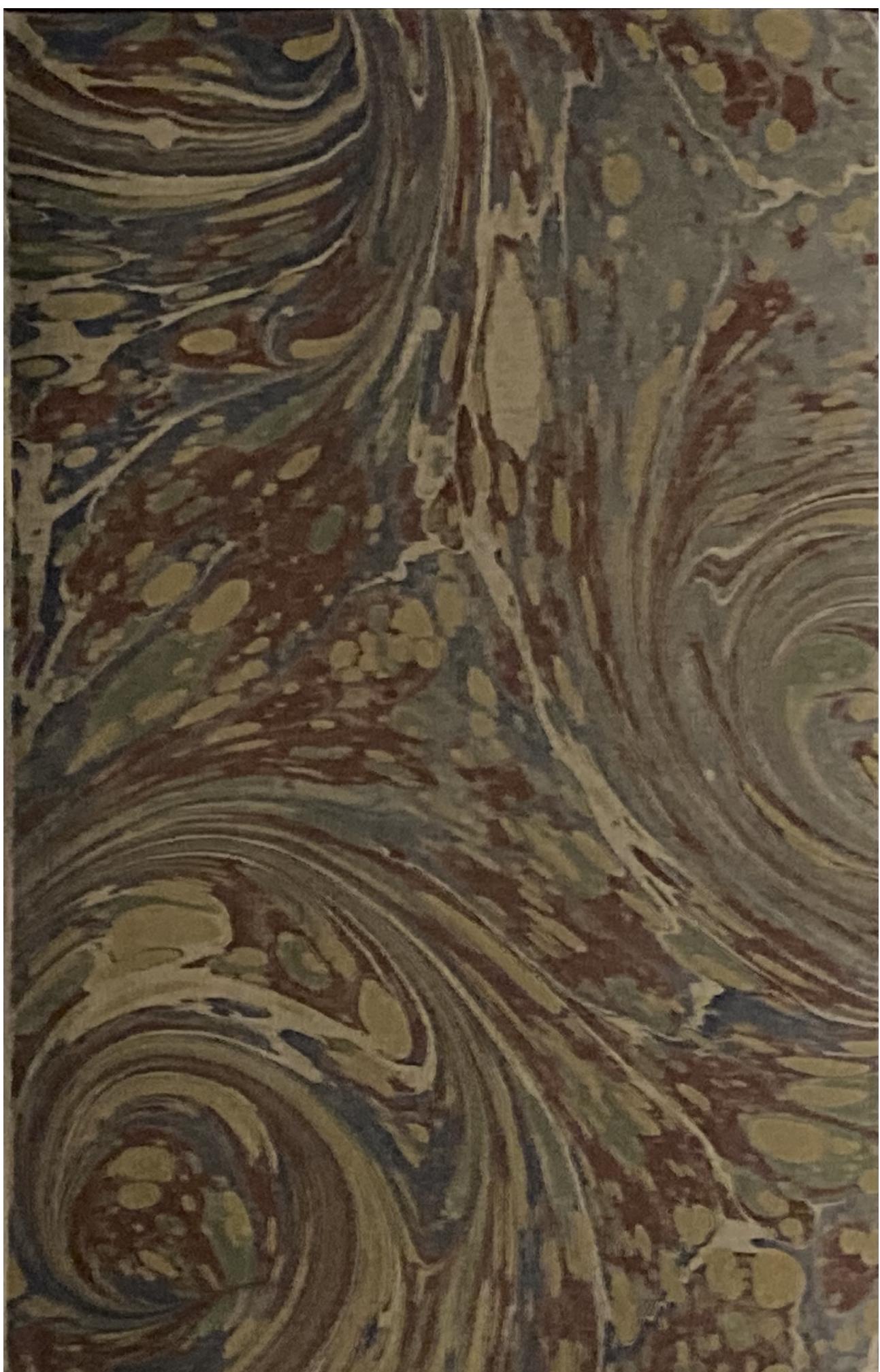


ENCHIRIDION  
MILITIS  
CHRISTIANI

WYNKYN  
DE WORDE  
1523





A booke called in latyn Eu-  
chiridion militis christiani /  
and in englyssh the ma-  
nuell of the christen  
knyght repleyf-  
shed with moste  
holosome pre-  
ceptes /  
made  
by the famous  
clerke Erasmus of  
Roterdame to the whiche  
is added a newe and  
meruaylous pro-  
fyttable pre-  
face.

**C**The booke speaketh.

**D**O please all sortes of men I do not passe  
To please the good & lerned is a fayre thyng  
ye and these bothe/were more than couenant was  
And more than I loke for. Who so the lernyng  
Of Christ dothe sauour/if he lyke well althyng  
I seke no further/ Christe is myne Apollo  
Onely strengthyng me to speake this that I do.

**C**The printer to the faythfull redar.

**D**He mortall worlde a felde is of batayle  
whiche is the cause þ stryfe dothe neuer fayle  
Agaynst man/ by warrynge of the fleshe  
With the dyuell/that alway syghteth fresshe  
The spyzite to oppresse by false enuy  
The whiche conflycte is contynually  
Durynge his lyfe/and lyke to lese the felde  
But he be armed with weapon and sheldre  
Suche as behoueth to a christen knyght  
Wher god echone/by his Christ chooseth ryght  
Soole capitayne/and his standarde to vere  
Who knoweth it not/thā this wyll teche hym here  
In his breuyer/ poyndarde/or manuell  
The loue shewyng of hygh Emanuell  
In gyuynge vs suche harneys of werre  
Erasmus is the onely furbyssher  
Scouryng the harneys/cankred and aduste  
Whiche neglygence had so sore fret with rusle  
Than champyon receyue as thyne by ryght  
The manuell of the trewe christen knyght.

**C**finis.

**E**rasmus Roterdame sendeth  
gretynge to the reuerende fathet  
in Christ (and lordc) the lordc  
Paule Volzius / the moste  
religous abbot of the  
monastery the  
Whiche is  
commonly  
called Hughes  
courte.

**M**Il be it moste vertuous fa-  
ther that the lytle booke/  
to the whiche I haue gy-  
uen this name or tytle En-  
chiridion militis christiani/  
Whiche many a day a go I  
made for my selfe only / and for a certayne  
frende of myne beyng utterly unlearned/  
hath begon to mislyke and displease me  
the less / for as moche as I do se that it  
is allowed of you and other vertuous and  
lerned men suche as you be / of whome  
(as ye are in dede endued with godly le-  
rynge / and also with lerned godlynnesse)  
I knowe nothyng to be approued / but  
a.y.

that whiche is bothe holy and also clearely: yet it hath begon well nyghe also to please & lyke me now/whan I se it (after that it hath ben so often tymes printed) yet styl to be desyred and greatly called for/ as if it were a newe werke made of late: if so be þ printers do not lye to flatt me withall. But agayne there is an other thyng whiche often tymes greueth me in my mynde/that a certayne wel learned frende of myne longe a go sayd/ very properly and sharply checkynge me/that there was more holynesse sene in the lytell booke than in the hole authoure and maker therof. In dede he spake these wordes in his ieslyng boudyngly/but wolde to god he had not spoken so trewly as he bouredd bytterly. And that greueth me so moche the more bycause þ same thyng hath chaunsed to come lykewyse to passe in hym/for the chaungyng of whose manners principally I toke vpon me this labour and trauayle/for he also not onely hath not withdrawen hym selfe from the courte/but is dayly moch deeper drowned therin than he was afore tyme/for what good purpose I can not tel/but as he confesseth hym selfe with moche great myserie. And yet for all that I do not greatly pety my frende/bycause that peraduerture

Trouble or  
aduersyte cor-  
recteth some.

aduersyte offortune may teche hym ones  
to repente hym selfe/and to amende/seyng  
that he wolde not folow and do after my  
counsayle and admonytiōns. And verly  
thoughe I enforſyngē me to the same  
thyng and purpose/ haue ben turned and  
tossed with so many chaunces and tem-  
pestes/that Ulires a man lyuyng euer in  
trouble (which Homer speketh of) myght  
be couēted in comparyson to me euēn Po-  
lycrates/ whiche euer lyued in prosperte  
Without any maner trouble. I do not vt-  
terly repente me of my labour/ seynge it  
hath moued and prouoked so many vnto  
the study of godly vertue: nor I my selfe  
am not vtterly to be blamed and rebuked  
although my lyuyngē be not in all poyn-  
tes agreynge to myn owne preceptes and  
counsayles. *natc & sib*  
It is some parte of godlynnesse  
Whan one with al his herte desyretē and  
is wyllyng to be made good & vertuous:  
nor suchē a mynde so well intendyngē I  
suppose is not to be caste away/ although  
his purpose be not euer luckely perfour-  
med. To this we ought to endeuoyre our  
selfe all our lyfe longe/ and no doute but  
by the reason that we so often tymes shal  
attempt it/ ones at the laste we shall at-  
tayne it. Also he hath dispatched a good  
pece of a doutfull iourney whiche hath  
a.ij.

Fortunate  
polycrates.

leened wel of the iourney the way. There-  
fore am I nothing moued with þ mockes  
of certayne ps ons which dispyle this lytle  
boke/as nothing erudite & clerkly/sayeng  
that it myght haue ben made of a chylde  
that lerneth his A/b/c/because it entre-  
teth nothyng of Dunces questyons: as  
though nothyng without those coude be  
done with lernynge. I do not care if it be  
not so quick/so it be godly:let it not make  
them instruite & redy to disputacyons in  
scholes/so that it make them apte to kepe  
Chrystes peace.Let it not be profyt able or  
helpyng for þ disputacyon in diuynite/ so  
it make for a diuynne lyfe. For what good  
shulde it do to entreate of that thyng that  
euery man entremedleth with? who hath  
not in handlyng questions of diuynite/or  
what els do all our swarmes of schole  
men? There be almost as many commenta-  
cyes vpon þ mayster of the sentence as be  
names of diuynes. There is neyther me-  
sure nor nombre of summularies/whiche  
after the maner of potycaries myngle of-  
ten tymes sondry thynges togyther/ and  
make of olde thyngs newe/of newe thy-  
nges olde/of one thyng many/of many  
thynges one. Howe can it be that these  
great volumes instruite vs to lyue well  
and after a christen maner/whiche a man

In all his lyfe can not haue layser othes so  
loke ouer. In lyke maner as if a phisycien  
shulde prescribe vnto him that lyeth sicke  
in parell of deth to rede Jacobus de par-  
tibus/ or suche other huge volumes/say-  
eng that there he shuld fynde remedie for  
his disase; but in the meane tyme the pa-  
tient dyeth/ Wantyngе presente remedie  
wherwith he myght be holpen. In suche  
a fugytyue lyfe it is necessary to haue a  
redy medycyn at the hande. Howe ma-  
ny volumes haue they made of restytuci-  
on/of confessyon/ of sclauder/and other  
thynges innumerable? And though they  
boulte and serche out by pecemeale euery  
thyng by it selfe/ & so distyne euery thyng  
as if they mistrusted all other mens wyt-  
tes/ye as though they mistrusted þ good-  
nesse & mercy of god/ Whyles they do pre-  
scribe how he ought to punish & reward  
euery facte eyther good or bad: yet they  
agre not amongst thē selues/nor yet som-  
tymis do open the thyng playnly/if a man  
wolde loke nere vpon it/so moche dyuer-  
syte bothe of wyttes and circumstaunces  
is there. Moreover although it were so  
that they had determyned all thyngs wel  
and trewly / yet besydes this that they  
handle and treate of these thynges affter  
a barbarous and vnpleasaunt fassyon/  
a.iiiij.

The greate  
volvynce.

There is not one amongst a thousande  
that can haue any layser to rede ouer these  
volumes: Or who is able to beare aboute  
with hym Secundam secunde / the werke  
of saynte Thomas? And yet there is no  
man but he ought to vse a good lyfe; to  
the whiche Christ wolde that the waye  
shulde be playne and open for every man,  
and that not by inexplicable crokis of dis-  
putations / not able to be resolued / but by  
a trewe and a sincere faythe & charyte not  
fayned / whom hope doth folowe whiche

The theology is never asshamed . And fynally lette the  
appertayneth great doctours / whiche muste nedes be  
to fewe men / but fewe in comparyson to al other men /  
but the salua- study & bely them selfe in those great vo-  
tion appertay- lumes. And yet never the lesse the vnler-  
geth to all. ned and rude multytude whiche Christe  
dyed for ought to be prouyded for: and he  
hath taught a great porcyon of christyan  
verte whiche hath inflamed men vnto  
the loue therof. The wyse kynge whan  
he dyd teache his sonne trewe wysdome /  
toke moche more Payne in exhorting hym  
thervnto than in teachyng hym / as who  
shulde say that to loue wysdom were in a

Those be no-  
ted that of pur-  
pose make the  
faultrie which  
they pese ob-  
sute & harde.

maner to haue attayned it. It is a great  
shame and rebuke bothe for lawyers and  
phisycions that they haue of a sette pur-  
pose / and for the nones / made their arte

and science full of diffculty / and harde to  
be attayned or come by / to thentent that  
bothe their gaynes and auantage myght  
be the more plentyfull / & their glory and  
prayeple amonge the vnlearned people the  
greater: but it is a moche more shamefull  
thyng to do the same in the philosophy of  
Christ: But rather contrary wise we ought  
to endeuer our selues with al our streng-  
thes to make it so easy as can be / & playn  
to euery man. Nor let not this be our stu-  
dy to apere lerned our selues / but to alute  
very many to a christen mans lyfe. Pre- The warre  
paracyon and ordynaunce is made nowe <sup>against the</sup>  
for warre to be made agaynst the turkes.  
Whiche for what so euer purpose it is be-  
gon / we ought to praye not that it mape  
turne to þ profyte of a fewe certayne per-  
sons / but that it may be to þ comen & ge-  
nerall þfyte of all men. But what thinke  
you shulde come of it / if to suche of them  
as shall be ouercomen (for I do not sup-  
pose þ they shall all be kylled with wea-  
pons) we shall lay the werkes of Occam /  
Durandus / Duns / Gabriell / Aluacros / or  
any such schole men / for thentent to bring  
þem in mynde to take Christes professyon  
vpon them? What shall they ymagyn and  
þynke in their myndes (for surely eynþ  
they / though they be naught els / are men

The discorde  
monge diuy-  
nes.

and hane wyt & reasone) whan they shall  
here those thorny & combrous inextricable  
subtyll pmagynacions of instates/ of for-  
malytes/ of quiddites/ of relacion: namely  
whan they shall se these great doctours &  
teachers of religyon & holynesse so farre  
disagreynge/ and of so sondry opinyons a-  
monge them selfe þ often tymes they dis-  
pute & reason so longe one with another/  
vntyll they chaunge colour & be pale/ and  
reuyle one another spytting eche at other  
and fynally dealyng buffettes & blowes  
eche to other. whan they shall se þ blacke  
freres fyght & skolde for their Thomas/ &  
than the gray freres matched with them/  
defendyng on þ other partye their subtile  
and feruēt hote doctours/ which they call  
seraphicos/ some spekyng as reals/ some  
as nominals. whan they shall also se the  
thyng to be of so gret diffyculte þ they can  
neuer discusse suffyciently with what wor-  
des they may speke of Chriss: as though  
one dyd deale or had to do with a way-  
wardes spyrit whiche he had reysed vp vnto  
his owne distruktion/ if he dyd sayle  
neuer so lytle in the prescript wordis of co-  
suryng/ & not rather with our mooste mer-  
cyfull sauour/ whiche desyreteth nothyng  
els of vs but a pure lyfe and a symple.  
I beseche the for the loue of god shew me

What shal we bring aboute with all these reckenyngs / specially if our maners & our lyfe be lyke to þy proude doctrine and learning? and if they shall se & well perceyue our ambycion & desyrousnesse of honoure by our gorgyousnesse / more thā euer any tyrat dyd vse: our auaryce & couetousnesse by our bribyng & pollyng / our lecherousnesse by þy defyling of maydens & wyues / our cruelties by þy oppressions done of vs? With what face or how for shame shal we offre to them þy doctrine of Christ whiche is farre awaþ contrary to all these thyngs.

