit) to cover arte. Therefore I judge it a no lesse vyce of curiosyte to be in Recklesness (which in it selfe is prayse worthy) in lettynge a mans clothes fal of his backe, then in

Preciseness. Preciseness (whiche likewise of it self is praise worthy) to carie a mans head so like a malthorse for feare of ruffling his hear, or to keepe in the bottom of his cappe a looking glasse, and a comb in his sleeve, and to have alwayes at his heeles up and down the streetes a page with a sponge and a brushe: for this maner of Preciseness and Recklesness are to much in the extremitie, which is alwaies a vice and contrarie to that pure and amiable simplicitie, which is so acceptable to mens mindes. Marke what an yll grace a man at armes hath, when he enforceth himselfe to goe so bolt upright settled in saddle (as we use to say after the Venetian phrase) in comparison of an other that appeareth not to mind it, and sitteth on horseback so nimbly and close as though he were on fote. How much more do we take pleaser in a gentelman that is a man at armes, and how much more worthy praise is he if he be modest, of few words, and no bragger, then an other that alwayes craketh of himself, and blaspheming with a bravery seemeth to threaten the worlde. And this is nothing els but a curiositie to seeme to be a roister. The lyke happeneth in all exercises, yea in everye thinge in the worlde that a man can doe or speak.

Then said the L. Julian: This in like maner is verified in musicke:

Musicke. where it is a verie greate vice to make two perfecte cordes, the one after the other, so that the verie sence of our hearing abhorreth it, and often times deliteth in a seconde or in a seven, which in it selfe is an unpleasaunt discord and not tollerable: and this proceadeth because the continuance in the perfit tunes engendreth urksomenesse and betokeneth a to curious harmonye the whyche in mynglyng therwythall the unperfect is avoyded wyth makynge (as it were) a comparason, whereby oure eares stande to listen and gredely attend and tast the

perfecte, and are otherwhyle deliyted wyth the disagement of the seconde or seven, as it were with a thing lytle regarded.

Behould ye then, answered the Count, that curiosnesse hurteth in thys as well as in other thynges. They say also that it hath bene a proverbe emonge some most excellent peincters of old time, that To muche diligence is hurtfull,

To much diligence hurtfull.	and the Apelles found fault with Protogenes because he coulde not keepe his handes from the table.
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Then sayd the L. Cesar: The very same fault (me think) is in our Frier Seraphin that he cannot kepe his handes from the table, especially as long as there is any meat styrring.

The Count laughed and went forward: Apelles meaning was, that Protogenes knew not when it was well, whych was nothyng els but to reprehend hys curyousnesse in hys workes. Thys vertue therfore contrarye to curiosity whych we for thys tyme terme Reckelesness, besyde that it is the true fountain from the whych all grace spryngeth, it bryngeth wyth it also an other ornamente, whych accompanyinge anye deede that a man doeth, how lytle so ever it be, doeth not onely by and by open the knowledge of hym that doth it, but also many times maketh it to be esteemed much more in effect then it is, because it imprinteth the myndes of the lookers on an opinyon, that whoso can so sleightly do well, hath a great deale more knowledge then indeede he hath: and if he wyll

A manne is thought manye times to be more cunning then he is in deede.	applye hys study and dilygence to that he doeth, he myght do it much better. And to repete even the verye same examples, marke a man that taketh weapon in hande: yf goyng about to cast a darte, or houldyng in hys hand a sworde or any other waster, he setleth hym self lightsomely (not thinking upon it) in a ready aptnesse wyth such activity, that a man would seeme hys bodye and all his members were naturally setled in that disposition and without any payne, though he doeth nothing els, yet doeth he declare hymself unto everye man to be most perfect in that exercise. Lykewyse in daunsinge, one measure, one mocion of a bodye that hath a good grace, not being forced, doeth by and by declare the knowledge of him that daunseth. A musitien, yf in singing he roule out but a playne note endinge in a dooble relise wyth a
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A slight trick betokeneth knowledge.	sweete tune, so easily that a man would judge he did it at aventure, in that point alone he doeth men to understand that his knowledge is far greater then it is indeede. Oftentimes also in peinctinge, one lyne not studyed upon, one draught with the pensel sleightly drawen, so it appeareth the hand without the guiding of any study or art, tendeth to his mark, according to the peincters purpose, doth evidently discover the excellency of the workman, about the opinion wherof every man afterwarde contendeth accordyng to his judgement. The like happeneth also, in a maner, about every other thing. Therefore shall our Courtyer be esteemed excellent, and in everye thyng he shall have a good grace, and especially in speaking, if he avoide curiositye:
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Men that wil be deemed to be wel languaged. into which errour many men runne, and some time more then other, certain of our Lumbardes, which after a yeeres travaile abroad, come home and begin by and by to speake the Romaine tunge, sometime the Spanish tunge, or the Frenche, and God wotteth howe. And all this proceedeth of an over great desier to show much knowledge: and in this wise a man applyeth hys studye and diligence to gett a most odyous vice. And truelye it were no small travayle for me, if I should use in this communycatyon of oures, those auncient Tuscan wordes, that are not in use among

Auncient Tuscan wordes. the Tuscanes nowe a dayes, and beesyde that, I beleewe every manne would laughe at me.

Then spake Syr Frederick: In deede reasoning together as wee nowe dooe, peradventure it were not well done to use those auntient Tuscan wordes: for (as you say) they would be a lothsomnesse both to the speaker and to the hearer, and of manye they should not be understoode without muche a doe. But he that shoulde write, I would thinke he committed an errour in not using them: bicause they gave a great grace and auctoritye unto writinges, and of them is compact a tonge more grave and more full of majestie, then of the newe.

I knowe not, answered the Count, what grace and authority those wordes can geve unto writinges that ought to be eschewed, not only in the maner of speach that we now use (which you your self confesse) but also in any other maner that can be imagined.

Old wordes to be eschewed both in speaking and writing. For if anye man, of howe good a judgement so ever he were, had to make an oration of grave matters in the verye Counsell chamber of Florence which is the head of Tuscan: or els to common privately with a person of estimacion in that city about waightye affaires: or also with the familiarst frend he hath about pleasaunt matters: or with women or gentilmen about matters of love, either in jesting or daliyng, banketting, gaming, or where ever els: or in any time or place, or purpose, I am assured he would flee the using of those auntient Tuscan wordes. And in usyng them, beside that he should be a laughing stock, he should bringe no small lothesomenesse to hym that heard them. Therefore me thinke it a straunge matter to use those wordes for good in writing, that are to be eschewed for naughtie in everie maner of speache: and to have that whiche is never proper in speache, to be the propest way a man can use in writing, forsomuch as (in mine opinion)

What wrytyng is. wrytyng is nothinge elles, but a maner of speache, that remaineth stil after a man hath spoken, or (as it were) an Image, or rather the life of the wordes. And therfore in speache, whiche as soone as the soun is pronounced vanisheth a way, peradventure somthinges are more to be borne withall, then in writinge. Because writinge keepeth the wordes in store, and referreth them to the judgemente of the reader, and geveth tyme to examyne them depely. And therfore reason willeth that greater diligence should be had therein to make it more trimme and better corrected: yet not so, that the written wordes should be unlike the spoken, but in writing to chuse oute the fayrest and prorest of

significacion that be used in speaking. And if that should be lawfull in writing, which is not lawfull in speaking, there should arise an inconvenience of it (in my judgement) very great: namely, that a man myght use a greater libertie in the thinge, where he ought to use most diligence, and the labour he bestoweth in writing, in stede of furtherance should hinder him. Therefore it is certain, whatsoever is allowed in writing,

What is allowed in wryting, is allowed in speaking.	is also allowed in speaking: and that speache is moste beautifull that is like unto beautifull writinges. And I judge it much more behouffull to be understoode in writing then in speaking, because they that write are not alwaies presente with them that rede, as they that speake with them that speake. Therefore would I commende him, that beside the eschewing of many auncient Tuskane woordes, would applye himself also to use bothe in writing and speakyng, suche as now a daies are in use in Tuscan and in other partes of Italy, and that have some grace in the pronounciation. And (in my minde) whoso foloweth any other trade is not assured not to runne into that curiositie so muche blamed, whiche we have spoken of before.
Why writing oughte to bee more understoode then speaking.	

Then spake Sir Frederick: I cannot denye you, Count Lewis, that writinge is not a maner of speaking. But this I saie, if the wordes that are spoken have any darkenesse in them, that comunicacion perceth not the minde of him that heareth: and passing with out being understoode, wexeth vaine and to no purpose: the whiche dothe not happen in wrytyng, for if the woordes that the writer useth bring with them a litle (I will not saie diffycultie) but covered subtilty, and not so open, as suche as be ordinarily spoken, they geve a certain greater authoritie to writing, and make the reader more hedefull to pause at it, and to ponder it better, and he taketh a delyte in the wittinesse and learning of him that writeth, and with a good judgement, after some paines takyng, he tasteth the pleaser that consisteth in harde thinges. And if the ygnoraunce of him that readeth bee suche, that he cannot compasse that difficultie, there is no blame in the writer, neither ought a man for all that to thinke that tunge not to bee faire. Therefore in writing, I houlde opinion it is necessarie for a man to use the Tuskane woordes, and only such as have bene used among the auncient Tuskans: for it is a great testimoniall and approved by tyme, that they bee good and of pithie significacion in that thei be applied to. And beside this they have that grace and majesty that antiquitie geveth not only to woordes, but unto buildinges, ymages, peinctinges, and to everye thyng that is of force to preserve it. And many times with this onely brightnes and dignitie they make the fourme of sentences very fair, and through the vertue and elegancie thereof, every matter howe base so ever it be, maie be so decked oute, that it maie deserve verye great commendacion. But this youre custome, that you make so muche a doe of, appeareth unto me very daungerous, and many times it maie be naught. And if any vice of speache be taken up of many ignorant persones, me thinke for all that it oughte not to be receyved for a rule, nor folowed of other. Besides this, customs be manye and divers, and ye have not a notable Citye in Italy that hath not a divers maner of speache from all the rest. Therefore if ye take not the paines to declare

So manye is the best, a manne maye as well geve hym selfe to the Bergamask
 Cities so many tunge, as to the Florentine, and to folowe youre advyse it were no
 diverse maner erreure at all. Me semeth then who so wyll be out of doubte and well
 of speaches in Italy. assured, it is requisite for him to determyne with hym selfe to folowe
 The one, that by al mens accorde is judged good, and to take him for a
 Bergamask guyde alwaies and for a shielde againste suche as wyll goe about to
 tunge the fynde faulte, and that I thinke oughte to bee none other, (I meane in
 moste the vulgar tunge) but Petrarca and Boccaccio: and who so swarveth
 barbarous in from these two, goeth at all aventure, as he that walketh in the darke
 Italy. without lyght, and therefore many times strayeth from the right
 Petrarca. waye. But wee are so hardye nowadayes, that wee disdeigne to do as
 Boccaccio. other good menne of auncient tyme have done: that is to saye, to
 take dilygente heede to folowinge, without the whiche I judge no man canne
 wryte well. And me thinke Virgill declarethe a greate triall of this, whoo for all
 that with his so devine a witte and judgemente he tooke all hope from his
 posteritye for anye to folowe him at anye tyme, yet would he folow Homer.

Imitation. Then the L. Gasper Pallavicin: This disputacion (quoth he) of
 Virgil. wrytinge in verye deede is woorth the hearinge: yet were it more to
 oure purpose, if you woulde teache in what sorte the Courtier ought to speake, for
 me thinke he hath more neede of that, and he serveth his tourne oftner with
 speakyng then with wrytinge.

The L. Julian aunswered: There is no doubt, but so excellent and so perfect a
 Courtier hath nede to understand both the one and the other, and without these
 two qualytyes paraventure all the rest should not be much woorthye prayse:
 therefore if the Count will fulfill hys charge, he shall teache the Courtier not
 onelye to speake but also to write well.

Then said the Count: I will not (my Lorde) undertake this enterprise, for it
 shoulde be a great folye for me to teache an other that I understand not my self.
 And thoughe I were skillful in it, yet can I not see howe I shoulde thinke to do the
 thing in so fewe woordes, which greate Clearkes have scase done wyth such great
 study and diligence, unto whose writings I would remit out Courtyer, if it were so
 that I wer bounde to teache him to write and to speake.

The L. Cesar then said: The L. Julian meaneth the speaking and writing of the
 vulgar tunge, and not Latin, therfore those writinges of great Clearkes are not for
 our purpose. But you muste shewe us in this behalfe as muche as you knowe, as
 for the reste, ye shalbe held excused.

I have already sayde, aunswered the Count. But in reasoning upon the Tuskane
 tunge, perhappes it were rather the L. Julians part, then any mans els to geve
 judgement in it.

The L. Julian saide: I cannot, nor of reason ought to speake against him that saith
 the Tuskane tunge is fairer then al the rest.

Woordes in Trueth it is, there are many wordes in Petrarca and Boccaccio worne
Petrarca, and out of use now a daies: and suche would I never use neither in
in Boccaccio speakyng nor in writyng, and peradventure they themselves if thei
not to be used. were nowe alive would use them no more.

Then spake Sir Frederick: No doubt but they would use them still. And you Lordes of Tuscan ought to renue your tunge, and not to suffer it decaye, as you do, for a man may saie now, that there is lesse knowledge in Florence, then in manye other places of Italy.

Then aunswered M. Bernard: Those woordes that are no more in use in Florence, doe styl continue among the men of the countrey, and are refused of the gentlemen for woordes corrupt and decayed by antiquitie.

Then the Dutchesse: Let us not swarve (quoth she) from our firste purpose, but lette us make Count Lewis teache the Courtyer to speake and to write well, be it Tuscan or what ever els.

The Count aunswered: I have alreadye spoken (madam) what I knowe. And I suppose the verye same rules that teache the one, maye also serve to teache the other. But sins ye commaunde me: I will make aunswere unto Syr Frederick what commeth in my head, for I am of a contrary opinion to him. And paraventure I shal be drieven to answere somewhat more darkely then will be allowed, but it shall be as muche as I am hable to saie. And first I say, that (to my judgement) this our tunge, whiche we name the vulgar tunge, is tender and newe, for al it hath bene now

The vulgar used a long while. For in that Italy hathe bene, not onely vexed and
tunge of Italy spoyled, but also inhabited a long time with barbarous people, by the
is a new great resort of those nations, the Latin tunge was corrupted and
tunge. destroyed, and of that corruption have spronge other tungen. The
How the whiche lyke the ryvers that departe from the toppe of the Appennine
Italian tunge and runne abrode towarde the two seas: so are they also divided, and
was corrupted. some died with the Latin speach have spread abrode sundrye waies,
some into one part, and some into another, and one dyed with barbarousnesse hath
remayned in Italy. This then hath a long time bene among us out of order and
dyverse, because there was none that would bestow diligence about it, nor write in
it, ne yet seke to geve it brightnesse or anye grace. Yet hath it bene afterwarde
broughte into better frame in Tuscan, then in the other partes of Italye. And by
this it appeareth that the flowre of it hath remained there ever since those first
times, because that nation hath kept proper and sweete accentres in the
pronunciation and an order of grammer, where it was meete, more then the other.
And hath had three noble writers, whiche wittily bothe in the woordes and termes

Petrarca. that custome did allowe in their time, have expressed their conceites
Dante. and that hath happened (in my mind) with a better grace to Petrarca
Boccaccio. in maters of love, then to any of the other. Where there arose
afterwarde from time to time, not onely in Tuscan, but in al Italy, among

gentlemen brought up in court, in armes and in letters, some studye to speake and to write more finely then they did in that first rude age, whan the turmoyle of the miseries that arose through barbarous nations was not as yet quieted, many woordes have bene left out as well in Florence it selfe, and in all Tuscanes, as in the residue of Italy, and other brought in, in their stead, and made in this behalfe the alteration that happeneth in all worldly thinges: the whiche also hath evermore chaunced in other tungen. For in case those auncient Latin writings had lasted hitherto, we shoulde see that Evander and Turnus and the other Latins in those dayes spake otherwise then dyd afterwarde the laste kinges of the Romanies

Speaches
chaunge from
time to time.
The priestes of
Mars.

and the fyrste Consules. You may see the verses song by the Salii wer scantly understoode of their posteritie: but because it was so ordeyned by the first inventours of it, they were not altered for reverence of religion. So from time to time Oratours and Poets forsoke manye woordes that had bene used amonge their predecessours: for Antonius, Crassus, Hortensius, and Cicero eschewed manye that Cato had used, and Virgill many of Ennius, and so did the reste. For albeit they had antiquitie in great reverence, yet did they not esteme them so much, that they woulde bee so bounde to them, as you wil have us now. Yea, where they thoughte good,

Men never
delited in
wordes worne
out with time.
Horace.
Cicero.

they spake agaynst them, as Horace, that sayeth, his predecessours dyd foolyshlye praise Plautus, which would that we should have the auctoritye to bring up newe woordes. And Cicero in manye places reprehendeth manye of his predecessours, and to blame S. Galba, he sayeth that his Oracions smelled of antiquitie. And affirmeth that Ennius also in some pointes set lytle by his predecessours, so that yf we wyll folow them of olde tyme, we shall not folowe them. And Virgil that you saye folowed Homer, folowed hym not in the tunge. Therefore woulde I (for my parte) alwayes shonne the use of those auncient woordes, except it wer in certayne clauses, and in them very seldome. And (in my judgement) he that useth them otherwise, committeth a no lesse errour, then whoso would to folowe them of olde time, fede upon maste, where he hath nowe abundance of corne founde oute. And because you saie the auncient woodes onely, with the brightnesse of antiquitie descke oue so highlye every matter, how base so ever it be, that it maye make it woorthy great commendacion: I saie unto you that not of these auncient woordes onely, but of those that be good in dede, I make so smal accompt, that I suppose without the juyce of fair sentences thei ought of reason to be litle set by. For to divide the sentences from the woordes,

Woordes without faire sentences litle worthe.
 Knowledge necessarie to speake and write well.
 What words oughte to be.

is the deviding of the soule from the body, the which cannot be done, neither in the one nor in the other, without destruccion ensue upon it. That therfore which is the principal mater and necessary for a Coutyer to speak and write wel, I beleve is knowledge. For he that hath not knowledge and the thing in his minde that deserveth to be understood, can neither speak nor write it. Then must he couch in a good order that he hath to speake or to write, and afterward expresse it wel with wordes: the which (if I be not deceived) ought to be apt, chosen, clere, and wel applyed, and (above al) in use also among the people: for very suche make the greatnes and gorgeousnes of an Oracion, so he that speaketh have a good judgement and heedfulnes withal, and the understanding to pike such as be of most proper significacion, for that he entendeth to speake and commend, and tempring them like wexe after his owne mynde, applyeth them in such parte and in suche order, that at the firste showe they maie set furth and doe men to understand the dignitie and brightnes of them, as tables of peincting placed in their good and naturall light. And

Thynges necessary in speakinge.
 The voyce.

this do I saie as well of writing as of speaking, wherein certayne thinges are requisite that are not necessary in wryting, as a good voyce, not to subtyll or soft, as in a woman: nor yet so boysterous and roughe, as in one of the Countrey, but shrill, clere, sweete and wel framed with a prompt pronunciacion and with fitte maners and gestures, which (in my minde) consiste in certain mocions of al the body not affected nor forced, but tempred with a manerly countenance and with amoving of the eyes, that may geve a grace and accord with the words, and (asmuch as he can) signify also with gestures the entent and affeccion of the speaker. But al these thinges wer in vain and of smal accompte yf the sentences expressed by the wordes should not be fair, witty, subtil, fine and grave according to the mater.