The best way and most effectuell to ouercome & wyn the turkes / shulde be if they shal perceyue þy thyng which Christ taught and expressed in his lyuing / to shyne in vs. with what ar-  
the turks ought  
to be ouercōe.

If they shal perceyue þy we do not hyghly gape for their empyres / do not desire their golde and good / do not couet their possesyon / but that we seke nothyng els but only their soules helth & the glory of god.

This is that right trewe & effectuous diuynite / the which in tyme passed subdued vnto Christ arrogat and proude phylosophers / and also the myghty & invincible princis: And if we thus do / than shal Christ euer be present & helpe vs. For trewly it is not mete nor conuenient to declare our selues christen men by this profe or token / The parte of a chisten man is to saue and if not to destroy.

The kyngdom  
of Christe.

we kyll very many/but rather if we save  
very many:not if we seide thousandz of he-  
then people to hell/but if we make many  
infydelz faythal: not if we cruelly curse &  
excomunycate the/but if we with deuout  
prayers & with all our hertes desyre their  
helth & pray vnto god to sende the better  
myndes. If this be not our entent it shall  
soner come to passe þ we shall degenerate  
& turne in to turkes our selues/ than that  
we shal cause the to become christen men.  
And although þ chauice of warre/whiche  
is ever doutfull & vncertayne/ shulde fall  
so luckily to vs þ we had gotten the victo-  
ry/so shuld it be brought to passe that the  
popes domynion & his cardynals myght  
be enlarged / but not the kyngdome of  
Christe/whiche fynally florisheth and is  
in prosperite if faythe/loue/ peace/ & cha-  
rity be quicke and stronge/whiche thyng  
I trust shalbe brought to passe by þ good  
gouernance and prouisyon of the pope  
Leo the tenth/ vnlesse the great trouble  
and rage of worldly besynesse plucke him  
ftō his very good purpose another way.  
Christ dothe professe to be primate & heid  
him selfe in the heuenly kyngdom/which  
never dothe florisse but whan celestyall  
things be aduaunced. Nor Christ dyd not  
dye for this purpose that goodes of the

Worlde/ that rychesse/ that armure/ & the  
rest of rufflyng fassyon of the Worlde/ be  
nowe in the handes and rule of certayne  
preestes/ whiche thynges were wonte to  
be in the handes of the gentiles/ or at the  
leest amongest lay princes/ not moche dis-  
feryng from gentyles. But in my mynde  
it were þ best/ before we shulde trye with  
them in batayle to attempte them with  
epystels and some lytell bokes: but with  
what maner of epystels? Not with thret-  
nyng pystels/ or with bokis full of tyran-  
ny/ but with those whiche myght shewe fa-  
therly charyte/ & resemble the very herte  
and mynde of Peter and Paule/ & whiche  
shulde not onely pretende and shewe out-  
wardly the tytle of þ apostels/ but which  
also shuld sauour and tasie of the efficacie  
and strength of the apostels. Not bycause The diffyculte  
of holy scrip-  
ture.  
tare.  
I do not knowe that all the trewe foun-  
tayne and vayne of Christes philosophy  
is hydde in the gospell and the epystels of  
the apostels: But the straunge maner of  
phrase/ and often tymes the troublous  
spekyng of dyuers crooked sygures & tro-  
pes be of so great diffyculte/ that often ty-  
mes we our selfe also muste labour ryghte-  
sore before we can perceiue them. Ther-  
fore in myne oppinyon the best were that  
some bothe well lerned men and good of

The breuienes  
of Christes  
doctryne.

Iuyng shuld haue this offyce assyned and  
put vnto them / to make a collectyon and  
to gather the sōme of Christ; phylosophy  
out of the pure fountayne of the gospell  
and the epystels and mooste approued in-  
terpretours / and so playnly that yet it  
myght be clerky & erudyte / and so breue-  
ly that it myght also be playne . Those  
thyngs whiche concerne saythe or byleue/  
let them be contayned in a fewe artycles.  
Those also that appertayne to the ma-  
ner of lyuyng lette them be shewed and  
taught in fewe wordes / and that after  
suche fassyon that they may perceyue the  
yoke of Christe to be pleasant and easie/  
and not greuous and paynfull : so that  
they may perceyue that they haue gotten  
fathers and not tyrantes / feders and not  
robbers / pyllers nor pollers / & that they  
be called to their soule helthe / and not  
The turkes be compelled to secuytude. Undouted they  
also be men / neyther their hertes be of  
so harde yron or adamante but that they  
may be molyfyed and wonne with bene-  
fites and kyndnesse / wherwith euē very  
wyarde beastes be woren gentle and tame.  
And the mooste effectuous thyng is the  
trewe veryte of Christe . But lette the  
pope also cōmaunde them whome he ap-  
poynteth to this besynesse / that they nes-

not swatre nor go from the frewe patron  
and example of Christe/ nor in any place  
haue any respecte to the carnall affectes  
and desyres of men. And suche a thyng  
my mynde was aboute to brunge to passe  
as well as I coulde/ whan I made this  
booke of Enchiridion. I dyd se the co-  
men people of christendome/not onely in  
effecte/but also in opinyons to be corrup-  
ted. I consydred the moste parte of those  
whiche professe the selues to be pastours  
and doctours to abuse the tytles of Christ  
to their propre aduaantage. And yet wyll  
I make no mencyon of those men after  
whose wyll and pleasure the worlde is  
ruled and tourned vp and downe/ whose  
byces though they be never so manyfest/  
a man maye scarsely ones wynche. And  
in suche great darknesse/in suche great  
troublous rufflyng of the Worlde in so  
great dyuersyte of mens oppynions/why-  
ther shulde we rather flye for socour than  
to the very great and sure anker of Chu-  
sties doctryne/ whiche is the gospell. who  
beyng a good man in dede/ dothe not se  
and lamente this metuaylous corrupte  
worlde? whan was there euer more tyra-  
ny? whan dyd auaryce reigne more large-  
ly and lesse punysched? whan were cyre-  
monyes at any tyme more in estymacion?

The corrupte  
nesse of the  
worlde,

The sure  
anker.

In thynge  
confused we  
must haue re-  
course to the  
euangyles.

i. Corin. x.

Gene. xij.

Gene. xxvi.

Whan dyd our iniquyte so largely holde  
With more lyberty? Whan was euer cha-  
rte so colde? What is brought? What is  
crede? What is decreed or detemyned but  
it taileth and sauoureth of ambytion and  
lucre? Oh holde infortunate were we if  
Christe had not lefte some sparkes of his  
doctryne vnto vs/ as it were lyuely and  
everlastynge baynes of his godly mynde.  
Here to therefore we must enforce our selfe  
to know these sparkes/ leauyng the coles  
of mens fantasyes: Let vs seke these bay-  
nes vntyll we fynde fresche water whiche  
springeth in to everlasting lyfe. We delue  
and dygge þ grounde metuaylously depe  
for to plucke out rychesse/ whiche nouris-  
meth vyce: And shall we not laboure than  
the ryche erthe of Christe to get out that  
thing whiche is our soules helthe? There  
was never no storne of vyces that dyd so  
ouercome and quenche the heate of cha-  
rte/ but it myght be restored agayne at  
this flynt stone. Christ is a stone/ but this  
stone hath sparkes of celestyall syre/ and  
baynes of lyuely water. In tyme passed  
Abraham in euery lande dyd dygge pyts  
and holes/ settynge in euery place the  
baynes of lyuely water: but those same  
beyng stopped vp agayne by the phylis-  
tins with erthe/ Isaac and his seruauntes

dyd delue agayne/ and not beyng onely  
content to restore the olde/dyd also make  
newe. But than the philistyns dyd scolde  
and chyde/ yet he dyd not cease from dyg-  
gynge. And in this our tyme we haue  
phylisyns whiche do prefetre þ naughtynge The phylisyns  
erthe to the lyuely fountaynes/ euен those ~~as~~ of our time  
whiche be worldly wyse/ and haue their  
respect to earthly thinges/ and bringe and  
waste goddes doctrine and his gospel to  
their carnall affections/makynge it serue  
to their ambycion/bolstryng vp therwith  
their fylthie lucte & tyranny. And if nowe  
any Isaac or any of his family shulde dyg  
and fynde some trewe and pure bayne/bȝ  
and by they bȝable and crye against hym/  
perceyuyng ryght well that that bayne  
shulde hurt their aduañtage/shulde hurt  
their ambycion/ although it make never  
so moche for the glory of Christ: Streight-  
wayes they caste in naughtynge erthe/ and  
with a corrupte interpretacyon they stop  
vp the bayne/ and drue away þ dygger:  
or at the leste they make it so muddy with  
claye & fylthynesse/that who so euer drin-  
keth therof shall drawe vnto hym more  
lyme & naughtynesse than he shall good viere .g.  
lycour. They wyl not that those þ thurst  
and desyre ryghtousnesse do drinke of the  
pure lycoue/ but they bringe them vnto

b.j.

The marchāts  
of pardons.

theit olde worne & all to ffoden cesternes,  
whiche haue broken stones and morter/  
but water they haue none. But yet for all  
this the very trewe children of Isaac that  
be the trewe worshypers of Christ/must  
not be weryed & driven awaye from this  
labour:for verly euен they whiche thurst  
naughte erthe in to the fountayne of the  
gospell/Wolde be counted the very wor-  
shypers of Christe. So that in dede no-  
thyng nowe adayes is more peryllous  
than to teache trewly Christes lernyng/  
so greatly haue the phisitiens preuayed  
fyghtynge for their erthe/preaching earthly  
chynges for celestyall/and mens inuency-  
ons for goddes comaundementes:that is  
to say/not teachyng those thyngs whiche  
make for þ glory of Christ/but those thyngs  
whiche be for their owne aduaūtage/  
whiche be pardons/composycions/& such  
lyke pelfare. And these they do so moche  
more peryllously bycause they cloke their  
couetousnesse with the tytles & names of  
great princes/ of the pope of Rome/ ye of  
Christ also him selfe. But there is no man  
that doth more for the popes pfyte or be-  
synesse/than he that teacheth Christ/ le-  
nyng purely & truly/ wherof he is þ chefe  
teacher. There is no man that doth more  
good to princes or descreueth more of thē

than he whiche indentereth him selfe þ the  
people may be welthy & in prosperite. But  
some of the flocke of schole men wyl hete  
speke agaynst me / sayeng it is easie to any  
man to gyue generall preceptys what is to  
be desyred & what is to be eschewed: but  
what shalbe answered than to those that  
askc confysyle for so many fortunes & chanc-  
ces? First I answer þ there be mo dyuers  
kyndys of suchc worldly besynesse thā that  
any lyuing person can gyue dyrecte & sure  
answere to eche one of thē. Secondaryly <sup>A man can</sup>  
there is suchc diversyte of cynamstances / make no certe  
whiche if a man do not know / it is not wel answere to eche  
possyble to make an answer. In conclusion ry dyrnse.  
I doute greatly whether they the selues  
haue any sure answere þ they may make /  
seyng they differre in so many thynges a-  
mongest the selues. And those also whiche  
amongest them be more wylle than other  
do not thus answere: This ye shall do /  
this ye shall not do / but of this maner.  
This in myne oppynion were the better /  
this I suppose to be tollerable. But if we  
haue that symple and bryght eye whiche  
the gospell speaketh of / if the house of <sup>The fyshe of</sup>  
our mynde haue in it the candell of pure faythe,  
faythe set upon a candelsycke / all these  
tryfles shall easly be put awaye and a-  
wayded as it were clowdes or mysties.

If we haue the rule and patrone of Christ  
des charite/to it we may apply and make  
mete all other thynges ryght easely. But  
what wyll ye do whan this rule doth not  
agre with those thynges whiche hath be  
comenly vsed so many hundred yeres/and  
whiche be ordayned & stablyshed by the  
lawes of princes/ for this thyng chaūseth  
very ofte.ye must not condempne þing  
whiche princes do in executyng their of  
fice/ but agayne do not corrupte & defyle  
the heuenly philosophy with mens dede.

Chryste is the Centre. Let Christe contynewe and abyde/ as he  
is in dede/a very centre or myddle poynte

w. Cyrcles.

the fyft of me  
of the chyrche

vnmoued/hauyng certayne circles goyng  
rounde aboute hym:moue not the matke  
out of his owne place. Those whiche be  
in the first cyrcle next to the centre(that is  
to say next to Christ)as preestz/bysshops/  
cardynalles/popes/ and suche to whome  
it belongeth to folow the lambe whyder  
so euer he shall go/ let them embrase and  
holde faste that moste pure parte/ and so  
farre forth as they may let them comuny-  
cate and plentuously gyue the same vnto  
their next neyghbours. In the secōde cyr-  
cle all temporall & ley princes be/ whiche  
in kepyng warre and makyng lawes/ af-  
ter a certayne maner do seruyce to Christ/  
eyther whan with ryghtfull batayle ther

The seconde  
of princes.

drive awaie their enemys / & defende and  
mayntayne the publyke peace and tran-  
quylte of the comen welthe: or els whan  
with punysshment accordyng to þ lawes/  
they punyssh malefactours & yuell doers.  
And yet bycause they can not chose but of  
necessyte be occupied and besyed in such  
thynges as be ioyned with the most vyle  
driegges and sylthe of the erthe / and with  
the besynesse of þ woldē / it is ieopardous  
lest they do fall further from the centre  
and marke / as leste they shulde make som-  
tyme warre for their owne pleasure / and  
not for the comen welthe: leste vnder the  
pretext of iustyce they shulde vse crueltye  
vpon those whom they myght refouyne  
with mercy: leste vnder the tytle of lord-  
shyp they shulde pyll and polle those peo-  
ple whose goodes they ought to defende.  
And moreonder as Christ lyke þ fountayne  
of euerlastyng fyre / doth drawe next vnto  
hym the ordre of preestes / & maketh them  
of lyke nature / that is to say pute & cleene  
from all corruptyon of worldly driegges  
and sylthynysse: So in lyke case it is the  
offyce of preestes / & specially of þ hyghest/  
somoche as they can to call and drawe vn-  
to them those that be princes and haue  
powre and authurite. And if it fortune at  
any tyme that warre do ryse sodaynly in

The office of  
Sacerdotes.

**Augustyne.**

What thynges  
that how farforth  
they apertayn  
to the heedes  
of the chyrche

any place/let the byschoppes endeuyre  
them selues so moche as in them is/ ey-  
ther to ende the stryues and vargaunces  
without shedynge of bloode: or if that can  
not be brought to passe/ by reason of the  
great stormes of worldly besynesse/ yet let  
them so do that as lytle bloode as may be  
be shedde/and that the warre may shortly  
be brought to an ende. In tymes past  
the byschoppes authorite had place euen  
in iuste punyshmentes/ and hath gotten  
dyuers tymes (as saynt Augustyne playn-  
ly in his epistle to the testyfye) the male-  
factour from the handes of temperall iu-  
ges. For some thynges there be so neces-  
sary vnto the ordre of the comen welthe  
that partly yet Christe dyd dissymule at  
them/and partly he put them from hym/  
and partly neyther approuyng nor disa-  
llowing them dyd in a maner wynke and  
loke besyde them. He wolde not knowe  
the money of Cesare nor y scripture vpon  
it. The trybute he comauaded to be payde  
if it were due and dette/as though it lytle  
pertayned to hym/ so that god had his  
dutye. The woman taken and founde in  
adultery he neyther condempned neyther  
openly absoluued/ but onely dyd byd her y  
she shulde no more do so. Of those whiche  
were cōdemned of pylate/whose bloode

he entremyngled amongst their sacryfyses/ he neþter sayde it was well doone  
nor yuell/but onely threttened euery man  
that they shulde be punysshed with a lyke  
distructyon if they dyd not amende.