The sentences. I doubt, said the M. Morello, if this Courtyer speake with suche finenesse and gravity among us, there wil be some that wil not understand him.

Nay every one shall understand him, answered the Count, for finenes hindreth not the easines of understanding. Neither wil I have him to speak alwaies in gravity, but of pleasant matters, and of mery conceits, of honest divises, and of jestes according to the time, and in al notwithstanding after a pithy maner, and with redines and varietie without confusion, neither shal he in anye part show vanity or childish foly.

What he muste speake of.
 To speake to raise affectyons.

And whan he shal then commune of a matter that is dark and hard, I wil have him both in woordes and sentences wel pointed, to expresse his judgement, and to make every doubt clere and plain after a certaine diligent sort without tediousnesse. Likewise (whan he shal see time) to have the understanding to speake with dignitie and vehemency, and to raise those affections which oure mindes have in them, and to enflame or stirre them accordinge to the matter: sometime with a simplicitie of suche meekenesse of mynde, that a man woulde weene nature her self spake, to make them tender and (as it wer) dronken with sweetnesse: and with

suche conveiaunce of easinesse, that whoso heareth him, maye conceyve a good oppinion of himselfe, and thinke that he also with very litle a doe, mighte attaine to that perfection, but whan he commeth to the prooffe shall finde himselfe farre wide. I would have oure Courtyer to speake and write in that sort, and not onely choose gorgeous and fine woordes out of every parte of Italye, but also I would judge him woorthy praise to use some of those termes bothe Frenche and Spanishe, which by oure custome have bene admitted. Therefore it should not mislike me, fallyng so to purpose,

<p>Certaine termes out of the French and Spanishe, which sound not so wel in Englishe nor can be applied to oure phrase.</p> <p>Woordes in an other sygnificacion.</p> <p>To forge new wordes.</p>	<p>to say, <i>Vauntcourroure</i>: to saye, to ascertain, to aventure: to say, to perce through a body with talke, meaning thereby to use a familiaritie wyth him, and to grope him to geat of him some perfect knoweledge: to saie, a royall gentleman, a nete man to be about a Prince, and suche other termes, so he maie thinke to be understoode. Sometime I would have him take certain woordes in an other significacion then that is proper to them, and wrasting them to his purpose (as it were) graffe them lyke a graffe of a tree in a more luckye stocke, to make them more sightly and faire, and (as it were) draw the matters to the sense of the verye eyes, and (as they saie) make them felte wyth hande, for the delyte of him that heareth, or readeth. Neyther woulde I have him to sticke to forge newe also, and with newe figures of speache, deriving them featly from the Latins, as the Latins in olde tyme, derived from the Grecians. In case then of suche learned men bothe of good witte and judgement, as now a dayes may be piked out among us, there were some that would bestow their travail to write after the maner that we have spoken of, in this tongue thinges worth the readinge, wee should soone see it in good frame and flowinge with termes and good phrases, and so copious that a man might as well write in it as in anye other tongue: and thoughe it were not the meere auntient Tuscan tongue, yet shoulde it be the Italian tongue, commune, plentifull, and variable, and (as it were) like a delicious gardein ful of sundrie flowres and frutes. Neyther shoulde this be a newe matter: for of the foure tongues that were in use among the Greeke writers, piking out of every worde, moodes and rules as they thought meete, they raysed therby an other, whiche was named the Commune tongue, and afterward all</p>
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<p>v. tungen of Greece.</p>	<p>fyve they called with one name the Greeke tongue. And albeit the Athenian tongue was more fine, purer, and eloquenter then the rest, yet did not the good writers that were not of Athens borne, so affect it, but in the stile of writing, and (as it were) in the smack and propertie of their naturall speache they were welinough knowne: neither were they anye whit the lesse regarded for all that, but rather such as would appeere over mere Athenians wer blamed for it. Amonge the Latin writers in like case manye there were in their dayes much setbye that were no Romanes althoughe there appeared not in them the propre and peculiar purenesse of the Romane tongue, whiche menne of an other nation can verie seldome attaine. In times past T. Livius was not neglected,</p>
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T. Livius. although some one sayde he founde in him mere Padowan: nor
Virgill. Virgil, for that he was reprehended that he spake not Romane. And
 (as you know) there were also read and much setbye in Roome
manie writers of Barbarous nations. But we more precise a great deale then they
of olde time, do binde our selves with certaine new lawes out of purpose: and
having the brode beaten waye beefore oure eyes, seeke through gappes to walke
in unknowen pathes. For in oure owne tounge, whose office is (as all others) to
expresse well and clearlye the conceites of the minde, we delite in darkenesse,
and callinge it the vulgar tounge,

The vulgar will use in it woordes, that are not onely not understoode of the
tunge ought vulgar people, but also of the best sort of menne and that men of
not to be dark. learninge, and are not used in any part, not regarding that all good
wryters of olde time blamed such woordes as were refused of custome, the which
you (in my mind) do not well knowe, for somuche as you say, if any vice of
speache be taken up of many ignorant parsons, it ought not to be called a custome
nor received for a rule of speache. And (as at other tymes I have hard you say) ye
wil have again in stead of Capitolio, we should say

Mere Tuscan Campidoglio: for Hieronymo, Girolamo: Aldace, for Audace: and
writing of for Patrone padrone: and such corrupt and mangled woordes, because
certaine they have bene founde so written by some ignorant Tuscan of olde
wordes. time, and because the men of the countrey speak so in Tuscan now
a dayes. The good use of speach therefore I beleve ariseth of men that have wytte,
and with learninge and practise have gotten a good judgement, and with it consent
and agree to receave the woordes that they think good, which are knowen by a
certaine naturall judgement, and not by art or anye maner rule. Do you not

Figures of knowe that figures of speach which give suche grace and brightnesse
speech, abuse to an Oration, are all the abuse of Grammer rules, but yet are
of grammer receaved and confirmed by use, because men are able to make no
rules. other reason but that they delite, and to the very sence of our eares it
Good appeareth they bringe a lief and a sweetenesse? And this beleave I is
customs. good custome, which the Romanes, the Napolitans, the Lombardes,
Things good and the rest are as apt to receave, as the Tuscans. Truth it is, in
in every everye tounge some thinges are alwayes good, as easinesse to be
tunge. understoode, a good ordre, varietie, piked sentences, clawses wel
 framed: and on the other side Affectation, and the other contrary to
these are to be shunned. But of woordes some there are that last a good tyme and
afterwarde wexe stale and cleane lose their grace: other some take force and
creepe into estimation, for as the seasonnes of the yere make leaves and frutes to
fal, and afterward garnish the trees a freshe with other: evenso, doth time make
those first woordes to fall, and use maketh other to springe afreshe and giveth
them grace and estimation, untill they in like sorte consumed by lytle and lytle
with the envyous biting of tyme come to their end, because at the last both we and
whatsoever is oures, are mortall. Consider with your selves that we have no more
any knoweledge of the Osca tunge.

Tunges The Provinciall tung, that (a man may say) the last day was
decayed with renowmed of noble writers, now is it not understoode of the
time. inhabitantes of the countrey. I beleave therefore (as the L. Julian
hath said), that wer Petrarca, and Boccaccio, at this present in lief, they would not
use many woordes that we see in their writings. Therfore (in mine opinion) it is
not wel done to folow them therin. Yet do I mucche commende them that can
folowe that ought to be folowed: but notwithstanding I beleve it be possible
ynough to write well without folowyng, and especiallye in this our tunge, wherin
we may be helped by custome, the which I wyll not take upon me in the Latin.

The Sir Friderick: Why, wil you (quoth he) custom should be more apprised in
the vulgar tunge, then in the Latin?

Nay, bothe in the one and the other (answered the Count) I judge custome ought
to be the Maistresse. But forsomuche as those menne, unto whom the Latin tunge
was as proper, as is the the vulgar tunge now to us, are no more in the world, we
must learne of their writings that they learned by use and custome:

Auntient neyther doeth auncyent speach signifye anything els but an auncyent
speech custome of speach: and it wer a fond matter to love the auncient
auntient speach for nothing elles but to speake rather as men did speake, then
custome of as menne doe speake.
speache.

Did not they then of olde time folowe? aunswered Sir Fridericke.

I beleave, quoth the Counte, many did folowe, but not

Olde writers in every point. An if Virgill had altogether folowed Hesiodus, he
did not imitate should not have passed him nor Cicero, Crassus, nor Ennius, his
in all pointes. predecessors. Behould Homer, who is so auntient that he is thought
of many to be the first heroical Poet aswell of time, as also of excellencie of
phrase: and whom wyll you have him to have folowed?

Some other, aunswered Sir Friderick, more auntient then he was, whiche we heare
not of, by reason of tomuch antiquitie.

Whom will you say Petrarca and Boccaccio folowed, said the Count, whiche (a
man may say) were but thre dayes agoo in the world?

I knowe not, aunswered Sir Fridericke, but it is to be thoughte they in lyke wise
bent their minde to folowinge, thoughe wee knowe not of whom.