More ouer whan he was desyred to de-  
uyde the enherytaunce bytwene þ two bre-  
therne/he plainly refused it as an unwor-  
thy thig for hym to gyue iugement of such  
grosse maters/ whiche dyd teche thynges  
heuenly. And also of the other parte there  
be certayne thyngs whiche he openly ab-  
horted/as þ couetous phariseys/the ypo-  
ctytes/ the prudde tyche folkes/ sayeng what thynges  
vnto them wo be vnto you. He never re= chyste openly  
buked þ apostels more shaply than whan  
they wolde haue ben auēged/or whā they  
were ambycious. Whan they asked hym  
whether they shulde cōmaunde fyre to be  
sent downe frō heuen to haue burned vp  
the cyte from whēce they were shyt forth/  
he answered & said to thē/ ye know not of  
what sp̄rit ye are. Whā Peter was about  
to haue called him vnto þ world from his  
passyō suffcig/he called him an aduersary.  
Whā they cōteded about þ eminēce which  
of thē shulde be þ best/howe often & howe  
many wayes doþe he call thē backe to a  
contrary mynde? And other thingz there be  
whiche he teacheth & cōmaundeth openly what thynges  
christ teacheth

to be obserued/as not to resist puel/to do  
good to thyne enemyes/to vse mekenesse  
of mynde/and other lyke. These muste be  
**Princes lawes** departed in sondre/and euery of the set in  
or of the mean ordre in his owne place. Let vs not ther-  
fore of thinges fore stayne wapes make Christe an au-  
ctoure of all thynges whiche be done by  
princes & temporall offyccers/ nor defende  
it(as we call it)to be done by godds lawe.  
They deale and meddle with many thynges  
whiche be lowe and grosse/not al to-  
gither of the very purenesse of a christen  
man: yet they be not to be rebuked in as  
muche as they be necessary to the mayn-  
teynance of ordre to be obserued. Nor we  
be not by the mynistringe of their offyce  
made good/all be it that by thē it is cau-  
sed that we be lesse yuell/ and that they  
whiche be yuell do lesse hurte & noyance  
to the comen welthe. And therfore they  
also ought to haue their honour because  
they do somewhat serue the iustyce of god  
and the publyke and comen tranquylite/  
Without the which somtyme those thynges  
be troubled & vexed whiche belongeth  
to godly holynesse. They must be honou-  
red whan they do their offyce: and if som-  
tymes they vse their power for their own  
pleasure or profyte/pet yadventure it were  
the best to suffre them/ leste more hurte

**Faull rulers  
must be suffred**

Gulde spryng therof: for there apereth an  
ymage o; rather a shadowe of the diuyne  
iustyce in them/ whiche iustyce yet ought  
to shyne more euydently and more purely  
in the lyuynge and lawes of preestes. An  
ymage dothe of another maner shewe in  
a myrour of glasse/ than it dothe in yron.  
And in the thyrdे cyrcle must al the comen  
people be/ as the mosie grosse parte of all  
this worlde/ but not yet so grosse but that  
they pertayne vnto the mistycall body of  
Christ: for the eyen be not only membres  
of the body/ but also the legges/ the fete/  
and the priuy partes. And those whiche be  
in the thyrdē cyrcle we ought so to suffre  
in their infirmyte/ þ as moche as is pos-  
syble we do call them vnto those thyngeſ  
whiche be more approued of Christe. For  
in the mistycal body he that but late was  
the foote may be the eye. And lyke as the  
princes if they be not al the best/must not  
with chyding be exasperate/ leste( as saint  
Augustyne saythe) whan they be moued  
they styrre vp more peryllous tragedyes/  
so the weake people lyke as Christ suffred  
his apostels and nouryſhed them/muste  
be suffred/ and after a fetherly maner che-  
ryſhed vntyll they were more aged and  
streng in Christ. For godlynnesse also hath  
his infancye/ it hath mene age/ it hath full

The thyrdē  
Cyrcle.

The weake  
must be for-  
borne.

strength and perfyte age. yet all men after  
their degré muste endeuyre them selfe to  
attayne and come vnto Christe. The ele-  
mentes haue euery one his propre place/  
but the fyre whiche hath the hyghest place  
by lytell and lytell draweth all the other

The chausage of vnto hym / and so moche as he can tour-  
one Elemente neth them in to his nature. The clere  
water he tourneth in to the ayre / and  
the ayre clarifyed he transfouremeth in to  
his owne nature. Saynte Paule dothe  
in many thynges suffre and pardon the  
Corynthyans / but in the meane season  
puttyng difference bytwene those thynges  
whiche he dyd profer in the name of  
his lord vnto them that were perfyte/  
and those thynges whiche he dyd par-  
don that were written in his owne name  
to them that were yet weake & yonge in  
Christ: but euer on this trust þ they shulde  
profyte and go forwarde to more strength  
and perfectyon. And also he trauayleth  
agayne to bringe forthe the galathians  
vnyll Christ be fassyoned in them.

Sowe if any man wyll thynke this cy-  
cle to be more conuenyent for princes / I  
wyll not stryue greatly with hym. But  
what so euer is without the thyrdé cycle  
is at all tymes and in all poyntes to be  
hated and refused / as ambpcion and de-

syne of monney / lechery / pre / vengeaunce /  
envy / backbytyng / and suche other pesty-  
lences / whiche than onely be made incu-  
rable / whan they dysgysed with the vyser  
and cloke of holynesse & vertue do crepe in  
to the cyrle afore spoken: that is whan  
vnder the pretexte of executyng the lawe  
and iustyce we vse our tyranny. whan by  
the occasyon of religyon we prouyde for  
great lucre. whan vndre the tytle of de-  
fendyng the churche we hunte for world-  
ly power and authoryte: and whan so-  
ever those thynges be commaunded as  
thynges pertaynyng vnto Christ whiche  
be disagreynge moche from his lernynge.  
Therefore the marke muste be sette before  
every man whiche they ought to shote  
at: and there is but one marke / whiche  
is Christe and his moste pure lernynge. The marke  
maye not be  
chaunged.  
If thou sette forthe a worldly marke in  
the stede of a celestyall marke / than shall  
there be no thyng whervnto a man ought  
iustly enforce hym selfe / whiche labou-  
reth to profyte and go forwarde. Every  
man ought to enforce hym selfe to that  
whiche is best and moste perfyte / that at  
the leste we maye attayne and come to Al must labour  
to perfynesse.  
the meane thynges. And there is no cause  
whyc we shulde put awaie any kynde  
or maner of lyuyng from this marke.

The perfectyon of Christ consisteth onely  
in the affectes / & not in the maner or kynde  
of lyuing: it consisteth in the myndes and  
not in the garmentes or in meates & drin-  
kes. There be amonge the monkis whiche  
be scarce able to be put in þ thyrdre cyrcler  
and yet I speke of those whiche be good/  
but yet weake and not perfyte. There be  
amōgest these that haue had two wyues  
whiche Christe thynketh worthy for the  
fyrist cyrcler. Nor yet in the meane tyme ȝ  
do no wronge to any maner of lyuyng or  
professyon/ though I propounde and set  
forth afore euery man that thyng whiche  
is best and most perfyte: Onlesse ye wolde  
thike Plato to haue done iniury agaynt  
all cytes bycause in his booke of the gouer-  
nynge of a cyte or a comen welthe/ he fay-  
ned suche example of a comen welthe/ as  
yet neuer any man coude se. Or except ye  
do thynke that Quintilian hath hurt the  
hole ordre of oratours/ bycause he feyned  
suche an example of an oratour as yet ne-  
uer was. And though thou be farre from  
the princypall and chefe patron Christe/  
thou arte not yet therfore caste away/but  
extymulate & moued to go forwarde and  
profyte. Arte thou nere the marke? than  
art thou monysched and counsayled to a-  
proche more nere: for there was neuer yet

any man that went so farre forwarde/but  
that he might haue gone moch more neare  
the marke. There is no kynde of lyuyng  
but it hath some peryllous poynctes an-  
nered vnto it/to cause men to degenerate  
from the truthe: and who so euer sheweth  
those ieopardous and daungerous poyn-  
tes/dothe not derogate or mynusche tho-  
nour of the ordre/no; speake agaynst it/  
but rather is for the profyte therof. As the  
felicitye of princes is in daunger to fall into  
tyrany/is in daunger and ieopardy of so-  
lissenesse & flatering/no we who so euer  
sheweth those daungers to be eschewed/  
doth deserue thankes of the ordre of prin-  
ces. Nor he dothe not speke agaynst their  
maiesy wherin they glory/which dothe  
shewe in what thyngs their very maiesy  
dothe cōfesse/whiche also dothe put them  
in remēbrance wherto they were sworne  
whan they tooke their authorite: what is  
their dutye vnto their people/and what  
they ought to do vnto their offycers. The  
heedes and rulers of the churche haue in other.  
a maner assynte with two pestylent by-  
ees/auaryce and ambycion/whiche well  
perceyuyng saynt Peter the chefe pastour  
next vnto Christ/dothe monysche the bys-  
shoppes to fede theyr flocke /and not to  
pyll/poll/and sley them: Nor that they

The comen v<sup>y</sup>  
ces of princes

Bishops and

i. Petri. v.

shulde not fede them bycause of any fylth  
aduauntage / but of their free and redy  
wyll: nor that they shulde vse them selfe  
as lordes vpon them/ but that by the ex-  
ample of lyfe/ they shulde prouoke them  
to godlynesse rather than by thretynge  
and power. Dothe he than speke agaynt  
the ordre of preestes whiche dothe shewe  
by what meanes/ and howe the bishops  
may trewly be great/myghty/ and tyche

To which ryngere ouer the kynde of religyous men is  
testhe comune accompanied moste comenly (besydes a  
sorte of mōkes ther enormytes) with superstycyon/pide  
ypocrysye/ and backbytyng. He dothe not

A sentence.  
strayne condempne their maner of lyuyng  
whiche dothe shewe & admonysche them  
in what thynges most true religyon doth  
stande or rest/ and howe moche the trwe  
godlynesse of a christen man is awa from  
pride/ and how farre true charyte is from  
all feynyng and disceypte: howe moche  
backbytyng and flaundring & venemous-  
nesse of tonge is contrary to pure and true  
holynesse. And specially if he shewe what  
is to be eschued after suche sobre and dis-  
crete maner/ that he do neyther name any  
man nor touche any ordre. What thyng  
is that in this mortall lyfe so fortunat  
and prosperous/ but hath some pestylent  
thynges annexed vnto it? Therfore lyfe

A sentence.

as he dothe not noye the helth of the bo-  
dye but helpeth it, who so euer sheweth  
what thinges corrupteth helth and what  
thynges preserueth it: so he dothe not dis-  
swade men from religyon/ but exhorteth  
them rather unto it/ whiche sheweth the  
corruptous infections therof and also the  
remedyes. For I am insouirmed that ther The quarell of  
some persons.  
be dyuers which so iudgeth of this boke/  
as though the preceptes therof dyd with-  
drawe and tourne awaie mens myndes  
from the lyfe of relygyous men/ bycause  
they do not so moche prayse and allowe  
cyremonyes neyther yet mannes consti-  
tucions as some wolde/ Whiche in dede  
ouer moche regarde them. And there can  
be nothyng so circumspectly spoken/but  
that therof leude and yuell persones done  
take occasyon eyther of quarellynge or  
els of synnyng: So that it is daunger= Nothing is fre-  
full nowe a dayes to any man to teache from the caue-  
any thyng well. If a man shulde dis- lacion of leude  
swade frome suche warre and batayle persons.

Whiche nowe of longe tyme hath been  
vsed/worse than was euer any amongst  
the gentyles/ for thynges of no valure/  
he shulde be noted by and by of the pyke-  
quarelles to be one of those whiche that  
thynketh that no warre is lawfull for  
a chysten man. For these whiche were

the bringers vp and auctours of this sentence we haue made heretykes/ because a pope/ I wotte not who/ dothe seme to approue and alowe warre. And yet he is not suspected nor noted of heresie/ whiche batayle. dothe prouoke and styrre vp men to batayle/ and bloweth the trumpet therunto for euery tryfelynge mater/ agaynsie the doctrine bothe of Christe and of his apostels. If a man admonysche that this is a dede trewly belongyng to the successor of an apostle to bring the turkes unto religyon with Christes helpe/ rather than with warre: anone he is suspected as though he affyrmid not to be lawfull for christen men to withstande the turkes/ whan they inuade vs. If a man shewe and prayse the temperaunce that was in the apostels/ and speke any thing agaynst the great superfluyte that is vsed now adayes/ he shulde be noted as a fauourer of the Ebyonytes. And if a man dyd exhorte dyligently that these whiche be maried/ shulde rather be ioyned togynher by the consentes and agreyng of their myndes/ than by the embrasynges of their bodyes/ and so purely to vse matrymonye/ that as moche as myght be it were made lyke to biegynite: he shulde be anone suspected to thynke that euery acte of ma-

Pouerte.

trymonye were synne and vnlawfull/ as  
the marcionites dyd. If a man do admonishe  
that in exercysse and disputacyons/  
specyally of diuynite/ there shulde be no  
ambycious pertynacy to ouercome his fe-  
lowe in defendyng his owne opynions/  
nor no ambycion to shewe what they can  
do in comen places: he is wrongfully ac-  
cused as though he dyd cōdemayne bitterly  
all schole letnyng. Nor saynt Augustyne  
whan he gyueth warmyng to the logyct-  
ens that they shulde be wate of lusie to  
braule and chyde/dothe not cōdemayne lo-  
gike/but sheweth þ pestylence therof that  
it myght be eschewed. Also he dothe not ~~The subuerted~~  
~~dispraye~~ vertue nor prayse byce/ Whiche iudgemente of  
sheweth the preposterous & wronge iuge-  
ment of the comen people/ whitch amōge  
vertues esteme those to be of moste great  
valure and chefest whiche be of the lowest  
sorte: and amonge byces most sore hateth  
and abhorreteth those moste small fautes  
and tryfles/ and so contrary wyse. Anone  
he is accused as though he shulde fauour  
those vices whiche he sheweth to be more  
greuous than other/ and as though he  
shulde condempne those good dedes & be-  
nefytþ to whom he preferrcth other more  
holie & better. As if a man dyd admonishe  
and gyue vs warning/that it is more sute

4.1.

Pardone.

They whiche  
go to hierusa-  
lem do no gret  
thyng.

Onely voluptu-  
ousnes is ab-  
horred in sacer-  
dotes.

to trusse vnto good dedes than to trusse  
to the popes pardone / yet he dothe not  
forsothe condempne the popes pardons/  
but preferreth that whiche by Christes  
learnyng and doctryne is of more cer-  
tayne. Also if a man do teache those  
for to do better whiche tary at home and  
prouyde for their wyfe and children/than  
those whiche goo to se Rome/ Hierusa-  
lem/ or saynte James/ and that money  
whiche they shulde spende in that longe  
and peryllous iourney to be better and  
more deuoutly spente vpon poore folkes/  
yet condempneth not he their good en-  
tent/ but preferreth that whiche is more  
nere to very godlynnes. And this is a thing  
not onely vsed nowe in our tyme but also  
in tymes here tofore past/to abhorre some  
byces as though he there were none other/  
fawnyng vpon the rest as they were no  
byces at all/ whan in very dede they be  
more detestable than those whiche we so  
hate & abhorre. Saynte Augustyne dothe  
complayne in his epystels that lastyn-  
ousnesse of the fleshe is onely imputed  
vnto the preestes of Affryke as a byce/and  
that the byce of couetousnesse and dron-  
kennesse be taken well nygh for a prayse.  
This specially we speke moste agaynst/  
and crye out vpon & exagerate for an ex-

redyng abhomynable facte/ if one touche  
the body of Christe with the same handes  
wherwith he hath touched the body of a  
harlotte. And there be some ouer ragyng  
bolde that be not a frayde openly to af-  
fyme that it is lesse synne for a woman  
to commytte carnall acte with a brute  
beest than to lye with a preest. Nowe he  
that somthyng rebuketh their vnsham-  
fastnesse/ dothe not therfore fauoure the  
naughtynesse of preests/ but sheweth that  
they regarde not those offences whiche be  
a great deale more to be cryed out vpon.  
But if a preest be a dysar/ a syghter/ a <sup>A sacerdote bē</sup>  
brauler/ al vnlearned/ drowned and wrap= <sup>ynge a dyce,</sup>  
ped in temporall besynesse/ all gyuen to or syghter.  
the yuell seruyce of yuell princes/ yet a= <sup>A sacerdote</sup>  
gaynste hym they crye nothyng at all  
whiche all togyther worldely and pollu-  
ted dothe handle and entremeddle with  
holy mysteryes. Whan a preest is a flat= <sup>A sacerdote</sup>  
terer or a pyke quarell/ whiche with his <sup>pyke quarells</sup>  
bytter tongue and false lyes dothe hurte  
the names of those whiche never offend-  
ed hym/ but rather hath done hym plea-  
sures/ why do we not nowe crye out? Oh  
what an horryble synne is this to receyue  
thy lordē god/ whiche suffered his passyon  
for synners with þ tongue whiche is full of  
poysone of hell/ & with þ mouth wherwith  
c.ij.

thou kyllest & sleest an innocent. But this  
puell and vngtacyousnesse we set so lytell  
by þ in a maner those men are euen p̄ap-  
ped for it/ whiche pfesse them selues to be  
the mosse religyous amongest religyous  
men. There is no man that denyeth but  
they be to be reprehended and sore rebuked  
whiche nourysche and kepe at home  
cōcubynes/to the puell example of all the  
comen people:but yet these other yuel vp-  
ces be more hatefull to god. Nor he dothe  
therfore say that butter is naught whiche  
say the that hony is better and more to be  
preferred: Nor yet dothe not approue the  
fener that counsayleth the phrenesye more  
to be auoyded. And it is harde to tell & ex-  
preſſe how great infection of maners and  
disposicion dothe spring of these peruers  
and wronge iugementes.

Certayn thiſſ  
haue onely an  
earthward ſhew  
of godlynesſe.

There be dyuers  
thynges nowe a dayes receyued in to the  
ordre of vertues/ whiche rather haue the  
wyſer and apparaunce of godlynesſe than  
the nature and strength of it/ in ſo moche  
that onleſſe we loke well vnto them and  
take good heſe of them/ they do quenche  
and bitterly diſtroye vertue. If it had ben  
but a lytell pestylence of religyon whiche  
in cyremones do lye couerte/ Paule wolde  
neuer ſo ſharply haue ſpoken agaynst thiſſ  
in all his epyſtels. And yet do not we con-

dempne in any place c̄yremontyes that be  
moderatly obserued/but that al holynesse C̄yremontyes  
be of the mean  
sorte.

be ascrybed vnto them we can not suffre.

Saynte Augustyne dyd prophbyte those A rule of saynt  
Augustyne,

of the clergye whiche were in house with

him to vse any notable vesture/but if they

wolde be cōmended of þ people/ that they

shulde rather bringe that to passe by their

maners and vertuous lyuyng than by a-

ny sondry fassyon of rayment. But nowe

a dayes it is a wylde for to se what newe

and wonderfull fassyons of aparayle and

vesture there be. But yet I speke not a=

gaynst that/ but this I meruayle of/that The rules  
of men,

those thinges are so ouer moche regarded

and set by/whiche peraduēture myght by

ryght be reprehended. And agayne that

those thyngs be so lytell regarded whiche

we shulde only beholde and regarde. I do

not rayle agaynst the grey freres & blacke

monkes that they make moche of theyz

owne rule/but bycause certayne of them

regarde more their owne rules than they

do the gospell:whiche thing wolde to god

were not fōnde in the most parte of them.

I do not speke agaynsie that/ that some

eate fyſſhe/ some lyue with yerbes/ other

with egges: but I admonyſſhe those to

erre and to be farre out of the way whiche

wyll of those thynges iustify them selues

after the maner of the iewes/ thynkyng  
them selfe better / and preferrynge them  
selfe to other for suche tryfles of mennes  
inuencyon/and take it for no defaulte at  
all to hurte another mannes good name  
**Dyuersyte** with false lyes. Of the dyuersyte of meate  
of meates. and drinke Christe neuer commaunded a  
ny thynge/ nor the apostels: But Paule  
often tymes dyd dissuade vs from it.  
Christ curseth bytter flaundringe/whiche  
also all the apostels dothe detest and ab  
horre: and yet that notwithstanding we  
wyll apere relygyous in suche vsynge of  
meates/and in hurtyng mennes fame we  
be bolde and hardy. I praye you thynke  
you that he whiche dothe admonysse  
these bothe in generall not touchyng any  
man/and also louyngly / dothe hurte re  
lygyon? who is so madde that he wolde  
be accompted eloquent for shewynge and  
bringynge to lyght the vyses that belon  
gen to monkes? But these peraduenture  
feare leest their couentes and bretherne  
wolde be lesse obedyent/and leest also there  
do not so many desyre to be shauen into  
their ordre:yet verily/no man is more obe  
dyent to his heed than he whiche inspyred  
with the holy ghost is free & at lybertie.  
Trewe & very charyte taketh all thynges  
well in worthe/and suffreth all thynges/

refuseth nothyng / is obedyent vnto rul-  
lers / not onely to those that be sobre and  
gentle / but also to those that be sharpe and  
rough. But yet rulers must be wise of this <sup>The infery-</sup>  
that they do not tourne the obedyence of <sup>ours obedyēce</sup>  
other men in to their owne tyranny / and <sup>maye not be</sup> abused.  
that they had leuer therfore to haue them  
supersticious than holy & vertuous / wher-  
by they myght be more obedyent at euery  
becke. They haue pleasure to be called fa-  
thers: but what carnall father is ther that  
wolde haue his chyldren euer infates and  
yonge bycause he myght vse his power  
vpon them at his owne pleasure? And of  
the other parte all those þ purpose to pro-  
fyte in þ lyberty of Christ / this they must  
beware of / leest as saint Paule dothe ad-  
monysþe they make their lyberty a cloke  
or couert to their carnall lyuyng: Or as  
saynt Peter teacheth / with their lybertye  
they make a couer and a cloke to malici-  
ousnesse. And if that one or two do abuse  
this lyberty / yet it is not ryght forthwith  
that all other therfore be euer kept in su-  
persticiousnesse & bondage of cyremonyes  
lyke vnto þ iewes. And who so euer wyll  
marke it shal pceyue þ amongest these re-  
ligious mē no man causeth þ cyremonyes  
to be more straitly obserued thā they whi-  
che vnder þ preceptz therof doth bere rule  
c.iiiij.

and sette their bellyes rather thā Christ,  
More ouer they nedē not be a frayne lessē  
<sup>The more reli-</sup>  
<sup>gyous a man is</sup> such kynde of essenēs be not yuough spred  
the lessē he yel: a brode in so great dyuersytē of mens na-  
deth to crye-  
<sup>tures Wherby it is caused that nothyngē</sup>  
is so vñreasonable but dyuers and many  
wyl loue & desyre it/although their selues  
ought more to desyre that they had trewe  
professours of religyon rather thā many.  
But wolde to god that it were prouyded  
and ordayned by a lawe þ no man shulde  
be taken in such snares afore he were xxx.  
yeres of age/ before he somthyng knewe  
hym selfe/or knewe what the nature and  
vertue of true religyon is. But these whi-  
che lyke vnto the phariseys/doynge their  
owne besynesse and prouydynge for their  
owne profyte/wāder aboute to make no-  
uesses bothe by see and lande/ shall never  
fayle of yonge men lackynge expyence  
whom they maye allure in to their veyles  
and nettes/and also disceyue. There be a  
great nombrē of fooles and symple soules  
in euery place. But I desyre euen with all  
my herte/ and I doubtē not but so do all  
that be very good men/ that the religyon  
of the gospell shulde be so plesant to every  
man that they beyng cōtented therwith/  
shulde not desyre the relygyon of blacke  
monkes or grey freeres. And I doute not

Math. xxij.

but so wolde saynt Benedicte & Fraunces  
them selues. Moyses dyd reioyce that his Al thing<sup>s</sup> gyue  
owne honour was defaced and dymmed place to the  
With the glory of Christe : and so shulde glory of christ.  
those other be glad if for the loue of Christ-  
es lawe we set nothyng by mans con-  
stytucions. I wolde that all christen men  
shulde so lyue that these whiche nowe be  
called onely religyous shulde apere lytell  
religous whiche thyng euuen at this day  
is of truthe and that in many : for whye  
shulde I dissymule that thyng that is so  
manyfeste? And yet in the olde tyme the be- The fyre be-  
gynnyng of the monastycall lyfe was no- gynnyng of  
thing els but a goyng a syde in to a secrete tyme.  
monk<sup>s</sup> in olde  
place from the cruelnesse of ydolaters .  
And anone after the maner of lyuyng of  
religous men whiche folowed thē was  
nothyng els but a reformacyon & callyng  
agayne to Christ: for the courtes of prin-  
ces in the olde tyme shewed them christe-  
ned in their tytles/rather than in their ly-  
uyng. The bysshoppes anone after were  
corrupt with ambycion & couetousnesse/  
and the comen people also faynted and  
woxen colde from þ charyte whiche was  
in þ primytyue churche: and for this pur-  
pose dyd saynt Benet seke a solytary lyfe/  
and than after hym Barnarde/ and after  
that dyuers other dyd assocyat thē selues

From whence  
ceremonies  
came.

eogytter/ for this entent onely that they  
myght vse the pure & symple lyfe of chris-  
ten men. Than after in processe of tyme  
whan their rychesse and cremenories dyd  
encrease/ their trewe godlynnesse and sym-  
plenesse dyd abate and decrease. And  
nowe althoughe we se men of relygyon  
to be ouermuche out of good ordre/ and  
to vse maners lyke vnto gentyles/ yet is  
the worlde fylled with newe instytucions  
and kyndes of relygyon as though they  
shulde not fall to the same poynte here af-  
ter that other haue done afore them. In  
tymes passed/ as I sayd/ a religyous lyfe  
was nothyng but a solytary lyfe. And  
nowe these be called religyous whiche be  
monkes most altogyder drowned in worldly belynnesse/  
worldly.

bysyng plainly certayne tyranny in world-  
ly maters/ and yet these for their aparayle  
and tytle I can not tell what/ do the cha-  
lenge suche holynesse to their selues that  
they do accompte all other in comparison  
of them selues no christen men at all. Why  
do we make so straute and narowe chri-  
stes relygyon whiche he wolde haue so  
large? If we be moued with magnifycall  
and hyghe termes / I praye you what  
thing els is a cyte but a great monastery?  
Monkes be obedient to their abbot and  
gouernours/ the cyteyzns obey the bys-

A Cyte is a  
great mona-  
stery.

shoppes and curates / whom Christe hym  
selfe made rulers and not the authorite  
of man. The monkes lyue in ydlenesse /  
and be fedde of other mennes lyberalyte <sup>Obedyēce/po:</sup>  
possessyng that amongest them in co-<sup>uerte/chastyte</sup>  
men / whiche they never laboured or swet  
for (yet speake I nothyng of them that  
be vycious). The cytzyns bestowe that  
whiche they haue gotten with their la-  
boure and great trauayle / to them that  
haue nedē / euery man as he is of haby-  
lyte and power. Nowe as concernyng  
the bowe of chastyte I dare not be bolde  
to expresse what dyfference is bytwyxte  
the relygyous man bmaryed / and the  
chaste matrymonye of the other. And to  
be shorte he shall not very greatly lacke  
those thre bowes of mannes inuencyon /  
that dothe kepe and obsetue purely and  
sincerely þ fyſte onely bowe whiche we  
all solempnly make unto Christ / and not  
unto manne / whan we receyue our bap-  
tysme. And if we compare those that be  
puell of one kynde / with those that be  
puel of the other / without doute the tem-  
perall men be moche better. But if we cō-  
pare those which be good of the one sorte  
With those that be good of þ other there  
is lytell dyfference / if there be any at all/

No kynde of  
lyfe ought to  
be reproved.

The confidence  
in our selfe is  
moost pernici-  
ous.

sauyng that those apere to be more religyous that kepe their religyon and dutye with lesse coactyon. The rest is therfore that no man folyschly stande in his owne conceyte/ neyther for his dyuersyte of lyuyng from other men/ nor disppse or condempane the rule or ordre of other mennes lyuyng. But in every kynde of lyuyng let this be our comen study/ that euery man accordyng to his power endeuoyre hym selfe to attayne vnto the marke of Christ whiche is set open to al men/ & that euery man do exhorte other to it/ and also helpe other/ neyther enuyeng them þ ouer rone vs in this course/ nor disdaynyng them that be weake and can not yet ouer take

vs. In conclusyon whan euery man hath done that he can/ let hym not be lyke vnto the pharisey whome the gospell maketh mencyon of/ whiche dothe bothe his good dedes vnto god sayeng: I fast twyse in the weke/ I paye al my tythes & suche forthe. But after Christes couisayle let hym speke from the herte and to hym selfe/ and not to other/ sayeng I am an vnprofytale seruaunt/ for I haue doone nomore than I ought to do. There is no man that beter trusteth than he that so dystrusteth. There is no man further from trewe religyon than he that thinketh hym selfe to

be very religyous. Nor Christ's godlynesse  
is never at worse poynt/ than whan that  
thyng whiche is wordly is writhen vnto  
Christe/ and the authorite of man is pre-  
ferred vnto the authorite of god. We must  
all hange of that heed if we wyll be true  
christen men. Besore ouer who so euer is  
obedyent to a man whiche doth perswade  
and call hym vnto Christ/ he is obedyent  
vnto Christ/ and not vnto man. And who  
so euer dothe tollerate & suffre those men  
whiche be subtyle/ ctruell and ymperious/  
teachyng that thyng whiche maketh not  
for religyon/ but for their tyramy/ he vseth  
the pacience mete for a chrysten man/ so  
that these thyngs whiche they comande  
be not vterly wicked & contrary to Chri-  
stes doctryne/ for than it shalbe conuenient  
to haue þ answere of thapostels at hande:  
We must rather be obedyent vnto god than  
to any man. But we haue lōge ago passed  
the measure & quantytē of an epyskle/ so  
greatly þ tyme disceyueth vs/ whyles we  
comen and talke most plesantly with our  
well be loued frende. This booke is sent  
vnto you in Frobemius printe/ as though  
it were newe borne agayne/ moche more  
ornate and better corrected than it was  
before. I haue put vnto it certayne frag-  
mentz of myne olde study in tymes passed.

how farre pro-  
lates must be  
obeyed.

We thought it mosse conuenient to dedycate this edycion(suche as it is) vnto you that who soeuer shall take any preceptes to lyue well of Erasmus/ shulde haue an example redy at hande of our father Wol-  
ius. Our lorde preserue you good father/ the honour and worshyp of all religyon.  
I pray you couisayle Sapidus that he be wyse/that is/that he go forthe as he hath begonne: and to Wynphelyngus ye shall speke also/that he prepare all his armure to fyght shortly with the turkes/ for as moche as he hath kepte warre longe ynough with kepers of concubynes. And I haue great hope and truste to se hym ones a bysshop/and to ryde vpon a mule/ and to be set hygh in honoure with a mytre & crosse. But in ernest I praye you comande me hertly bothe vnto them and vnto Ruserus & the rest of my frendes/ and in your deuoute prayers made to god I praye you remembre Erasmus/and pray for his soules helth. At Basyle the euyn of the as-  
sumpcion of our Lady/  
In the yere of our lorde god  
M. LLLLC.  
and .xviii.