The Count aunswered: A man maye beleave that they that were folowed, were
better then they that did folowe: and it were to great a wonder that their name and
renowme (if they were good) should so soone be cleane lost. But I beleave their
verye maister

A man may write well without imitation. Musick. Sundry sortes of musike and all delite.

was witt, and their owne naturall inclination and judgement. And therat no man ought to wonder, for (in a maner) alwayes a manne by sundrye wayes may clime to the toppe of all perfection. And their is no matter, that hath not in it many thinges of like sort unlike the one to the other, which for al that among them selves deserve a like praise. Mark me Musick, wherin are harmonies sometime of base soune and slowe, and otherwhile very quicke and of new divises, yet do they all recreate a man: but for sundrye causes, as a manne may perceive in the maner of singinge that Bidon useth, which is so artificiall, counninge, vehement, stirred, and suche sundrye melodies, that the spirites of the hearers move al and are enflamed, and so listening a man would wene they were lifte up in to heaven. And no lesse doeth our Marchetto Cara move in his singinge, but with a more softe harmonye, that by a delectable waye and full of mourninge swetnesse maketh tender and perceth the mind, and sweetly imprinteth in it a passion full of great delite. Sundrye thinges in lyke maner do equally please oure eyes somuche, that a man shall have mucche a do to judge in whiche they most delite. Behould in peincting Leonard Vincio, Mantegna, Raphael, Michelangelo, George of Castelfranco: they

Sundry peincters perfit in sundrie kinde of trades.

are all most excellent dooers, yet are they in working unlike, but in any of them a man would not judge that there wanted ought in his kind of trade: for every one is knowen to be of most perfection after his maner. The like is of many Poets both Greeke and Latin, which being divers in writing are alike in praise. Oratours also have alwaies had such a diversitey emong them, as (in a maner) everye age hath brought forth and set by one sort of Oratours peculiar for that time, which have bene unlike and disagreeing not only to their predecessours and folowers but also emong themselves. As it is

Greeke oratours. Latin oratours. So many oratours so many kindes of speach. *De Oratore* lib. i. Lib. ii.

written emonge the Grecians, of Isocrates, Lysias, Eschines and many other, al excellent, but yet like unto none saving themselves. And emong the Latins, Carbo, Laeligilius, Scipio Affricanus, Galba, Sulpitius, Cotta, Graccus, Marcus Antonius, Crassus, and so many, that it should be long to repete them, all good and moste diverse one from an other. So that whoso could consider all the Oratours that have bene in the worlde, he should finde so many Oratours, so many kindes of speach. Me thynke I remember also that Cicero in a place bringeth in Marcus Antonius to say unto Supitius that ther are many that folow no man, and yet clime they to a high degree of excellency. And speaketh of certein that had brought up a new stile and phrase of speaking faire, but not used of the Oratours of that time wherin they folowed none but themselves. Therefore he affirmeth also that maisters shoulde consider the nature of their scolers, and taking it for thier guide, direct and prompt them in the way that their witt and naturall inclination moveth them unto. For this cause therefore, Sir Fridericke, do I beleve if a man have not an inclination unto some author whatsoever he be, it were not wel done to force him to folowing. Bicause the vertue of that disposicion of his, soon feinteth and is

hindered, by reason that it is a stray out of the way in which he would have profited, had he not bene stopped in it. I knowe not then how it will stande wel, in steade of enriching this tunge, and of gevyng it majesty and light, to make it poore, sclender, bare and dark, and to seeke to shut it up into so narrowe a rowne, that everye man should be compelled to folow onely Petrarca and Boccaccio, and that we should not also in that tung,

An errour to imitate none but Boccaccio and Petrarca. credit Laurence de Medicis, Francis Diaceto, and certein other that notwithstanding are Tuscanes, and perhappes of no lesse learning and judgement then Petrarca and Boccaccio. And truly it should be a great miserye to stoppe without wading any farther then almost the first that ever wrote: and to dispaire, that so many and so noble wittes shall never find out any mo then one good maner of speach in the tung that unto them is proper and naturall. But now a dayes there be some so scrupulous, that (as it were) with a religion and high misteries of this their Tuscan tung, put as manye as heareth them in such dread, that they bring in like case many gentilmen and learned men into such an awe, that they dare not open their mouth: and confesse plainly, that they can not speak the tung which thei have learned of their nurses, even from their cradel. But in this point (me think) we have spoken tomuch. Therefore let us now procead in our communication of the Courtier.

Then aunswered Sir Friderick: But first I will saye this lytle, whiche is that I denye not but the opinions and wittes of men are divers emong themselves: neither doe I judge it comlye for one that is vehement and quicke of nature to take in hand to write of soft and quiet matters. Nor yet for an other that is severe and grave to write of mery conceits. For in this point (me think) it is reason every man should aply him self to his own proper inclination, and of this I beleve spake Cicero, when he said that maisters should have a consideration to the nature of their scolers, least they should doe like the yll husbandemanne, that sometime in a soyle that is good onely for vynes will sowe graine. But it wyll not sinke into my head why in a perticuler tunge, that is not so proper unto all menne, as are discourses and conceites, and many other operations, but an invencion contained under certaine termes, a man may not with more reason folowe them that speake best, then speake at al aventure. And that, as in the Latin tunge a manne ought to appy himselfe to bee in the tunge lyke unto Virgil and Cicero, rather then Silius and Cornelius Tacitus, so in the vulgar tunge why it were not better to folowe the tunge of Petrarca and Boccaccio then any mannes els: and therin expresse well his owne conceites, and so applye himselfe as (Cicero saith) to his owne naturall inclination. And thus shall the difference whiche you saye is betwene the good Oratours, be found to consist in the senses and not in the tunge.

Then the Count: I feare me (quoth he) we shall enter into a large sea, and leave our first purpose of the Courtyer. But I would knowe of you, wherin consisteth the goodnes of this tunge?

Sir

Wherin consisteth the goodnesse of the tung. Fridericke aunswered: In keping well the propertie of it: and in taking it in the significacion (using the same stile and measur) that al such have done as have written wel.

I would know then, quoth the Count, whether this stile and measure which you speake of, arise of the sentences or of the wordes?

Of the wordes, answered Sir Frederick.

Do you not think then, quoth the Count, that the wordes of Silius and Cornelius Tacitus are the very same that Virgil and Cicero use? and taken in the same signification?

Sir Fridericke aunswered: They are the very same in dede, but some yil appyed and dyverslye taken.

The Count aunswered: In case a manne should pyke out of a booke of Cornelius and of Silius, al the woordes placed in other signification then is in Virgil and Cicero, (whiche should bee verye fewe) woulde you not then saye that Cornelius in the tounge were equall with Cicero, and Silius with Virgil?

Then the L. Emilia: Me thinke (quoth shee) thys youre dysputation hathe lasted to longe, and hathe been verye tedyouse, therefore it shall bee best to deferre it untill an other tyme.

Sir Fridericke began still to make aunswere, but the L. Emilia alwayes interrupted hym.

Many talkers of imitation. At laste the Count saide: manye wil judge of styles and talke of numbers and measures, and of folowing, but they cannot doe me to understande what maner a thing stile and measure is, and wherin folowing consisteth. Nor why, thinges taken out of Homer or any other, are so well couched in Virgil, that they appeare rather amplyfied then folowed, and peradventure the occation thereof is that I am not able to conceive it. But because a great argument that a man understandeth a thinge, is the understanding that he hath to teach it, I feare me they themselves have small understanding in it, and praise Virgil and Cicero, because they heare them praised of many, not for that they knowe the difference betwene them and others, whiche out of peradventure consisteth not in the observation of two, or three, or of tenne woordes used after a divers maner from other. In Salust, in Cesar, in Varro, and in other good writers, there are founde some termes applyed otherwise then Cicero applyeth them, and both the one and the other doeth welinough. Bicause in so triflynge a matter the goodnesse and perfection of a tunge doeth not consiste as Demosthenes

Demosthenes aunswer to Eschines. answered Eschines well that had taken him up, demaundinge him of certaine woordes which he hadde used and yet were not auntient, what monster or wonderous matters they were? Wherat Demothenes laughed, and answered him, that the fortunes of Grece depended not upon them. Even so would I passe full litle if a Tuscan should reprehende me for speaking

rather *Satisfatto*, then *Sodisfatto*: and *Honorevale*, then *Horrevole*: and *Causa*, then *Cagione*: and *Populo*, then *Popolo*, and such other matters.

Diversitie of
certain
Tuscane
wordes with
the rest of
Italy.

Then arose Sir Friderick upon his feete and saide: I beseech ye give the hearing of these few woordes.

The L. Emilia answered laughing: Uppon my displeasure I forbid anye of you to talke any more in this matter, for I wil have you to breake it of untill an other night. But you Count, proceade you in your communication of the Courtyer, and let us see how good a memory you have: for I beleve, if ye can knitt it agayne where you brake of, ye shall not do a litle.

Madam, answered the Count, me think the thrid is broken in sunder, but if I be not deceyved, I trowe we saide that pestilent curiositie doth alwayes geve an il grace unto al thinges: and contrarywise simplicity and Reckelesness a marvailous good grace. In commendation whereof and in dispraise of curiosity, many other thinges might be said, yet wil I alleage but one mo, and then have done. All women generally have a great desire to be, and when they canne not be, at the least to appear beawtyfull. Therfore where nature in some part hath not done her devoyr therin, they endeavour them selves to supply it with art.

Women that
peincte them
selves to seme
faire to men.

Of this ariseth the trymming of the face, with such studye and many times peines, the pilling of the browes and forehead, and the usynge of all those maner wayes, and the abydyng of such lothsomenesse, as you women beleave are kepte very secret from men, and yet do all men know them.

The La. Constance Fregosa laughed at this, and said: You shoulde do much better to go forward in your communication, and declare how a man may attaine a good grace, and speak of courtynge, then to discover the faultes of women wythout purpose.