Here followeth the table of  
this present booke.

- C**omes muste watche and loke aboute  
vs euermore whyle we be in this  
lyfe. capitulo primo.  
Of the weapons to be vsed in the  
werre of a christen man. cap. ii.  
The fyrd poynte of wysdom is to knowe  
thy selfe / & of two maner wysdomes the  
trewe wysdom & apparent. cap. iii.  
Of the outward & inward man. cap. iii.  
The dyuersyte of affectyons. cap. v.  
Of the inward and the outward man/  
and of the two partes of man proued by  
holy scripture. cap. vi.  
Of the thre partes of man / the spryte / the  
soule / and the flesche. cap. vi.  
Certayne generall rules of trewe chy-  
stendome. cap. viii.  
Agaynst the puell of pgnorauice / the fyrd  
rule. cap. ix.  
The seconde rule. cap. x.  
The thyrd rule. cap. xi.  
The fourth rule. cap. xii.  
The fyfth rule. cap. xiii.  
The syxth rule. cap. xiv.  
Here followeth opynions mete for a chri-  
sten man. cap. xv.  
The seuenth rule. cap. xvi.

The eygth rule.	cap. xviij.
The nyntre rule.	cap. xvij.
The tenthe rule.	cap. xiij.
The enleueth rule.	cap. xi.
The twelfte rule.	cap. xiiij.
The thurtenth rule.	cap. xxiij.
The fourtenth rule.	cap. xxiiij.
The fyftenth rule.	cap. xxvij.
The syxtenth rule.	cap. xxviij.
The seuententh rule.	cap. xxvij.
The eyghtenth rule.	cap. xxvij.
The nyntenth rule.	cap. xxvij.
The twenteth rule.	cap. xxvij.
The one & twenteth rule.	cap. xxvij.
The two & twenteth rule.	cap. xxvij.
Remedyes agaynst certayne specyall synnes / and fyrt agaynst bodily lust. ca. xxvij.	
A shorte recapitulacyon of remedyes a gaynst the flame of luste.	cap. xxxij.
Agaynst the entysyng & prouokynge vnto auaryce.	cap. xxxij.
The recapitulacyon of the remedyes a gaynst the vyce of auaryce.	cap. xxxv.
Agaynst ambycion or desyre of honour and auctorite.	cap. xxxvij.
Agaynst elacyon / otherwyse called pypol or swellyng of the mynde.	cap. xxxvij.
Agaynst wrathe and desyre of wreke and vengeaunce.	cap. xxxvij.

Cffinis,

A compendyous treatysse of the  
sowdyour of Chryst/called Eu-  
chiridion/Whiche Erasmus  
of Roterdame wrote vnto  
a certayne courtyer/a  
frende of his.

**T**hou hast desyzed me with fer-  
uent study syngular beloued bro-  
ther in Chryst/that I sholde de-  
scrybe for the compendyously/ a  
certeyn craft of vertuous lyuig/by whose  
helpe thou myghtest attayne a vertuous  
mynde/accordyng to a true chysten man.  
For thou sayest that thou art & hast ben a  
greate whyle wery of the pastyme of the  
courte. And doest cōpasse in thy mynde by  
what meanes thou myghtest escape egypt  
with all her bothe vyses & pleasures/and  
be prepared happyly with the captayne  
Moyses vnto the iourney of vertue. The  
more I loue the/the gladder I am of this  
thyne so holy a purpose/which I trust( ye  
without our helpe)he that hath vouched  
safe to stye it vp in the/ shall make pspe-  
cous & bryng to good effect. Notwithsta-  
dyng yet haue I very gladly & wyllyngly  
accomplysched thy desyre/partly bycause

Egypt betoſ<sup>s</sup>  
keneth syns  
full lyuynge.

The lande  
of promysa-  
syon signy-  
fyceth pure  
lyfe.

A.s.

thou art so great a frende or myne/partly  
also bycause thou requyrest so charytable  
thynges. Now enforce thyself & do thyne  
endeuoyre/that neyther thou mayst semme  
to haue desyred my seruyce & dutie i bayne  
or els I to haue satisfyed thy mynde with  
out any fruyte.ye let vs bothe indifferetly  
beseeche the benygne spiryte of Jesu/that  
he bothe put holsom thynges i my mynde  
whyle I wryte and make the same to the  
of strengthe and esycacye.

We must watche & loke aboufe vs euer  
more whyle we be in this lyfe. Caplo.ij

The lyfe of  
man is but  
a warfare/  
Say ih Job  
vij.

The cōpa-  
raciō of the  
worlde to a  
tugler.

Peace peā-  
ce; and yet  
is there no  
peace at all

**I**he first poynt is/we must nedes  
haue in mynde cōtynually/that  
the lyfe of mortal men is nothig  
but a certayne ppetuall exercysse  
of warre:as Job Wytnessest. A Warryour  
pued to the vtermost & never ouercōme.  
And þ the moste pte of men be ouermochē  
deceyued/whose myndes this Worlde as a  
tugler holdeth occupied with delicyous &  
flaterig pleasures/whiche also as though  
they had conquered all theyz ennemyes/  
make holypdaye out of season/none other  
wyse verly than in a very assured peace.  
It is a meruaylous thing to behold how  
Without care and circūspecyon we lyue/

how ydelly we slepe / now vpon the one  
syde / & now vpon the other / whan with-  
out ceasyng we are beseged with so great  
a nobre of armed vices / sought & hūted for  
with so great craft / inuaded dayly with so  
greate lyenge awyte. Beholde ouer thy  
heed wycked deuyls that neuer slepe / but  
kepe watche for our destruccion / armed a-  
gainst vs with a thousand deceytes / with  
a thousande crafte of noysaunces / whiche  
enforce frō on hygh to wōnde our myndes  
with wepons brenyng & dipped in deedly  
poyson / than the whiche wepons neyther  
Hercules nor Cephalus had euer a surer  
darte / excepte they be receyued the sure &  
impenetrable shelde of faith. Thā agayne  
on the ryght hāde & on the left hāde / afore  
and behynde this wōrde stryueþ agaynst  
vs / whiche after the saying of saynt John  
is set all on byce & myschefe. And therfore  
to Chryſt bothe contrary & hated. Neyther  
is it one maner of fyght / for somtyme with  
gones of aduersite ragyng / as with open  
warre he shaketh the walles of the soule  
Somtyme with great promesses (but yet  
most bayne) he puoketh to treason: & som-  
tyme by vndermynyng he steleþ on vs  
vnware to catche vs among the ydle and  
careles men. Last of all vnderneth / the  
Apper serpent the fyſt breker of peace / sa-

Dyuerſe en-  
emyſe from  
aboue.

Ememyſe  
at hande.

Ennemys ther of vnquietnes / otherwhiles hydde in  
the grene grasse / luckyng in his caues /  
wrapped togyder in a hōdred rōnde rolles  
ceaseth not to watche and lye in a wayte  
bynethe in the hele of our womā / whome  
he ones poysoned. By the womā is vnder  
stande the carnall parte of a man / other-  
wyse called Sensualite. This is our Eve  
by whom the most crafty serpēt dothe en-  
tice & drawe our myndes to mortal & deed-  
ly pleasures. And furthermore as though  
it were but a tryfle that so great a cōpany  
of ennemys sholde assayle vs on every  
syde. We beare aboute with vs where so  
ever we go in the very secrete partes of  
mynde an ennemy nerer than one of ac-  
queyntaunce / or one of housholde. And as  
nothyng is more inwarde / so nothyng is  
more peryllous. This is the olde & earthly  
Adam / whiche by acqueyntaunce & custo-  
mable familiarite / is more nere to vs than  
a citezyn / and is in all maner studyes and  
pastymes to vs more contrary than ony  
mortall ennemy / whome thou canst kepe  
of with no bulwarke / neyther is it lawfull  
to expell hym out of thy paulyon. This  
felowe must be watched with an hondred  
or cite of god for deuils to entre in. Seyng  
therfore we be vexed with so ferefull and

Eve signy-  
fyeth affec-  
cions.

Olde erth-  
ly Adā be-  
tokeneth  
appetytes  
& affeccy-  
ons.

cruel warre / & that we haue to do; stryue  
with so many ennemyes / whiche haue co-  
spyred and sworne our deth / whiche be so  
besy / so apoynted / so false & expert. Dught  
not we mad men on þ other syde to arme  
our selfe & take our trepons in our hādes  
to kepe watche & haue all thyngs suspect.  
But we as though al thyngs were at rest  
& peace slepe so fast that we rowte agayn  
& gyue our selfe to ydernes / to pleasure / &  
as the comue puerbe is / gyue our myndes  
to reuelynge and makynge good chere / as  
though our lyfe were a festyng or backet-  
tyng / suche as the grekes vsed / & not war-  
fare. For in the stede of centes & pauylyōs  
we tumble & walter in our beddes. And in  
in the stede of sallettes & harde armure we  
be crowned with roses & fresshe floures.  
Bathed in damaske and rose waters / smo-  
ked in pomaunders & with muske balles /  
chaungyng poyntes of warre with ryot &  
ydelnes. And in þ stede of wepōs belōgyng  
to þ warre / we handle & take vnto vs the  
vnhardy harpe / as this peace were not of  
all warres the moost shamefull. For who  
so euer is at one with byces / hath broken  
truce made bytwene him & god in tyme of  
baptym. And thou oh madde man cryest  
peace peace / whā thou hast god thyne en-  
emy / whiche onely is peace & the authoř

There is no  
peace to wic-  
ked persones.

of peace / & he hymselfe with open mouth  
cryeth the contrary by the mouthe of his  
prophete saying there is no peace to syn-  
ners or wicked persones whiche loue not  
god. And there is none other condicion of  
peace with hym except that we (as longe  
as we warre in the fortresse of this body)  
with deadly hate and with all our myght  
holde syght agaynst vycies. For yf we be  
at one with thē/we shall haue him twyse  
our ennemy/which onely beyng our frēde  
may make vs blisſed. And yf he be our foo  
may destroye vs / bothe bycause that we  
stande on theyr syde whiche onely can ne-  
uer agre with god/for how can lyght and  
darknes agree / & also that bycause we as  
men moost vnykynde abyde not by the pro-  
melle that we made to hym/ but vniuersall  
haue broke thappoynctment made bytwene  
hym & vs with ptestacion & holy ceremo-  
nies. Oh thou chryſten man remembrest

In tyme of  
baptym we  
professe with  
protestacion  
to fight cuer  
vnder the  
standarde of  
Chyſt.  
thou not whan thou were professed & con-  
ſecrate with the holy myſteries of þ foun-  
tayne of lyfe/ how thou boundest thy ſelfe  
to be a faythfull ſowdyour unto thy cap-  
tayne Chyſt / to whome thou oweſt the  
lyfe twyſe/ bothe bycause he gaue it the  
also bycause he restored it agayne to the  
to whom thou oweſt more than thou art  
able to paye. Cometh it not to thy mynd

how whan thou were bounde with his sacramentes as with holy gyftes / thou were sworne with wordes for the nones to take the parte of so curteys an Empereour / and that thou dydest curse & banne thyne owne heed / desyryng vengeaunce to fall vpon thyne owne selfe / yf thou dydest not abyde by thy promesse . For what entent was the sygne of the crosse pynted in thy foreheed / but that as long as thou lyuest thou sholdest fyght vnder his standarde . For what entent were thou anoynted with his holy oyle / but that thou for euer sholdest vrastle and fyght agaynst byces . What shame & how greate abomynacyon is it accounted with al men yf a man forsake his kyng or chefe lord . Why settest thou so lyght than by thy capytayne Chrysste / neyther kepte downe with the feare of hym / seynge he is god / nor refraynyng for loue / seynge for thy sake he was made man / ye & seynge thou vsurpest his name thou oughtest to remembre what thou hast promyzed hym . Why departest thou awaye from hym lyke a false forsworne man / and goest vnto thyne enneemy / from whens he ones redemed the with the rausom of his precyous blode . Why doest thou so ofte a renegate warre & fyght vnder the standarde of his

Badges &  
sygnes of  
baptym.

The name  
of Chrys-  
t ought to  
put vs in  
remen-  
braunce.

A.iiiij.

aduersary. With what face presumest thou  
to set vp contrary baners against thy king  
whiche for thy sake bestowed his owne  
lyfe. Who so euer is not on his part / as he  
sayth hymselfe Luce. xi. standeth agayng  
hym. And he that gadereth not with hym  
scatereth abrode. Thou warrest not onely  
with fylthy tytle or quarell / but also for a  
myserable rewarde. Wylt thou heare who  
so euer thou be y art seruaunt or sowdypouer  
to the worlde / what shall be thy mede /  
Paule the standarde bearer in the warre  
of Chryst answereth the. The rewarde  
(sayth he) of synne is deth. And who wolde  
take vpon hym to fyght in a iust & an ho-  
nest cause: yf he were sure to dye but bodi-  
ly onely / & thou fyghtest in a wrong & also  
a filthy quarel to obtayne for thy rewarde  
the deth of thy soule. In these mad war-  
res that man maketh agaynst man / eyther  
through beestly fury / or for myserable ne-  
cessite. Seest thou not yf at any tyme the  
greatnes of y praye pmyled or hoped for /  
or coforte of the captayne / or the cruelties  
of the ennemyes / or shame of cowardnes  
cast in theyr tethes / or in conclusyon yf de-  
syre of prayse hath prycked & sterred vp the  
sowdypouers myndes: with what courage &  
with what lusty stomaches fyngis the they  
what so euer labour remayneth / how ly-

The guer-  
don of  
synne.

cell they regarde theyr lyues / with howe  
great fyersnes tonne they vpon theyr en-  
nemys/wel is hym that may go forrest.  
And I beseche the howe smal is þ rewarde  
Whiche those wretched men go aboute to  
gete with so great iepardyes & diligence  
Veryly but to haue prayse of a wretched  
man theyr captayn / & that they myght be  
praysed with a rude & homely song/suche  
as are vsed to be made in þ tyme of warre  
to haue happely theyr names wryten in a  
harpers bederoll / to gete a garlande of  
grasse or oken leues/or at þ most to bryng  
home a lytell more baughtage orwynnyng  
with them. we on the other syde clene cō-  
trary be kendled neyther with shame nor  
hope of reward / and yet he beholdeth vs  
whyle we fight that shal quyte our Payne  
þt we wynne the felde. But what rewarde  
setteth forth the chefe ruler of our game  
for them that wynne the maystry/not mu-  
les as Achylles dyd in Homere/not tripo-  
das/that is to say/meate bordes with.ij.  
fete/as Eneas dyd in Virgil:but suche as  
the eye never sawe/ne þ eare never herde/  
neyther coude synke in to the hert of man.  
And thcse rewardes he gyueth in þ meane  
seasō to his(whyles they be yet fyghting)  
as solaces and thynges to cōforte them in  
theyr labours & trauayles. And what here

Compara-  
cyon of re-  
wardes.

after certes blessed immortalite. But in gemes of spore/ as rennyng/wrastlyng/ le-  
pyng/in whiche þ chefest parte of rewarde  
is prayse. They which be ouercōme/hauie  
lykewyse theyz rewardes assygned vnto  
them. But our mater is tryed with great  
and doutfull peryll / neyther we fyght for  
prayse/but for lyfe/ & as rewarde of moou-  
valure is pfred to hym that quyteth hym  
selfe most manfully. So Payne most terry-  
ble is appoynted for hym þ gyueth backe.  
Heuen is promyzed to hym that fyghteth  
lustely. And why is not the quick courage  
of a gentyll stomacke enflamed with the  
hope of so blessed a rewarde/namely whā  
he promyseth / whiche as he can not dye/  
euен so he can not deceyue. Al thynges be-  
done in the syght of god whiche al thyngs  
beholdeth. We haue al the company of he-  
uen beholders of our cōflict. And how are  
we not moued at the leastway euен for  
ry shame? He shall prayse our vertue & di-  
ligece/of whome to be lauded is very feli-  
cite. Why seke we not this prayse/ye with  
the losse of our lyues. It is a cowardfull  
mynde that wyl be quickened with no ma-  
ner of reward. The veryest hertles cowar-  
de in the worlde/for feare of peyrs oft ty-  
me taketh courage to hym. And in world  
ly bataylles though thyne aduersary be

God behol-  
deth vs.

neuer so cruell / yet rageth he but on thy  
goodes & body onely. what more thā that  
coude cruell Achylles do to Hector. But  
here the immortall parte of the is assawoted  
and thy carkas is not drawen abouthe the  
sepulcre as Hectors / but thy body & soule  
is cast downe in to hell: there the greatest  
calamite or hurt is / that a sworde shall se-  
parate the soule frō the body. Here is ta-  
ken from thy soule the lyfe / whiche is god  
him self. It is natural for the body to dye  
whiche yf no man kyll / yet must it nedely  
dye. But thy soule to dye / is extreme my-  
sery. With how greate cautell boyde we  
the wōndes of the body / with how great  
diligence cure we them / & set we so lytell  
of the wōndes of the soule. Our hertes a= The deth of  
ryseth & grudgeth at the remembraunce of the body se-  
deth of the body as a terrible or outragy-  
ous thyng / bycause it is seen with bodily  
eyes. The soule to dye bycause no man  
seeth & fewe byleueth / therfore very fewe  
feare it. And is this dethe more cruell yet  
than the other. Euen as moche as the  
soule dothe passe the body / & god excelleth  
the soule. Wylt thou that I shewe the cer-  
teyn conjectures / exāples or tokenes wher-  
by thou mayst perceyue the sicknes & deth  
of the soule? Thy stomache dygesteth yll /  
it kepereth no meate / thou pceyuest by & by

Achilles  
slewē Hes-  
tor.

The deth of  
the body se-  
meth terrif-  
ible / the deth  
of the soule  
is not per-  
ceyued.

The token  
of a sycke  
soule.

thy body to be out of temper. And b<sup>e</sup>reade  
is not so naturall meate to thy body / as  
the w<sup>r</sup>orde of god is meate for thy soule. yf  
that seme bitter / yf thy mynde ryse againg  
it / why douteſt thou yet but þ the mouth  
of thy soule is out of taste / & infected with  
some disease. yf thy memory the stomachke  
of thy soule kepe not the lernynge of god.  
yf by cōtynual meditacyon thou digested  
not. yf whan it is dygestered / thou sendest it  
not to all partes by operacyon / thou haſt  
an euydet token that thy soule is acrased.  
Whan thy knees for weyknes bow vnder  
the / & moche worke to draue thy lymines  
after the / thou pceyuest playnly thy body  
to be eyll at ease. And doest thou not per  
ceyue the sycknes of thy soule whan he  
grudgeth and is weyke and fayne to all  
dedes of pite / whan he hath no strengthe  
to suffre paciently the leest rebuke in the  
worlde / and is troubled & angry with the  
losse of a halfpeny. After that the syght is  
departed fro the eyes / & the eares cease to  
heare. After that all the body hath lost his  
felyng: no man douteſt than but the soule  
is departed. Whan the eyes of thy herte be  
waren dym / in so moche that thou canſt  
not ſe the moſt clereſt lyght / which is ver  
tue or trouth. Whā thou heatest not with  
thy inwarde eares the boſce of god. Whad

thou lackest all thy inward felyngē and  
p̄c̄eyuyngē of the knowlege of god / thyn-  
kest thou that thy soule is alyue. Thou  
seest thy brother vngoodly entreated / thy  
mynde is nothyng moued so thy mater be  
in good case. Why feleth thy soule nothig  
here? Certaynly bycause he is deed. Why  
deed? bycause her lyf is awaie / that is god  
For verly where god is / there is charite /  
loue & cōpassyō of thy neyghbour / for god  
is that charite. For yf thou were a quycke  
membre / how coude any part of thy body  
ake / thou not sorowynge / no not ones fe-  
lyng or p̄c̄eyuyng it. Take a more euydet  
roke. Thou hast deceyued thy frende / thou  
hast commytted adultery / thy soule hath  
caught a deadly wounde / & yet it greueth  
the not / in so moche that thou ioyest as it  
it were of great wynnnyng / and bostest thy  
selfe of that thou shamefully hast cōmyt-  
ted. beleue surely that thy soule lyeth deed  
Thy body is not alyue yf he fele not the  
pryckyng of a pyn. And is thy loule alyue  
whiche lacketh the felyngē of so greate a  
wōnde. Thou hearest some man bse lewde  
& presumptuous cōuny cacyon / wordes  
of backbytyng / bñchaste & fylthy / ragyng  
furiously agaynst his neyghbour: thynke  
not the soule of þ man to be alyue. There  
lyeth a rotten carcass in þ sepulcre of that

God is lyfe  
of the soule,  
Felyng is  
a token of  
lyfe.

The bodyes  
of good men  
be the temples  
of the holy  
goost.

The body is  
the burial or  
grave.

stomacke fro whens suche stenche aryseth  
& infecteth every man that cometh nygh.  
Chryſt called the pharisees paynted sepul-  
cres. why so? bycause they bare deed sou-  
les aboute with them. And kynge David  
the pphete saith/theyr throte is a sepulcre  
wyde open / they speake deceiptfully with  
theyr tonges. The bodyes of holy people  
be the temples of the holy goost. And lewde  
mennes bodyes be the sepulcres of dead  
corſes/that the interpretations of the gra-  
maryens to them myght well be applyed  
Soma quasi Sima. it is called a body by  
cause it is the buryall/that is to saye the  
graue of the soule. The brest is þ sepulcre  
the mouth & the throte is the gapyng of  
the sepulcre/and the body destytute of the  
soule/ is not so deed as is the soule whan  
she is forsaken of almyghty god / neyther  
any corſe synketh i the nose of man so sore  
as the stenche of a soule buryed. iiiij. dayes  
offendeth the nose of god and all sayntes.  
Therefore concluſe whan so euer deed wor-  
des procede out of thy heert/ it must nedes  
be that a deed corſe lyeth buryed within.  
For whan (accordyng to the gospell) the  
mouth speketh of the aboundaunce of the  
heert/no doubt he wolde speke the lyuely  
wordes of god/yf there were lyfe present/  
that is to wyte god. In an other place of

the gospell the dyscyples saye to Chyſt.  
M ayster whether ſhall we go / thou haſt  
the wordes of lyfe? why ſo I praye the the  
wordes of lyfe? Certeynly for bycause they  
ſpronge out of the ſoule from whome the  
godhede whiche reſtored vs agayn to lyfe  
immoortal neuer departed not yet one mo-  
met. The phisician ealeth thy body ſom-  
tyme whā thou art diſeaſed. Good & holy  
men ſomtymes haue caſted the body deed  
to lyfe agayne. But a deed ſoule nothyng  
but god onely of his fre & ſyngular power  
reſtoresh to lyfe agayne / ye & he reſtoresh  
her not agayne yf ſhe beynge deed haue  
ones forſaken the body. Beſope ouer of the  
bodyly deth is the felyng lytell or none at  
all. But of the ſoule / is the felyng eternal  
And though alſo the ſoule in that caſe be  
more thā deed / yet as touching the felyng  
of eternall deth / ſhe is euer imoortal. Ther  
fore ſeynge we muſt nedes fyght with ſo  
ſtraunge & meruayllous ieopardye / what  
dulnes / what negligence / what folyſhnes  
is that of our mynde / whome feare of ſo  
great myſchef sharpeneth not. And agayn  
on the contrary pte there is no cauſe wher-  
ſore eyther the greatness of peryll / or else  
the multitude / the violence / the ſubtilte of  
thyne aduersaryes ſholde abate the cou-  
tage of þ mynde. It cometh to thy mynde

Many cau-  
ſes why a  
chryſte man  
ought to be  
of good con-  
ſorte / and to  
haue conſy-  
dence,

how greuous an aduersary thou hast. Be  
membre also on the other syde how pseyn-  
how redy at hande thou hast helpe & so-  
cour. Agaynst the be innumerable/ye but  
he that taketh thy parte/ himself alone is  
more of power than all they. yf god be on  
our syde/what mater is it who be againg  
vs. yf he stay the/who shall cast þ downe.  
But thou must be enflamed in al thy he-  
and brenne in fetuēt desyre of victory. Let  
it cōme to thy remēbraunce that thou ar-  
uest not/no; hast not to do with a fresshe  
sowdþour & a newe aduersary / but with  
hym that was many yeres ago discōfuted  
ouerthowen/spoyled and ledde captyue  
in triumphhe of vs/but than in Chrysþ our  
heed/by whose myght no doubt he shall  
be subdued agayne in vs also. Take hede  
therfore that thou be a mēbre of the body  
and thou shalt be able to do all thyngs in

No man is  
stronge in  
his owne  
strengthe.

the power of þ heed. In thy selfe thou art  
very weyke/ in hym thou art valyaunt/  
nothyng is there that thou art not able  
to do. wherfore the ende of our warre is  
not doutfull/bycause the victory depēdet  
not of fortune/but is put holly in þ hādes  
of god/& by hym in our handes. Pro mā is  
here that hath not ouercōme/but he that  
wold not. The benignite of our pfectour  
neuer fayled man. If thou take hede to

answere and to do thy parte agayn / thou  
art sure of the victory / for he shal fyght for  
the / and his liberalite shall be imputed to  
the for myrte. Thou must thake hym all  
togyder for the victory / whiche fyrt of all  
hymselfe alone beyng immaculate / pure &  
clene from synne / oppressed the tyranny of  
synne. But this victori shal not com with  
out thyne owne diligence also / for he that  
sayd / haue confydence I haue ouercomen  
the worlde / wold haue the to be of a good  
cōfort / but not careles & negligēt. On this  
maner in conclusyon in his strength / & by  
hym we shall ouercome. yf by his ensam-  
ple we shall fyght as he fought / wherfore  
thou must so kepe a meane course / as it  
were bytwene Scilla and Charibdis / þ  
neyther trustyng to moche & bearyng the  
ouer bolde vpon the grace of god thou be  
careles and recheles / neyther yet so myl-  
trustyng in thy selfe / feared with the diffi-  
culties of the warre / do cast from the cou-  
rage / boldnes / or cōfydence of mynde tog-  
der with harneys and wepons also.

Scilla is a tem-  
prous place  
in the see of ces-  
cyle.

Charibdis is  
a swalowe or  
whrylepole in  
the same see,

**C**Of the wepons to be vsed in the  
warre of a chyisten man. Ca. ii.

**A**nd I suppose that nothynge pteys  
meth so moche to the dyscyplyne of  
W.j.

this warre than that thou surely knowe  
and presently haue recorded & exercysed in  
thy mynde alway with what kynde of ar-  
mure or wepōs thou oughtest to fyght  
agaynst what ennemys thou must en-  
couter & iust. More ouer that thy wepōs  
be alway ready at hande/lest thyne so sub-  
tyle an ennemy shold take the slepet & be  
armed. In these worldly warres a man  
may be often tymes at rest/as in the depe  
of the wynter/or in tyme of truce: but we  
as longe as we kepe warre in this body/  
may departe from our harneys & weapons  
no season/no not as the saying is one syn-

A chysten  
man shold  
neuer cease  
his warre.

ger brede. We must euer stande afore the  
tentes & make watche / for oure aduersary  
is neuer ydle: but whā he is most calme  
syll / whan he fayneth to flee or to make  
truce/euen than most of al he ymagineþ  
gyle: & thou hast neuer more nedē to kepe  
watche than whā he maketh cōtenaunce  
or semblaunce of peace. Thou hast neuer  
lesse nedē to feare than whā he assaulteth  
the with opē warre. Therfore let thy fyþ  
care be that thy mynde be not unarmēd.  
We arme our body because we wold haue  
no nedē to feare the dagger or prey mut-  
terer of the thefe. Shall we not arme our  
mynde lykewyse/that he might be in sau-  
garde? Our ennemys be armed to destoy

vs dothe it greue vs to take our wepons  
of defence þ we periysh not? They watche  
to kyll / shall not we watche to be out of  
dañget? But of the armure & wepons of a  
chrysten man we shall make specyal men-  
cyon whan we come to the places conue-  
nyet. In the meane seasō to speke bryewely  
who so euer wyl assayle with batayle the  
seuen nacyōs that be called / Cananei / Ce-  
thi / Amorei / Pherezei / Gergezei / Euei /  
& Iebuzei / that is to say / who so euer wyl  
take vpon hym to fyght agaynst the hole  
hoost of vices / of the which seuen be coun-  
ted as chefe captaynes / must puyde hym  
of two specyall wepons. Prayer & know-  
lege / otherwyse called lernynge. Paule  
wolde we sholde be euer armed / whiche  
byddeth vs pray cōtinually without stoy.  
Prayer pure and perfyte lyfeth vp thyne  
affeccyon to heuen / a courte beyonde thyne  
ennemyes reche. Lernynge or knowlege  
fenseth or arineth the mynde with holsom  
preceptes & honest opīnyons / and putteth  
the euer in remēbraunce of vertue / so that  
neyther can be lackyng to þ other. These  
twayne cleueth so togyder lyke frendes /  
the one euer requyrring the others helpe.  
The one maketh intercessyon & prayeth.  
The other sheweth what is to be desyred  
& what thou oughtest to praye. To praye

B.ij.

The. viij. māz  
cyons inha-  
byted the  
lande of be-  
hest or pro-  
mission pro-  
mised to A-  
braham and  
his offspring.

Prayer and  
knowlege be  
the chefe ar-  
mure of a  
chrysten  
man.

The sones of  
zebedei be Ja-  
mes the more  
and John the  
euangelist.

Aaron signy-  
fyeth prayer  
Moyses beto-  
keneth know-  
lege.

serueltly / (as James exhorteth vs) with-  
out doutyng or mystrulyng sayth & hope  
bryngeth to passe. To pray in the name of  
Iesu / whiche is nothing else but to despise  
thinges hol som for thy soule helth onely/  
lernyng or doctryne techeth the. Said not  
Chrst to the sones of zebedei. ye knowe  
not what ye aske? But prayer verily is the  
more excellēt / as she that cōmeth and tal-  
keth familiarly with almyghty god. yet  
for all that is doctryne no lesse necessary.  
And I can not tell whether that thou fled  
from Egypt myghtest without great ieo-  
pardy cōmyt thyselfe to so long a iourney  
so harde and full of diffyculte / without the  
capteyns Aarō & Moyses. Aaron whiche  
was charged with thyngs dedycate to the  
seruyce of gods tēple / betokeneth prayer.  
By Moyses is sygured the knowlege of  
the lawe of god. And as knowlege of god  
ought not to be bnyfyte / so prayer sholde  
not be faynt / slacke / without courage or  
quycknes. Moyses with the wepons of  
prayer fought agaynst his ennemys / but  
had his hādes lyfted vp to heuen / whiche  
whan he let downe / the israelites had the  
worse. Thou happely whan thou prayest  
syderest onely how moche of thy psalmes  
thou hast mombled vp / & thynkest moche  
bablyng to be the strength and vertue of

Prayer: whiche is chefely the vycce of them  
whiche (as infantes) cleue to the lytterall  
sence / & are not yet growen vp to the rypp  
nes of the spiryte. But heare what Chrys  
tcheth vs in Matheue saying. Whan ye  
praye speke not moche / as the ethneys &  
gentyles do / for they thynke theyr prayers  
to be accepted bycause of moche bablyng.  
Counterfayte them not therfore / for your  
father knoweth wherof ye haue nedē be  
fore ye desyre it of hym. And Paule to the  
Corinthes despyseth. x. thoulde wordes  
babled with mouthe in cōparysyon of syue  
spoken in knowlege. Moyses opened not  
his lyppes / and yet god sayd to hym. Why  
cryest thou so to me. It is not the noyse of  
thy lyppes / but the feruent desyre of thy  
mynde / whiche (as it were a very shylle  
voynce) beateth the eares of god. Let this  
therfore be a customeable thyng with the  
that as soone as thyne ennemye aryseth  
agaynst the / and the vycses whiche thou  
hast forsaken trouble the / thou than with  
out taryng with sure cōfydence and trus<sup>t</sup>  
lyste vp thy mynde to heuen / from whens  
helpe shall come to the / & thyder also lyste  
vp thy handes. The surest thyng of all is  
to be occupied in dedes of pite / that thy  
dedes may be referred and applyed / not to  
worldly busynes / but vnto Chrys. yet less

*what to do  
when I am  
enteled*

pite is not ta<sup>t</sup>  
ke for cōpassyō  
but for the ho<sup>t</sup>  
nouryng & woe  
shypynge of  
god with cha<sup>r</sup>  
rite or loue or  
dynate / as  
Chrys taught  
vs to loue.