Nay, it is much to purpose, answered the Count, bicause these defaultes that I talke of take this grace from you: for they proceade of nothing els but of curiousnesse, whereby ye discover openlye unto everye man the over great desire that ye have to be beawtyfull. Do not you marke howe much more grace is in a woman, that if she doth trim her self, doeth it so scarcely and so litle, that whoso behouldeth her, standeth in doubt whether she be trimmed or no: then in an other so bedawbed, that a man woulde we ne she had a viser on her face and dareth not laugh for making it chappe: nor at any tyme chaungeth her colour, but whan she apparayeath her self in the morninge and all the rest of the daye standeth lyke an image of woodde without movinge, shewinge her self onely in torche light, as craftye

Women that bestowe no payne in settinge out themselves. marchaundmen do their clothes in their darke lightes? How much more then doeth a man delite in one, I meane not foule, that is manyfestlye seene she hath nothinge uppon her face, though she be not so white nor so red, but with her naturall colour somewhat wan, sometime with blussinge or through other chaunce dyed with a pure rednes, with her hear by happe out of order and ruffled, and with her simple and naturall gestures, without shewing her self to bestow diligence or study, to make her faire? This is that not regarded pureness which best pleaseth the eyes and mindes of men, that stande alwayes in awe to be deceived by art. Whyte teeth is a good sight in a woman, for sence they are not in so open sight as is the face, but most

White teath. communly are hid, a man may think she bestoweth not so much
Faire handes. laboure about them, to make them white, as she doeth in the face: yet who so shoulde laughe without cause purposly to show them, should discover the art, and for all their faire whitenesse should appeare unto all men to have a very yll grace, as Egnatius in Catullus. The like is in the handes, which being delicate, smooth and faire, yf they be shewed bare at a tyme whan occasyon is to occupye them, and not of purpose to shewe the beawtye of them, they leave a very great desire of themselves, and especiallye after they are covered with gloves agayne, for a manne would judge that in puttyng them on againe she passeth not and lytle regardeth whether they be in sighte or no, and that they are so fayre rather by nature, then by anye studye or dilygence. Have ye not hadde an eye otherwhyle, whan eyther in the stretes goynge to Church, or in anye other place, or in sportyng, or by any other chaunce it happeneth that a woman lyfteth up her clothes so high, that she sheweth her foote, and sometime a litle of her pretye legge unwittinglye? And seemeth shee not to you to have a verye good grace, yf ye beholde her then with a certayne womanlye disposition, cleanlye and precise, with her shooes of vellute, and her hose sittynge cleane to her legge? Truelye it deliteth me much, and I beleve all of you, for everye manne supposeth

Clenlye and precise in places sildome seene. that Preciseness in so secret place and so sildom seen, to be unto that woman rather natural and propre then forced, and that thereby she thinketh to gett her no commendation at all. In such sort is curiousenesse avoyded and covered, the which you maye nowe conceyve howe contrarye it is, and taketh awaye the grace of everye operation and deede, aswell of the bodye as of the minde, whereof hitherto we have spoken but litle, and yet

The minde. ought it not to be omitted, for as the minde is muche more worthye then the bodye, so deserveth it also to bee better decked and polished. And howe that ought to be in oure Courtyer (leavyng a parte the preceptes of so manye wyse Phylosophers that wryte in this matter and define the vertues of the minde, and so subtillye dyspute of the dignytye of them) wee will expresse in fewe wordes, applyinge to our pourpose, that it is sufficient he be (as they terme it commonlye) an honest manne and welmeaning: for in this is comprehended the goodnesse, the wisdom, the manlynesse and the temperaunce of the mynde, and all other

qualities that belonge to so worthy a name. And I reckon hym onely a true morall Phylosopher that wyll be good, and to that, he needeth fewe other preceptes then that will of his.

To applye a mans good will is profeting. And therefore saide Socrates well, that he thought his instructions hadde brought forth good fruite whan by them he hadde provoked anye one to applye his wyll to the knoweledge and learnynge of vertue. For they that are come to the pointe that they covet te nothyng more then to be good, do easily attayne the understandynge of all that beelongeth thereto: therefore herein we wyll make no more a do. But besyde goodnesse, the true and principall ornament of the mynde in everye manne (I beleeve)

The French menne make none accompte of learning. are letters, although the Frenchmen know onelye the noblenesse of armes, and passe for nothing beside: so that they do not onelye not sett by letters, but they rather abhorre them, and all learned men they count verie rascalles, and they think it a great vilany when any one of them is called a clarke.

Then aunswered the L. Julian: You say very true, this errour in deede hath longe reigned among the Frenchemen. But if Monseigneur Angoulism have so good luck that he may (as men hope) succeede in the Croun, the glory of armes in Fraunce doeth not so florishe nor is had in suche estimation, as letters wilbe, I beleave.

Francis I. French king. For it is not long sins I was in Fraunce, and saw this Prince in the Court there, who semed unto me beside the handsomenesse of personne and beawty of visage, to have in his countenance so great a majestie, accompanied neverthelesse with a certayne lovely e courteisy, that the realme of Fraunce should ever seeme unto him a small matter. I understoode afterwarde by many gentilmen both French and Italian, very much of the most noble condicions, of the greatnesse of courage, prowesse and liberalitie that was in him: and emonge other thinges, it was tolde me that he highly loved and esteemed letters, and had in verie great reputation all learned men, and blamed the Frenchemen themselves that their mindes were so farr wide from this profession, especially having

Universitye of Paris. at their doores so noble an universitye as Paris is, where all the world resorteth.

Then spake the Count: It is great wonder that in these tender yeres only by the provocation of nature, contrary to the maner of the countrey, he hath geven himself to so good a way. And because subjectes folow alwaies the condicions of the higher powers, it is possible that it may come to passe (as you say) that the Frenchmen will yet esteeme letters to be of that dignity that they are in deed. The which (if they give ear therto) they may soone be perswaded, forsomuch as men ought to covet of nature nothing so much and that is more proper for them, then knoweledge: which thing it wer a great folly to say or to holde opinion

Knowledge. that it is not alwaies good. And in case I might commune with them, or with other that were of a contrarie opinion to me, I would do my diligence to show them, how much letters (which undoubtedlye have bene graunted of God unto men for a soveraigne gift) are profytable and necessarye for our lief and estimation. Neyther should I want the examples of so many excellent capitaines of old time, which all joyned the Ornament of letters, with the powesse of armes. For (as you know) Alexander had Homer in such reverence, that he laide his *Ilias* alwayes under his beddes head: and he applied diligentlye not these studies onely, but also the speculations of Philosophy under the discipline of Aristotle.

Howe the great Alexander esteamed Homer, Plutarck, in the life of Alexander. Alcibiades Socrates scholar. J. Cesar. Scipio Africanus. <i>Paidia</i> Xenophontis. Hannibal learned.	Alcibiades encreased his good condicions and made them greater with letters, and with the instructions of Socrates. Also what dyligence Cesar used in studye, those thinges which he hath so divinely written him self, make triall. It is said that Scipio Africanus caried alwayes in his hande the bookes of Xenophon, wherein under the name of Cyrus he instructeth a perfect king. I could recite unto you Lucullus, Sylla, Pompeius, Brutus, and many other Romanes and Gretians, but I will do no more but make mencion of Hanibal, which being so excellent a captaine (yet for all that of a fierce nature, and voide of all humanitye, an untrue dealer, and a despiser of men and of the Gods) had also understanding in letters, and the knowlege of the Greeke tunge. And if I be not deceived (I trowe) I have read in my time that he left a booke behind him of his owne makynge in the Greeke tunge. But this kynd of talke is more then nedeth, for I knowe all you understand howe much the Frenchemen be deceived in houlding opinion letters to do anye hurt to armes.
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You knowe in great matters and aventurous in wars the true provocation is glory: and whoso for lucre sake or for any other consideration taketh it in hand (beside that he never doeth anye thyng woorthy prayse) deserveth not the name of a gentleman, but is a most vile marchaunt. And every man maye conceive it to be the true glorye, that is stored up in the holy treasure of letters, excepte such unlucky creatures as have had no tast therof. What minde is so fainte, so bashefull and of so base a courage, that in reading the actes and greatnesse of Cesar, Alexander, Scipio, Hannibal, and so many other, is not incensed with a most fervent longing to be like them: and doth not preferre the getting of that perpetuall fame, before this rotten life that lasteth twoo dayes?

Glorye. Which in despite of death maketh him lyve a greate deale more
 In letters the famous then before. But he that savoureth not the sweetnesse of
 true glorye. letters, cannot know how much is the greatnesse of glorye, which is
 a longe whyle preserved by them and onely measureth it with the
 Noble age of one or two men, for farther he beareth not in minde. Therefore
 courages can he not esteme this shorte glorye so much as he would do that,
 enflamed in which (in a maner) is everlastinge, yf by his ill happe he wer not
 readyng the barred from the knowleage of it. And not passing upon it so much,
 actes of famous reason perswadeth and a man may well beleave he wyll never hasard
 capitaines. hym self to come by it, as he that knoweth it. I would not nowe some
 The unlearned one of the contrarye parte should alleage unto me the contrarye
 knowe not effectes to confute min e opinion with all: and tell me how the
 glorye. Italians with their knowleage of letters have shewed small prowesse
 Why the in armes from a certaine time hitherto, the which neverthelesse is to
 unlearned true. But in very dede a man may well saye that the offence of a few,
 seeke not to hath brought (beside the great damage) an everlasting reproche unto
 be famous. all other. And the very cause of our confusion, and of the neglecting
 Italians faint of vertue in our mindes (if it be not clean dead) proceeded of them.
 in armes. But it were a more shamefull matter unto us to publishe it, then unto
 the Frenchman the ignoraunce in letters. Therefore it is better to passe
 that over with silence that cannot be rehersed without sorow, and leaving this
 purpose into the which I am entred against my will, retourne againe unto oure
 Courtier, whom in letters I will have to bee more then indyfferentlye well seene,
 at the leaste in those studyes,

The Courtier which they call Humanitie, and to have not only the
 ought to be understandinge of the Latin tunge, but also of the Greeke, because
 learned. of the many and sundrye thinges that with greate excellencye are
 In humanity. written in it. Let him much exercise hym selfe in poets, and no
 In the Latin and lesse in Oratours and Historiographers, and also in writinge bothe
 Greeke tung. rime and prose, and especiallye in this our vulgar tunge. For beside
 In poetes. the contentation that he shall receive thereby himselfe, he shall by
 In oratours. this meanes never want pleasaunt interteinments with women
 In Historiographers. which ordinarylye love such matters. And if by reason either of his
 In writinge ryme other busines beside, or of his slender studie, he shall not attaine
 and prose. unto that perfection that hys writinges may be worthy much
 What is to be commendation, let him be circumspect in keeping them close, least
 done of a mans he make other men to laugh at him. Onely he may show them to a
 writings. frend whom he may trust, for at the leastwise he shall receive so much profite,
 that by that exercise he shall be able to geve his judgement upon other mennes
 doinges. For it happeneth verye sildome, that a man not exercised in writinge,
 how learned so ever he be, can at any tyme know perfectly the labour and toile of
 writers, or tast of the sweetenes that often times are found in them of olde tyme.
 And besyde that, those studyes shall make him copyous, and (as Aristippus
 aunswered that Tiran) bould to speake uppon a good grounde wyth everye manne.
 Notwithstanding I wyll have oure Courtier to keepe faste in his minde one lesson,
 and that is this, to be alwaies wary both in this and in every other point, and rather

fearfull then bould, and beware that he perswade not him self falsely to knowe the thing he knoweth not indede.