Manna is a  
honydewe  
wherwith  
the chyldren  
of israel we-  
re fed. xl. ye-  
res / and it is  
sygnyfyea  
knowlege / &  
also by wa-  
ter lykewysse

thou sholdest despysse the helpe of know-  
lege / consyder one thyng. Before tyme it  
was ynough for the israelytes to flee and  
escape frō theyr enimyees / but they were  
neuer so bolde as to p̄suoke the Amala-  
chites / and to trye with them hande for  
hāde before they were refresshed with mā-  
na frō heuen / and water rennyng out of  
the harde rocke. The noble warryour Da-  
uid refresshed and made strong with these  
cates / set nought by the hole hoost of his  
aduersaries / saying. Oh good lord thou  
hast set a table of meate before me to de-  
fende me agaynst all men that trouble me  
Byleue me well brother syngularly belo-  
ued in my hert / there is none so great vio-  
lence of thy foes / that is to saye / none so  
great temptacion whiche feruent study or  
meditacyō of holy scripture is not able to  
put abacke / nor any so greuous aduersite  
which it maketh not easie. And lest I shol-  
de seme to be somwhat to bolde an inter-  
pretour (though I coude defende my selfe  
with great authorite) what thyng I pray  
the coude more apperly haue signyfed the  
knowlege of the secrete lawe of god than  
dyd māna. For fyrt in that it sprange not  
out of þerth / but rayned downe frō heuen.  
By this properte thou perceyuest the diffe-  
rence bytweene the doctrine of god and the

weteyne of mā. For al holy scripture came  
by dyuyne inspracyon and from god the  
authoꝝ. In that it is smal or lytel in quan-  
tite is signified the humilitie / lowlynnes or  
homelynnes of the style vnder rude wordes  
includyng great mystery. That it is whyte  
by this properte is signyfyed the puryte &  
clennes of gods lawe. For there is no do-  
ctrayne of man whiche is not defyled with  
some blacke spot of errore / onely the do-  
ctrayne of Ch̄yſt euery where bryght/eue-  
ry where pure and clene. That it is som-  
what harde & some deale rough & sharpe/  
betokeneth secrete mysteryes hydde in the  
litteral sence. yf thou handle the vter syde  
and yf I may so call it the codde / what is  
more harde or vnsauery. They tasted but  
the vter rynde of manna / whiche sayd to  
Ch̄yſt / this is a harde saying / & who may  
abyde þ hearyng therof. But gete out the  
spirituall sence / & nothyng is more sweter  
nor more full of pleasure and swete iuce.  
Before ouer manna is in the ebewe tong  
as moche to saye as what is this? Whiche  
questyon agreeeth well to holy scripture/  
whiche hath nothyng i it ydle or in bayne  
no not one tytle or pricke / vnworthy to be  
serched / vnwoorthy to be pondered / vnwo-  
thy of this saying / what is this? It is a co-  
mune vse unto the holy goost to signyfy

by water the knowlge of the lawe of god  
Thou redest of þ water of cōfort by whose  
bankes David reioyseth to haue be nou-  
tshed vp: thou redest of þ waters whiche  
wysdom cōveyeth in to the toppes of eve-  
ry waye: thou redest of the mystical ryuer  
in to the whiche Ezechiel entred / & coude  
not wade ouer: thou redest of the welles  
that Abraham digged / whiche whan they  
were stopped of the philistiens ysaac repa-  
red agayne. Thou redest of .xiij. fountaynes  
at whiche þ israelytes after they had wal-  
ked thugh .xl. mansions / and began than  
to be wery and faynt / rested and refresched  
themselfe & made them strong to the long  
journey of desert. Thou also redest in the  
gospell of the well wherpon Chryſt sate  
weryed in his iourney. Thou redest of the

Siloe is a  
poole with  
in Jerusalē  
at the fote  
of the moar  
Syon.

water of Siloe / whether he sendeth the  
blynde to recouer his syght. Thou redest  
of þ water poured i to the basen to wasshe  
the apostles fete. And bicause it nedeth not  
to reherse all places in this significacyon/  
ofte mencion is made in scripture of welles  
fountaynes & ryuers / by whiche is signy-  
fied nothyng else but that we ought to en-  
quyre & serche diligently for the mysteryes  
hydde in scripture. what signyfyeth water  
hydde in þ baynes of the erth but mystery  
couered or hyd in the litterall sence. what

meaneth the same conueyed abrode but  
mystery opened & expouned. Which beyng  
spred & dilated bothe wyde & brode/to the  
edyfying of þ hearers/What cause is there  
why it myght not be cailed a ryuer. Whet  
fore yf thou dedycate thy selfe holly to the  
study of scripture & exercysse thy mynde day  
and nyght in þ lawe of god/no feare shall  
trouble the/neyther by day nor night:but  
thou shalte agaynst all assawtes of thyne  
ennemyes be armed & exercysed also. And  
I disallowe it not vterly yf a man for a sea  
son(to begyn withall)do exercysc & spore  
hymselfe in werkes of poetes and philoso  
phers whiche were gētyles/as i his A b c.  
or introductory to a more perfyte thyngie/  
so that he taste of them measurably / and  
whyles youth shal gyue hym leue/& euuen  
as though a man toke them in his waye/  
but not abyde and tary vpon them stylle/&  
to were olde and dye in them/ as he were  
bounde to the rockes of Syrenes/ that is  
to put his hole delectacyon in them/& ne  
uer go farther. For holy Basilius to suche  
pastyne exhorteth yong men / whome he  
hymselfe had induced to the conuersacion  
of christen men. And our Augustyn calleth  
backe agayne his frende Licētius to passe  
the tyme with the muses/neyther Jerom  
repenteth hym selfe that he hath loued a

Syrenes were  
ij.ladies dwel  
ling in an ylād  
whiche with  
swetnes of son  
ge diewe vnto  
them who so e  
uer sailed by/ &  
after killed thē  
But Ulires re  
turning fro the  
siege of Troye  
hauyng that  
waye a necessa  
ri journey stop  
ped his mary  
ners eres with  
were/ & bounde  
hymself to the  
mast/ so herde  
he theyr songe  
auoydysg all  
reperdyng

woman taken prisoner in warre. Cyprian  
is commended because he garnished the  
temple of god with the spoyles of the  
gypciās. But in no case wolde I that thou  
with the gentyles lernynge sholdest also  
souke the gentyles vycies & conuersacyon.  
For yf thou do not / thou shalte fynde ma-  
ny thyngs helpyng to honest lyuyng / nev-  
ther is it to be refused what so euer an au-  
thor (ye though he be a gentle) techeth  
well. For Moyses veryly though he were  
neuer so famlyar with god / yet despysed  
he not the counseyle of his father in lawe  
Jetro. Those scyences facyon & quycken  
a chylde wytte / & maketh hym apte afore  
hande meruaylously to the vnderstanding  
of holy scripture. Wherunto sodeynly and  
irreuerently to presume with handes & fete  
unwashed / is in maner a certayne kynde  
of sacrilege. And Jerom checketh þ shame-  
les pertnes of them whiche streyghtwaye  
from secular or worldly scyence dare take  
ture. But how moche shamefuller do they  
whiche neuer tasted other science / & yet at  
the fyrt dare do the same thyng. But as  
the scripture is not moche fruitful yf thou  
stande & stycke styl in the lettred. In lyke  
maner the poetry of Homere and Virgil  
wall not p̄spte a lytell / yf thou rememb̄e

that it must be understande in the sence al-  
legory / whiche thyng no man wyll denye  
that hath assayed or tasted of the lernyng  
of olde antiquites never so lytell / ye with  
the typ of his tonge / or uttermost parte of  
his lippes. As for the poetes which wryte  
vnclely / I wolde counseyle the not ones  
to touche them / or at the leestway not to  
loke farre in them: except thou can the bet-  
ter abhorre vices whan they be descriybed  
to the / & in cōparacions of fylthy thynges  
the moxe feruently loue thyngs honest. Of  
the philosophers my mynde is that thou  
solowe them that were of Platones secte /  
bycause bothe in very many sentences / &  
muche more in theyr style & maner of spe-  
kynge / they come very nygh to the fygure  
and pertye of speche vsed of the pphetes  
and i the gospelles. And to make an ende  
shortly / it shall be profytalbe to taste of al  
maner of lernyng of the gentyles / ys it so  
be done as I shewed before / bothe i yeres  
accordyng & measurably / more ouer with  
cautele & iudgemēt discretly / furthermore  
with spedē & after the maner of a mā that  
entendeth but to passe ouer h̄ cōtre onely  
and not to dwell or inhabyte in cōclusyon  
(whiche thyng is chefest of all) ys euery  
thyng be applyed and referred to Chryſt  
for so all shall be clene to them h̄ be clene

As Salomon  
had ix. quenes  
lxx. concubines  
& damoyselles  
innumerable/  
yet one chefe  
quene whome  
all the rest ho-  
noured. so may  
we of all scien-  
ces haue au-  
thours inume-  
table / yf holy  
scripture be  
chefe of all o-  
ther for the ho-  
nesting of her.

The israelyte  
myght take to  
wife a straunger  
taken in warre  
so that her nay-  
les were fyste  
pared and her  
heare shauen:  
So may chry-  
stē men honour  
god with gēty-  
les lernyng/ yf  
we cut of that  
is superfluous.

The light & pu-  
re whyte breed  
betokeneth the  
gētiles luyng.  
Wāna betoke-  
neth the wyl-  
dom of god.

Whan on the other syde to them that  
vnclene nothyng is clene. And it shall be  
no rebuke to the / yf after the ensample  
Salomon thou nourysse vþ at home  
thy hous. ix. quenes. lxx. souereyn ladyes  
& damoysels innumerable of secular wy-  
dome. So that the wylsdome of god be  
boue al other / thy best beloued / thy doue  
thy swete hert / which onely semeth beau-  
tefull. And an israelyte loueth a straunger  
and a barbarous damsell / ouercōme with  
her beaute: but fyſt he shaueth of her he-  
re & pareth her nayles / & maketh her of al  
alyen an israelyte. And the prophete Osiā  
maryed an harlot / and of her had childi-  
not for hymselfe / but for þ lorde of sabaon  
and the holy fornycacyon of the prophet  
augmented the houſholde of god. The  
brewhes after they had forsaken Egypt  
ued with lyght & pure whyte breade for  
season / but it was not sufficiēt to so great  
a iourney. Therfore that breade lothed  
ones / thou must make as good spede  
can be unto manna of celeſtiall wylsdome  
the whiche shal nourysse the habouidai-  
ly and strengthe the vntyll thou obtaine  
thy purpose / and wynne by victory thereto  
ward that never shal cease: but thou muſt  
ever remembre in the meane season þ he-  
ly scripture may not be touched but wil-

clene & wasshen handes/that is to vnder-  
stante/but with hygh purenes of mynde/  
lest that whiche of it selfe is a p̄seruatyon  
or tryacle/by thyne owne faute turne to þ  
into popson/and leſt manna to the begyn  
to puttyſye/except þ thou conuey or ſende  
it in to the inwardre partes of thy mynde &  
affeſcyon/& leſt happyly it ſholde fortune  
to the as it dyd to Oza/whiche feared not  
to ſet to his prophane & vnclene handes to  
the Arke of god enclynynge on þ one syde  
and with ſodeyn deth was punyſhed for  
his lewde ſeruycē. The fyſt poynt is that  
thou haue good opinyon of the holy ſcrip-  
tures / & that thou eſteeme them of no leſſe  
valure & dignite than they are worthy to  
be eſteemed/ and that they came out of the  
ſecrete cloſet of the mynde of god. Thou  
ſhalt pceyue that thou art iſpired of god  
moued inwardly/rapt & in an vnspekable  
maner altered & chaunged to an other ma-  
ner fygure or ſhappe/þf thou ſhalte come  
reliȝiouſly/þf with reuerence and mekely  
thou ſhalte ſe the pleaſures/delycates/or  
deynties of the bleſſed ſpoufe. Thou ſhalt  
ſe the precyous iowels of ryche Salomō/  
thou ſhalt ſe þ ſecrete treasure of eternall  
wyſdom:but beware that thou breke not  
malepertly in to the ſecrete cloſet/the doore  
is lowe/beware leſt thou ſtryke the doore

David entred  
to traſlate  
the ark of god  
out of the houſe  
of Amynadab  
whiche was in  
Saba / they  
put the ark vp  
on a carte/Oza  
with his bre-  
therne wayted  
on it on eyther  
ſyde/ as the ar-  
ke enclyned &  
bowed Oza ſet  
his hande to  
ſtay it & was  
ſmytten with  
ſodeyne deth  
for his presum-  
pcion.