The not practised can not judge. Dionysius. To be rather warie then bould in all thinges. The wordes of flatterers sweete.	Because we are of nature al the sort of us much more gredy of praise then is requisite, and better to our eares love the melody of wordes sounding to our praise, then any other song or sounne that is most sweete. And therefore manye tymes, lyke the voices of Meremaydens, they are the cause of drownynge him that doeth not well stoppe his eares at such deceitfull harmonie. This daunger being perceived, there hath bene among the auncient wise men that hath written bookes, howe a manne should know a true friend from a flatterer. But what availeth it? If there be many of them (or rather infinit) that manifestly perceive there are flatterers, and yet love hym that flattereth them, and hate him that telleth them the trothe, and often times (standinge in opinion that he that praiseth them is to scape in his woordes) they themselves helpe him forward, and utter such matters of themselves, that the most impudent flatterer of all is ashamed of.
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Men take no hede to flatterers. Men flatter themselves.	Let us leave these blinde busardes in their owne erreure, and make oure Courtyer of so good a judgement, that he will not be geven to understand blacke for white, nor presume more of him selfe then what he knoweth very manifestlye to be true, and especially in those thinges, which (yf he beare well in minde) the L. Cesar rehearsed in his devise of pastimes, that we have manye tymes used for an instrument to make many become foolysh. But rather, that he may be assured not to fall into anye error, where he knoweth those prayses that are geven him to be true: let hym not so openly consent to them, nor confirme them so without resistance, but rather with modesty (in a maner) denye them cleane, shewyng alwayes and countynge in effect, armes to be his principall profession, and al the other good qualities for an ornament thereof,
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How he should avoid flatterers. Letters an ornamente of armes.	and pryncypallye amonge souldiers, least he be like unto them that in learnyng will seeme men of warr, and among men of warr, learned. In this wise for the reasons we have said he shal avoyde curyousnesse, and the meane thinges which he taketh in hand, shal appeare very great.
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Here M. Peter Bembo answered: I know not (Count Lewis) howe you will have this Courtier, being learned and of so many other vertuous qualities, to count every thing for an ornament of armes, and not armes and the reste for an ornamente of letters. The whyche wythout other addicyon are in dignitie so muche above armes, as the minde is above the bodye: because the practising of them belongeth properly to the mind even as the practising of armes dooeth to the body.

Armes belong
to the mind
and body
both.

The Count answered then: Nay the practisinge of armes beelongeth aswel to the mind as to the body. But I wold not have you (M. Peter) a judge in this cause, for you would be to partial to one of the partes. And forsomuch as this disputation hath already bene tossed a long time my moste wise men, we neede not to renew it, but I count it resolved upon armes side, and wil have our Courtier (since I have the facioning of him at mi wil) think thus also. And if you be of a contrary opinion, tary till you heare a disputation, where it may be as well lawfull for him that taketh part with armes, to use his armes, as thei that defend letters use in the defence the very same letters.

Oh (quoth M. Peter) you rebuked the Frenchmen before for setting litle by letters, and declared what a great light of glory they shew unto men and how they make them immortal: and now it seemeth you are in an other opinion. Do you not remember that:

The great Macedo, when he proched neer	Petrarca: Son.
Fiers Achils famous Toumb, thus said and sight:	155.
O happy Prince that found a Tromp so cleer,	Alexander.
And happy he that prayed so worthy a wight.	Homer.

And if Alexander envied Achilles not for his deedes but for his fortune that gave him so great luck to have his actes renowned by Homer, a man may gather he esteemed more the letters of Homer then the armes of Achilles. What other judge then or what other sentence looke you for, as touching the dignity of armes and letters, then that which was geven by one of the greatest capitaines that ever were?

The Count answered: I blame the Frenchmen because they think letters hurt the profession of armes: and I hould opinion that it is not so necessary for any man to be learned, as it is for a man of war.

The Courtyer a manne of warre and learned.	And these two pointes linked together and aided the one by the other (which is most fit) wil I have to bee in the Courtier. Neyther doe I thinke my self for this to be in an other opinion, but (as I have said) I will not dispute: whiche of them is most worthy praise, it sufficeth that learned men take not in hande at anye time to praise any but great men, and glorious actes, which of themselves deserve prayse by their proper essentiall vertues from whence they arrise.
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Glorious actes a noble Theme.	Beside that, they are a most noble Theme for writers, which is a great ornament, and partly the cause of the continuance of writings, that paraventure should not be so much read and set by, if there wanted in them noble matter, but counted vaine and of smal reputation. And if Alexander envied Achilles because he was praised of him that did it, yet doth it not consequently folowe that he esteamed letters more then armes. Wherin if he had knowen himself so farr wide from Achilles, as in writing he thought al they would be from Homer that should go about to write of him, I am sure he would
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much sooner have desired well doing in himself then well speaking in another. Therefore think I that this was a close praise of himself,

Alexander thought not himself inferiour to Achilles.	and a wishing for that he thought he had not, namely the high excellency of a writer, and not for that he thought with himself he had already obtained, that is to say, the prowess of armes, wherein he counted not Achilles any whit his superiour, wherefore he called him happye, as it were signifying, where his fame in foretime was not so renowned in the worlde, as was the fame that by so divyne a Poeme was cleere and excellent, it proceeded not for that his prowess and desertes were not such and worthy so much praise: but it arose of fortune that had before hand prepared for Achilles that miracle of nature for a glorious renowne and trumpet of his actes. And peradventure again he minded thereby to stirr up some noble wit to wryte of himself, declaring how acceptable it should be to him, forsomuch as he loved and revered the holie monumentes of letters: about the which we have now spoken sufficient.
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Nay more then sufficient, answered the L. Lodovicus Pius. For I beleve there is never a vessell in the world possible to be founde so bigge that shalbe able to receive all the thinges that you wil have in this Courtyer.

Then the Count: Abide yet a while (quoth he) for there be manye other thinges to be had in him yet.

Peter of Naples answered: After this maner Crassus de Medicis shal have great advantage of M. Peter Bembo.

At this they all laughed. And the Counte beginning a freshe: My Lordes (quoth he) you must thinke I am not pleased with the Courtier if he be not also a musicien,

The Courtyer a musicien.	and beside his understanding and cunning upon the booke, have skill in lyke maner on sundry instruments. For yf we waie it well, there is no ease of the labours and medicines of feeble mindes to be founde more honeste and more praise worthy in time of leysure then it. And princypally in Courtes, where (beside the refreshing of vexacions that musike bringeth unto eche man) many thynges are taken in hande to please women withal, whose tender and soft breasts are soone perced with melody and fylled with swetenesse. Therefore no marvel that in the olde times and nowe a dayes they have alwayes bene enclined to musiciens, and counted this a moste acceptable foode of the mynde.
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Then the L. Gaspar: I beleve musicke (quoth he) together with many other vanities is mete for women, and peradventure for some also that have the lykenes of men, but not for them that be men in dede: who ought not with suche delicacies to womannishe their mindes, and brynge themselves in that sort to dread death.

Speake it not, answered the Count. For I shall enter into a large sea of the praise of Musicke, and call to rehearsal howe much it hath alwayes bene renowned

among them of olde time, and counted a holy matter: and how it hath bene the opinion of most wise Philosophers

Musick in estimation in olde time. that the world is made of musick, and the heavens in their moving make a melody, and our soule framed after the very same sort, and therfore lifteth up it self and (as it were) reviveth the vertues and force of it with musick: wherfore it is written that Alexander was sometime so fervently styrred with it, that (in a maner) against his wyll he was forced to arise from bankettes and runne to weapon,

Alexander styrred with musicke. afterward the mustien chaunging the stroke and his maner of tume, pacified himself againe and retourned from weapon to banketting.
Xenofant. And I shall tell you that grave Socrates when he was well stricken in
Musitien. yeares learned to playe uppon the harpe. And I remember I have
Socrates understoode that Plato and Aristotle will have a man that is well
beyng olde brought up, to be also a musitien: and declare with infinite reasons
lerned upon the harpe. the force of musicke to be to very great purpose in us, and for many
Why musick is good. causes (that should be to long to rehearse) ought necessarilye to be
Lycurgus. learned from a mans childhoode, not onely for the superficial
The melodie that is hard, but to be sufficient to bring into us a newe
Lacedemons. habite that is good, and a custome enclyning to vertue, whiche
The Cretenses. maketh the minde more apt to the conceiving of felicitie, even as
Epaminondas. bodely exercise maketh the bodie more lustie, and not onely hurteth
Themistocles. not civyl matters and warrelyke affaires, but is a great staie to them.
the lesse Also Lycurgus in his sharpe lawes allowed musicke. And it is read
estimated for that the Lacedemons, whiche were valiaunt in armes, and the
not beyng a musitien. Cretenses used harpes and other soft instumentes: and many most
Chiron. excellent captaines of olde time (as Epaminondas) gave themselves
Achilles a to musicke: and suche as had not a syght in it (as Themistocles) were
musitien. a great deale the lesse set by. Have you read that among the first
instruccions which the good olde man Chiron taught Achilles in his
tender age, whome he had brought up from his nurse and cradle, musick was one?
And the wise maister would have those hands that should shed so muche Troyan
bloude, to be oftentimes occupied in playing upon the harpe? What souldyer is
there (therefore) that will thinke it a shame to folow Achilles, omitting many other
famous captaines that I could alledge? Do ye not then deprive our Coutyer of
musicke, which doth not only make swete the mindes of men, but also many times
wilde beastes tame: and whoso savoureth it not, a manne may assuredly thinke
him not to be wel in his wittes. Beholde I pray you what force it hath, that in times
paste allured a fishe to suffer a

Wielde beasts	man to ride upon him throughe the tempestious sea. We maie see it
delyte in	used in the holy temples to render laude and thanks unto God, and
musicke.	it is a credible matter that it is acceptable unto him, and that he
Dolphines delyte	hath geuen it unto us for a most swete lightning of our trauailes
in musicke.	and vexations. So that many times the boisterous labourers in the
Musicke	fieldes in the heate of the sunne beguyle theyr paine with rude and
acceptable to	cartarlyke singing. With this the unmannerly countreywoman that
God.	aryseth befor e daye out of her slepe. to spinne and carde,
Labourers.	defendeth her self and maketh her labour pleasant. Tis is the most
Countreywomen.	swete pastime after reigne, wind, and tempest unto the miserable
Mariners.	mariners. With this do the very pilgromes comfort themselves in
Pylgroms.	their troublesome and long viages. And often tymes prisoners in
Prisoners.	adversitie, in fetters, and in stockes. In lyke maner for a greater
Suckyng babes.	prooffe that the tunablenes of musicke (though it be but rude) is a very great

refrshing of al worldly paines and griefs, a man would judge that nature hath taughte it unto nurses for a speciall remedye to the contynuall waylinges of sucking babes, whiche at the sounne of their voice fall into a quiete and swete sleep, forgetting the teares that are so proper to them, and geuen us of nature in that age for a gesse of the reste of oure life to come.

Here the Count pausing a whyle the L. Julian saide: I am not of the L. Gaspars opinion, but I beleve for the reasons you alledge and for many other, that musicke is not onelye an ornament, but also necessarie for a Courtyer. But I woulde have you declare how this and the other qualities whiche you appoint him are to be practised, and at what time, and in what sort. Because many thinges that of them selves bee worthie praise, oftentimes in practisyng theym out of season seeme most foolish. And contrarywise, some thinges that appere to be of smal moment, in the wel applying them, are greatly esteemed.

Then saide the Count: Before we enter into this matter, I will talke of an other thing, whiche for that it is of importaunce (in my judgemente) I beleve our Courtyer ought in no wise to leave it out. And that is the cunning in drawyng, and the knowledge in the very arte of peincting. And wonder ye not if I wish this feat in him, whiche now a dayes perhappes is counted an handycraft and ful litle to become a gentleman, for I remember I have read that the men of olde time, and especially in all Greece would have

Peincting.	Gentlemens children in the schooles to apply peincting, as a matter
Gentlemens	both honest and necessary. And this was received in the firste degree
children	of liberal artes, afterwarde openly enacted not to be taught to
learned to	servauntes and bondmen. Emong the Romanes in like maner it was
peinct.	in very great reputacion, and thereof sprong the surname of the most
Peincting	noble family of Fabii, for the first Fabius was named Pictor, because
forbid to	in ded he was a most excellent painter, and so addicted to peincting,
bondmen.	that after he had peincted the walles of the temple of Health, he
Fabius Pictor.	writte therein hys name thinking with himselfe, that for all he was
Temple of	borne in so noble a familie whiche was honoured with so many
health.	

titles of Consulshippes and triumphes and other dignities, and was learned and wel seene in the lawe, and reckened among Oratours, to geve also an encrease of brightnesse and an ornament unto his renowme, by leavyng behynde him a memorie that he had bene a peinter. There have not in lyke maner wanted many other of notable famylyes that have bene renowmed in this art, of the which (beside that in it selfe it is moste noble and worthye) there ensue manye

Necessarye in commodities, and especially in warre to drawe oute countreys, warre. plattefourmes, ryvers, brydges, castelles, houldes, fortresses, and suche other matters, the which thoughe a manne were hable to kepe in mynde (and that is a harde matter to doe) yet can he not shewe them to others. And in verye dede who so esteameth not this arte, is (to my seemyng) farre wyde from all reason: forsomuche as the engine of the worlde that we behoulde with a large sky,

The world and so bright with shining sterres, and in the middes, the earth environed peincting. with the Seas, severed in partes wyth Hylles, Dales, and Rivers, and so decked with suche diverse trees, beawtifull flowres and herbes, a man maye saye it to be a noble and a great peincting, drawen wyth the hande of nature and of God: the whych whoso can folow in myne opinion he is woorthye muche commendacion. Neyther can a man atteyne to thys wythout the knoweledge of manye thinges, as he well knoweth that trieth it. Therefore had they of olde time in verye great estimation both the art and the artificers, so that it came to the toppe of all excellencye. And of this maye a man gather a suffucient argument at the auntient ymages

Auntient of marble and mettall, whyche at thys daye are to be seene. And ymages. though peincting be a diverse matter from carving, yet they do both Carving. arise out of one self fountayne (namelye) of a good patterne. And even as the ymages are divine and excellent, so it is to be thought peinctinges were also, and so much the more, for that they containe in them a greater workemanshipp.

Then the L. Emilia tounring her unto Johnchristopher Romano that sat ther emong the rest: How thinke you (quoth she) to this judgement, will you graunt that peincting conteineth in it a greater workmanship, then carving?

Johnchristopher answered: in my minde carving is of more travaile, of more art, and of a more dignitee then peincting.

Then said the Count: Bicause ymages are more durable, perhappes a man may say they are of a more dignity. For sith they are made for a memory, they better satisfy the effect why thei be made, then peincting. But beside memory, both peincting and carving are made also to set out a thing, and in this point hath peincting a great deale the upper hande, the which though it be not so long lastyng (to terme it so) as carving is, yet doth it for al that endure a long tyme, and for the while it lasteth, is much more sightly.

Then answered Johnchristopher: I beleave verelye you thynke not as ye speake, and all this you do for your

Raphael. Raphaelles sake. And peradventure to, you judge the excellency you know to be in him in peincting to be of such perfection, that carvyng in marble cannot come to that degree. But weye with youre self, that this is the praise of the artificer and not of the art. Then he proceeded: And I judge also both the one and the other to be an artificiall folowing of nature. But yet I know not how you can say, that the trueth and property that nature maketh, cannot be folowed better in a figure of marble or mettall, wherein the members are all round, proporcioned and measured as nature her self shapeth them, then in a Table, where men perceyve nothing but the outwarde syght and those colours that deceive the eyes: and say not to me that being, is not nigher unto the trueth then seeming. Again, I judge

Why carving
is harder than
peinctyng. carving in marble much harder, bicause if ye make a fault it cannot be amended again, for marble cannot be joyned together, but ye must be drieven to make a newe image, the which happeneth not in peincting, for a man may alter, put to, and diminish, alwaies making it better.

The Count said laughing: I speak not for Raphelles sake, neither ought you to think me so ignoraunt a person, but I understand the excellency of

Michelange. Michelangelo, of you your selfe, and of other men in carvyng marble, but I speake of the art and not of the artificers. And you say wel, that both the one and the other is the folowing of nature. But for al that, it is not so, that peinting appeareth and carving is: for although images are all round like the lively patterne, and peinctyng is onely seene in the outward apparance, yet want there manye thinges in ymages, that want not in peinctinges, and especiallye lightes and shadowes, for fleshe geveth one light, and Marble an other, and that doth the Peincter naturally folow with cleare and darke, more and lesse, as he seeth occasion, which the graver in marble can not doe. And where the Peincter maketh not his figure round, he maketh the muscles and the members in round wise, so that they go to meete with the partes not seene, after such a maner, that a man may very well gather the peincter hath also a knowleage in them and understandeth them.

Prospective. And in this poynt he must have an other craft that is greater to frame those membres, that they may seeme short and diminishe accordinge to the proportion of the sight by way of prospective, which by force of measured lines, colours, lightes and shadowes discover unto you also in the outward sight of an upright wal the plainnesse and farnesse, more and lesse, as pleaseth him.

Wherin the
peincter
passeth the
carver. Think you it agayn a triflyng matter to counterfeyt naturall coulours, flesh, clothe, and all other coloured thinges? This can not now the graver in marble do, ne yet express the grace of the sight that is in the black eyes or in azurre with the shinging of those amorous beames. He can not show the coulour of yellow hear, nor the glistring of armour, nor a darke nyght, nor a Sea tempest, nor those twincklinges and sperkeles, nor

the burninge of a Citye, nor the rising of the mornynge in the coulour of roses with those beames of purple and gold. Finallye he can not show the skye, the sea, the earth, hilles, woddess, medowes, gardeines, rivers, Cityes, nor houses, which the peincter doeth all. For this respect (me thinke) peinctinting is more noble, and conteyneth in it a greater workemanshippe then graving in marble. And among them of olde tyme I beleve it was in as high estimation as other thinges, the which is also to be discerned by certayn litle remnantes that are to be sene yet, especially in places under ground in Roome, but much more evidentlye may a man gather it by olde wrytinges, wherein is so famous and so often mention both of the workes and workemen, that by them a man maye understande in what hig h reputation they have bene alwaies with Princes and Commune weales. Therefore it is read that

Remnants of peinctinge in Roome.	Alexander loved highlye Appelles of Ephesus, and somuch, that after he had made him draw out a woman of his, naked, whom he loved most deerly, and understandinge that this good peincter, for her marveyulous beauty, was most fervently in love with her, with out any more a do, he bestowed her upon him. Truely a woorthy liberalitie of Alexander, not to geve onelye treasures and states, but also his owne affections and desires, and a token of very great love towarde Apelles, not regarding (to please him with all) the displeasure of the woman that he highly loved, who it is to be thought was sore agreved to chaunge so great a king for a peincter.
Alexander loved Appelles.	
Alexanders gift to Appelles.	

There be manye other signes rehersed also of Alexanders good will toward Apelles, but he shewed plainlye in what esti mation he had him, whan he commaunded by open proclamation no other peincter shoulde be so hardy to draw out his picture. Here could I repete unto you the contentions of manye noble peincters with the greatest commendation and marvaile (in a maner) in the world. I coulde tel you with what solemnitie the Emperours of old time decked out their tryumphes with peinctinges, and dedicated them up in haunted places and how deere it cost them. And that there wer some Peincters that gave their

Onely Appelles drew out his picture.	woorkes freely, seeming unto them no golde nor silver was inough to value them. And how a table of Protogenes was of such estimation, that Demetrius lying encamped before Rhodes, where he might have entred the citie by setting fier to the place where he wiste this table was, for feare of burning it, staid to bid them battaile, and so he wan not the city at al. And how Metrodorus a Philosopher and a most excellent peincter was sent out of Athens to L. Paulus to bringe up his children and to deck out his triumph he had to make.
Estimation of peincting.	
A table wherin Bacchus was peinted.	
Metrodorus.	

And also manye noble writers have written of this art, which is a token great inough to declare in what estimation it hath bene. But I will not we procede any farther in this communication. Therefore it sufficeth onely to say that our Courtier ought also to have a knowledge in peincting, since it was honest and profitable, and much set by in those daies whan men were of a more prowesse then they are now.

Profite of peincting. And thoughe he never geat other profite or delite in it (beside that it is a helpe to him to judge of the ymages both olde and new, of vessels, buildings, old coines, comeses, gravings and such other matters) it maketh him also understand the beawtye of lively bodies, and not onely in the sweetenesse of the fisnamy, but in the proportion of all the rest, aswell in men as other living creatures. Se then how the knowlege in peinctinge is cause of verye great pleasure.

Lovers ought to have a sight in it. And this let them think that do enjoy and view the beauty of a woman so throughly that they think them selves in paradise, and yet have not the feate of peinctinge: the which if they had, they would conceive a farre greater contentation, for then should they more perfectly understand the beauty that in their brest engendreth such hartes ease.

Here the L. Cesar laughed and saide: I have not the art of peincting, and yet I know assuredly I have a far greater delyte in behoulding a woman in the world then Apelles himself that was so excellent whom ye named right now, could have if he wer now in lief again.

Affection or love. The Count answered: This delite of yours proceedeth not wholly of the beawty, but of the affection which you perhappes beare unto the woman. And if you wil tell the troth, the first time you beheld that woman, ye felt not the thousandth part of the delite which ye did afterward, though her beauty wer the very same. Therefore ye may conceive how affection beareth a greater stroke in your delite then beauty.

I deny not that (quoth the L. Cesar): but as delite ariseth of affection, so doth affection arise of beauty, therefore a man may say for al that, that beauty is the cause of delite.

The Count aunswered: There may be other thinges also that beside beawty often times enflame our mindes, as maners, knowlege, speach, gestures and a thousand mo (which peradventure after a sort may be called beauty to) and above all the knowing a mans self to be beloved: so that without the beautys you reason of, a man may be most ferventlye in love, but those loves that arise onelye of the beauty which we dyscerne superficially in bodyes, without doubt will bring a farre greater delite to him that hath but a litle.

Campaspes. Therefore retourning to our pourpose, I beleve Appelles conceived a far greater joy in behoulding the beawty of Campaspes then did Alexander, for a man maye easilye beleve that the love of them both proceeded of that beawtye, and perhaps also for this respect Alexander determined to bestowe her upon him, that (in his minde) could knowe her more perfectlye then he did. Have you not read of the five daughters of Croton,

V. doughters of Croton. Zeusis. which among the rest of the people, Zeusis the peincter chose to make of all five one figure that was most excellent in beawty, and wer renowned of many Poets, as they that wer alowed for beawtifull

of him that ought to have a most perfect judgment in beawty?

Here the L. Cesar, declaring him self not satisfied nor willing to consent by any meanes, that any man coulde tast of the delite that he felt in beholding the beawty of a certein woman, but he him self, began to speake: and then was there hard a great scraping of feet in the floore with a cherme of loud speaking, and upon that every man tourninge him selfe about, saw at the Chambre doore appeare a light of torches, and by and by after entred in the L. Generall with a greate and noble traine,

L. Franciscomaria della Rovére. who was then retourned from accompaninge the Pope a peece of the way. And at his first entrey into the Palaice demaunding what the Dutches did, he was certefied what kind of pastime they had in hande that night, and howe the charg was committed to Count Lewis to entreat of courting. Therfore he hasted him as much as he could to come betime to heare somewhat. And assone as he had saluted the Dutchesse and settled the reste that were risen up at his comminge, he satte hym downe in the circle amonge them and certeine of the chiefe of his traine, amonge which were the marquesse Phebus of Ceva, and Ghirardin brethern, M. Hector of Roome, Vincent Calmeta, Horace Floridus and many other.

And whan al was whist, the L. General said: My Lordes, my comminge shoulde bee to hurtefull, if I should hindre such good communication as I gesse was even now among you. Therfore do you me not this injurie to deprive both youre selves and me of this pleasure.

Then aunswered Count Lewis: I beleave (my Lorde) silence ought rather to please all parties then speakinge. For seinge it hath been my lot this night before all other to take this travaile in hande, it hath nowe wried me in speakinge and I werie all the rest in hearinge: because my talke hath not bene worthye of this companye, nor sufficient ynoughe for the waightnesse of the matter I have bene charged withall, wherin sins I have litle satisfied my self, I reckon I have muche lesse satysfied others. Therfore (my Lorde) your lucke hath bene good to come at the latter end, and nowe shal it be wel done to geve the enterprise of that is behind to an other that may succede in my rouse. For whosoever he be, I knowe well he will much better acquite him selfe then I should do if I went forward with it, beinge thus wery as I am.

This will I in no wise permit, aunswered the L. Julian, to be deceived of the promise ye have made me. And I knowe well the Lord Generall will not be against the understandinge of that point.

And what promise was that? quoth the Count.

The L. Julian answered: to declare unto us in what sort the Courtyer ought to use those good condicions and qualities which you say are meete for him.

The Lorde Generall, though he were but a child in yeares, yet was he wise and discreete more then a man would think belonged unto those tender yeares of his,

and in every gesture he declared with a greatnesse of minde a certaine liveliness of wit, which did sufficiently pronosticate the excellent degree of honoure, and vertue whereunto afterwarde he ascended. Wherefore he said incontinently: If all this be behinde yet to be spoken of (me thinke) I am come in good season. For understanding in what sort the Courtier muste use his good condicions and qualities, I shall knowe also what they are, and thus shall I come to the knowledge of al that have bene spoken hitherto. Therefore sticke not (Count) to pay this debt, being alreadye discharged of one part therof.

I should not have so greate a debt to discharg, answered the Count, if the peynes were equally devided, but the faulte hath bene, in gevinge a Ladye authoritye to commaunde, that is to partial.

And so smiling he beheld the Lady Emilia, which said immediately: you ought not to complain of my partialty, yet sins ye do it against reason, we wil give one part of this honor, which you call peynes, unto an other: and touninge her unto Sir Friderick Fregoso, You (quoth she propounded this devise of the Coutier, therfore reason willet ye should say somewhat in it: and that shalbe to fulfill the L. Julians request, in declaring what sort, maner and time the Courtier ought to practise his good condicions and qualities, and those other thinges which the Count hath said are meete for him.

Then Sir Friderick: Madam (quoth he) where ye will sever the sort, the time and the maner of good condicions and qualities and the well practisinge of the Courtyer, ye will sever that can not be sundred: for it is these thinges that make the condicions and qualities good and the practising good. Therefore sins the Count hath spoken so much and so wel, and also said somewhat of these circumstances, and prepared for the rest in his mind that he had to say, were but reason he should go forward untill he came to the ende.

The Lady aunswered: Set the case you were the Count your self, and spake that your mind geveth you he would do, and so shall all be well. Then said Calmeta: My lordes, sins it is late, least Sir Friderick should find a scuse to utter that he knoweth, I beleve it were wel done to deferre the rest of the communication untill to morowe, and bestowe the small time that remayneth about some other pastyme without ambicion. The which being agreed upon of all handes, the Dutches willed the Lady Margaret and the Lady Constance Fregosa to shew them a daunce. Wherefore Barletta immediately, a very pleasaunt mustien and an excellent daunser, who continually kept al the Court in mirth and joy, began to play upon his instrumentes, and they hande in hande, shewed them a daunce or twoo with a verye good grace and greate pleasure to the lookers on: that doone, because it was farre in nighte, the Dutches arrose uppon her feete, and so every man taking his leave reverentlye of her, departed to his reste.

Source :

This English translation of *The Book of the Courtier* is that of Sir Thomas Hoby (1561) as edited by Walter Raleigh for David Nutt, Publisher, London, 1900, and partakes of the virtues and faults, as may be, of that edition. It was transcribed by Richard Bear at the University of Oregon during the summer of 1997. This edition is provided to the public for nonprofit purposes only; the design is copyright © 1997 The University of Oregon.

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