Scriptur must  
be had in grea t  
reuerence.

with thy heed / & be sayne to lepe backe  
gayn. Thynke on this wyse nothing tha  
thou seest with thyne eyes / nothyng tha  
thou haddest with thy syngers to be i de  
the same thing whiche it appereth / so fute  
ly as these thyngs be true i holy scripture

Sayth must  
be gynen to  
holy scrip  
ture.

so þ yf heuen & erth shold peryshe / yet of  
wordes of god not one iote or tytle shal  
rysh / but al shal be fulfilled. Though me  
lye / though men erre / yet the verite of god  
neyther deceyueth nor is deceyued. Of th  
iterptours of scripture / chose them abou  
al other þ go farthest frō the lettre / whic  
chefely next after þaule be Origene / Am  
brose / Jerom & Augustyne. For I se the  
wines of later tyme slycke very moche in  
lettre / & with good wyll gyue more stud  
to subtyle & deceiptfull aegumētes / than  
serche out þ mysteryes / as though Paul  
hath not sayd truly our lawe to be spūall  
I haue herd some men my self whiche stod  
so greatly in theyr owne cōceyte with th  
fantasticall tradicyōs / ymaginecyōs &  
uencyōns of man / þ they despysed þ int  
pretaciō of olde doctours that were ne  
to Chryſt & his apostles bothe i tyme &  
uyng also / & accompte them as dremes /  
Mayster do: & mayster duncē gave them suchē cōſydē  
clour duncē. that notwithstanding they never ones re  
the holy scripture / yet thought they th

Mayster do:  
clour duncē.

selfe to be perfyte diuynes / whiche ysones  
though they speke thyngs never so crafty  
& subtile / yet whether they speke thynges  
worthyp of þ holy goost & the meke spiryte  
of Chryſt or not / let other men iudge. But  
yf thou haddeſt leuer to be ſomwhat lufy  
& quicke of spiryte / thā to be armed to con-  
tencio / that is to ſay / to brawlyng or ſcol-  
ding. yf thou ſeke rather to haue thy ſoule  
made fatte / thā thy wyt to be vaynly dely-  
ted: ſtudy & rede ouer chiefly þ old doctours  
& expositours / whose godlynes & holy lyfe  
is more proued & knownen / whose religion  
to god is more to be pōdered & loked vpon  
whose leernig is more plēteous & sage also  
whose ſtyle is neyther bare ne rude & iteſ-  
practō more agreeable to þ holy myſteryes  
And I ſay not this bycause I diſpife theſe  
newe diuynes / but bycause I ſet moxe by  
thynges more p̄fytably & moxe apt for the  
purpoſe. And alſo the ſpiryt of god hath a <sup>The ſpe-  
kyng of</sup> certeyn tong or ſpeche appropriate to him <sup>scripture.</sup>  
ſelfe / he hath hiſ fygures ſimilitudes / pa-  
rables / cōparisōs / puerbes & redils which  
thou muſt obſerue & marke diligenty / yf  
thou ſholdeſt vndſtāde the. The wiſdom of  
god ſtutteth & lyſpeth as it were a diligēt  
motheſe falſioneth her wordes accordig to  
our iſance & feblenes. She giueth mylke  
to them that be iſantes in Chryſt / weyke

meate to feble stomackes. Thou therfore  
make spedē thou were a man/make hast  
to perfyte & stronge meate/ and prepare a  
mannes stomacke. She stoupeth downe &  
boweth her self to thy humilitē & lownes.  
Arype than vpon the other syde & ascēde to  
her heyght & excellencye. It is lyke a mon-  
stre and vnnatural to be euer a chylde. He  
is to hertles that neuer sealeth to be feble  
& weyke. The recording of one verse shall  
be more sauery in thy mouth / & shall now-  
ryshe the better yf thou breke the coddes  
taste of the sweetnes whiche is within/ tha-  
yl thou sholdest syng the hole psalter/ un-  
derstande onely after the litterall sence/  
wherof veryly I gyue admontcyō a great  
deale the rather/ bycause I knowe by ex-  
periance that this errorre hath not infected  
the lay people onely/but also the myndes  
of them whiche pfesse & shewe outwardē  
in theyr habyte & name or tytle/ pfyte reli-  
gion/in so moche that they thynke the be-  
ty seruyce of god to be put chesely in this  
one thynge / yf they shall saye ouer euery  
daye as moche as they can of the psalmes  
scarse understande ye in the litterall sence  
Neyther I thynke any other thynng to be  
the cause why we se the charitable lyuing  
of our monkes & cloysterers to fayle euery  
where/to be so colde/so slacked/so fayne

Redynge  
without  
understan-  
dinge.

The chari-  
table ly-  
vinge of  
monkes.

so to banyſhe away / but that they cony-  
nue all they; lyfe & were olde in the lettere  
and never enforce to come to the spiritual  
knowlege of scripture / neyther heare they  
Chryſt cryeng ia ſy gospel / the fleſſhe / that  
is to ſay / the lettere / or / that ye ſe outward  
þyfeth not at al. It is the ſpiryte within  
that quickeneth or gnueth lyf. They heare  
not Paule affirmyng with his mayſter / þ  
the lettere kylleth / and it is the ſpiryte gy-  
ueth lyfe. And agayn we knowe (ſaith he)  
that the lawe is ſpiritual / and not carnal.

Spiritual thynges muſt be cōpared with  
ſpirituall thynges. In tyme paſſed the fa-  
ther of al ſpiritual gyftes wolde be honou-  
red in the mounteyn / but now he wyll be  
honoured in the ſpiryte. How be it I deſ-  
pyſe not the feblenes of them / whiche for  
lacke of knowlege & vnderſtandyng doth  
þ they onely be able to do / pronouncing the  
myſtical psalmes with pure faith without  
diſſimulacyon or ypocryſye / but rather as  
in charmes and enchaunteſtētes of ma-  
gike certeyn wordes not vnderſtānde / no  
not of them whiche pronoūce them yet be  
byleued to be of vertue & strengthe. Euen  
ſo the wordes of god / though they be not  
þyfely vnderſtānde / neuertheleſſe we muſt  
trūſt that they be proſtytable to them that  
eþter ſaye them or heare them with per-

The fleſſhe is  
called in ſcrip-  
ture what ſo-  
euer is viſible  
or perceyued  
outward with  
any ſenſible  
power.

The ſpiryte is  
called what ſo-  
euer is percey-  
ued inwardly  
with the eye  
of the ſoule,

A ſimilitude  
of mekenes of  
them whiche  
lacke capaci-  
ty.

fyte fayth / with pure affection and mynde  
And that the aungels whiche are present  
and doth vnderstante be prouoked to hel-  
pe them. And Paule despyseth not them  
whiche saye psalmes with theyr mouthe  
whiche speketh with tonges that thynges  
they vnderstante not : but he exhorteth  
them to leue theyr infancy / and to folowe  
more pfyte gyftes / vnto whiche yf a man  
can not attayne / not through the defaute  
of a corrupte mynde / but for lacke of ca-  
pacite : let hym not barke agaynst them  
whiche enforce better thynges. And after  
the precept of Paule / let not hym whiche  
eateth / despise hym whiche eateth not / nev-  
ther he that eateth not / iudge hym that  
eateth. Neuerthelesse I wyl not haue the  
whiche art endewed with so happy a wyt  
to be slowe & to tary longe in the bareyn  
lettre / but to make spedē vnto more secret  
mysteryes / and to helpe the cōtynuall en-  
deuoyre & enforcement of thyne industrie  
& wyll with often prayers vntyll he open  
to the booke clasped with . viij. claspes  
whiche hath the key of David / the whiche  
also shytth and no man openeth the p̄c  
uytees of the father / whiche never man  
knewe but his sone / and he to whome his  
sone hath vouchyd saufe to disclose them.  
But whether gothe our style asyde / myng

entēt was to descrie the forme of lyuyng  
not of lernyng : but I turned out of the  
way thus far whyle I laboured to shewe  
the a mete shop frō whens thou oughtest  
to fetche thy newe armure & wepons be-  
longyng to the newe warre. Therfore to  
cōme to our purpose agayn / yf thou shalt  
pyke and chose out of the bookes of the  
gentyles of euery thyng the best. And al-  
so yf thou by the example of the bee / sleyng  
rounde aboute by the gardynes of olde  
authours shalte sucke out onely the hol-  
some and swete iuce (the poyson refusid &  
lefte behynde) thy mynde shall be better  
apparayled a greate deale / and armed vn  
to the commune lyfe or conuersacyon / in  
whiche we lyue one with an other in ho-  
nest maner. For the philosophers & lerned  
men of the gentyles in theyr warre vse cer-  
teyn wepons & armure not to be despysed  
Neuerthelesse what so euer thyng of ho-  
nestye or trouth thou fyndest any where/  
thyngke that to be Chystes. But that dy-  
uyne armure & (to speke as the poetes d)  
that harneys of Vulcan<sup>9</sup> makyng / which  
with no wepons can be perced / is fet onely  
out of the armory of holy scripture / where  
our noble capteyn Dauid layde vp all his  
ordynaunce of warre for his sowdyours  
With whiche they sholde syght afarre and

The Arty-  
lery of Vul-  
canus.

L. G.

Achilles ouer-  
come with Ire  
Eneas ouer-  
come with lone

poetes the fai-  
ners of goddes

Ryng Saul ar-  
med David to  
fyght agaynst  
Solyas with  
heny & combe-  
rous harneys  
puttig on hym  
a salte of bras  
& a core of mail  
but David put  
it of & gatherd  
v. stones out of  
a broke & with  
a flyng hyst so  
lyas i the fore-  
hed with a sto-  
ne & slew hym

at hāde agaynst the incircūcised philiſies.  
with this harneys was clothed neþter  
Achilles / of whom Homere w̄yteth / neþ-  
ther Eneas / of whome Virgyll speketh /  
though they be so fayned. Of whiche the  
one with ire / þ other with loue was ouer  
cōme shamefully. And it is not spoke with  
out reason that those wepons be not for-  
ged in the werkhouse of man / but in the

werkhouse or forge þ is cōmen to Vulcan  
and Pallas / otherwyse called Mynerua  
For poetes the fayners of goddes maketh  
Vulcan lord of fyre / and Mynerua lady  
of Wytte / facultyes / scyences and craftes /

Whiche thynge I iudge to be done in very  
dede (as thou maist easely pceyue) Whā the

fyre of loue of god hath armed thy Wytte /  
endued with honest facultyes so strongly /  
that yf all þ worlde sholde fall on thy heed  
yet sholde not the stroke put the to feare.  
But fyrt thou must cast away the harney  
of proude Saule / whiche rather ladeth a  
man than be any thynge necessary or pfy-  
table. And combed Davyd redy to fyght  
with Solyas & holpe him not at al. Also  
ouer from the banke of the broke of hole  
scripture thou must gather fyue stones /  
whiche paduenture be the fyue wordes of  
Paule / whiche he speketh in knowlege.  
Than take a flynge in thy ryght hande

With these wepons is ouerthrown our  
onely enemy the father of pryde Sathan  
whome at the last with what wepons dyd  
our heed Christ Jesu ouercome? dyd not  
he snyte the forceheed of our aduersary as  
it had ben with stones fette out of þ broke  
whan he answered hym in tyme of tepta-  
cyon with wordes of scripture. Wylt thou  
heare the instrumētes or artillary of chry-  
sten mens warre? And þ zeale of hym (sayth  
scripture) shall take harneys & shall har-  
neys his creature to auenge his enemys  
he wyll put on iustyce for his brest plate / &  
take for his helmet sure & true iudgement  
he wyll take a shelde of equite ipenetrable  
or that can not be perced / ye and he wyll  
sharpe or fassyon cruel wȝath in to a spere  
Thou redest also in Isai he is armed with  
iustyce / as with an haberyon and a salet  
of helth vpon his heed / he is clothed with  
the vesture of vengeance & couered as it  
were with a cloke of zeale. Now if thou list  
to go to the stowehouse of Paule that ba-  
lyuant capteyn / certeynly thou shalt also  
fynde there the armure of waree / not car-  
nal thyngs / but balyant in god to destroye  
fortresses & couseyles / & euery hygh thyng  
that exalteþ himself agaynst the doctrine  
of god. Thou shalte fynde there þ armure  
of god / by the whiche thou mayst resyll in

whan Sathan  
wold haue had  
christ to turne  
stones i to bred  
Christ awerd  
with scripture  
sayeng mā ly-  
ueth not onely  
bi bred / but by  
euery worde  
that procedeth  
of the mouthe  
of god / then he  
wold haue had  
christ to fal fro  
the pynacle.

Christ awerd  
with scripture  
sayenge a man  
shold not attēp  
te his lord god  
then the deuyl  
bad christ ho-  
nor hym. christ  
answered a mā  
must honor his  
lorde god & ier-  
ue hym onely.

If zeale be in  
knowlege it is  
good & if not it  
is euyl / As the  
pharyseas for  
zeale of theyr  
tradyciōs per-  
secuted Christ  
& thapostolcs.

a wofull daye. Thou shalt fynde the ha-  
neys of iustyce on the ryght hande / and  
on the leste thou shalte fynde the defence  
of thy sydes verite / and the hawbergyon  
of iustyce the bukler of fayth / wherwith  
thou mayst quenche al the hote and fyery  
weapons of thy cruell aduersarye. Thou  
shalte fynde also the helmet of helthe and  
the sworde of the spiryte / whiche is the  
woede of god / with the whiche al yf a man  
shall be dilygently couered and fensed / he  
may boldly without feare brynge forthe  
the bolde sayinge of Paule. who shall se-  
parate vs from the loue of god ? shall tri-  
bulacyon? shal straynes or difficulty? shal  
hunger? shall nakednes? shall peryll? shall  
persecucion? shall a sworde. Beholde how  
myghty enuempes and how moche fea-  
red of all men he setteth at nought. But  
heare also a certayne greater thynge / for  
it followeth. But in all thynges we haue  
ouercome by his helpe whiche loued vs.  
And I am assured (sayth he) that neyther  
deth nor lyfe / nor aungels / neyther princi-  
pates / neyther virtutes / neyther present  
thynges / neyther thynges to come / ney-  
ther strengthe / neyther hrgenes / neyther  
lownes / nor none other creature shall or  
may separate vs frō the loue of god whe-  
che is in Chrys̄t Jesu. O happy trust and

confydence whiche the wepons or armure  
of lyght gyueth to Paule / that is by in-  
terpretacyon a lytell man / whiche calleth  
hymselfe the refuse or outcast of the worl-  
de. Of suche armure therfore haboundant  
ly shall holy scripture mynyster to the / yf  
thou wylte occupye thy tyme in it with  
all thy myght: so that thou shalt not nede  
our counseyle or admonycyons. Neuer-  
thelesse seyng it is thy mynde / leest I shol-  
de seme not to haue obeyed thy request / I  
haue forged for the this lytell treatyse cal-  
led Enchiridion / that is to saye / a certayn  
lytell dagger / whome never laye out of  
thy hande / no not whan thou art at mea-  
te / or in thy chaumbre. In so moche that  
yf at ony tyme thou shalte be compelled  
to make a pylgrymage in these worldly  
occupacyons / and shalte be accombred to  
beare aboute with the the hole and com-  
plete armure and harneys of holy scrip-  
ture / yet comytte not that the suttellyer  
in wayte at ony season sholde come vpon  
the and fynde the vitterly unarméd / but  
at the leest lette it not greue the to haue  
with the this lytell hanger / whiche shall  
not be heuy to beare / nor vnproufytal  
for thy defence / for it is very lytell / yet  
yf thou vse it wypsely / and couple with it

the buckler offayth / thou shalte be able to  
withstande the fyerse & ragyng assawte of  
thyne enemy: so that thou shalt haue no  
deedly wounde. But now it is tyme that  
I begyn to gyue the a certeyn rule of the  
use of these wepons / whiche yf thou shalt  
put in execucyon or practyse / I trust it wyll  
come to passe that our capytayne Jesus  
Chryst shal translate the a conquerour out of  
this lytel castel or garryson in to his great  
cite Jerusalē with triumphhe / where is no  
rage at al of any batayle / but eternal qui-  
etnes / perfyte peace / assured tranquillite:  
but where as in the meane season al hope  
and confydence of sauuardre is put in ar-  
mure and weapon.

**C**That the fyrt poynt of wysdone is  
to knowe thy selfe / and of two ma-  
ner wyldomes / the true wyl-  
dome / & the apparet. La.iiij.

**T**hat excellent good thynges desy-  
red and sought for of all men / is  
peace or quietnes: vnto whiche y  
all theyr studie also referrre  
and shote at a wronge marke. The same  
peace the philosophers also pmyled vnto  
the folowers of theyr conclusions / but yet

fally / for Chryſt onely ḡnueth it / the Worl A man must  
de ḡnueth it not. To come to this quiet- fyght agynſt  
nes / the onely waye or meanes is (yf we hymſelue.  
make warre) agaynst our ſelf / yf we fyght  
ſtrongly againſt our owne vices / for with God is our  
theſe ennemys god whiche is our peace peace & felicite  
is at variānce with deedly hate ſeyng he  
is naturally vertue it ſelfe & father & lord Stoici were  
of al vertue. And where as a filthy puddle phyloſoſers  
or a ſynke gathered togider of al kynde of as Socrates &  
vices / is named of the ſtoikes whiche are plato / with  
the moost feruent deferders of vertue ſo they folowers  
lyſhnes / & in our scripture the ſame is cal- which put felic  
led malyce / in lyke maner vertue or good- cye in trewe  
nes lacking in no poyn্ত / of bothe partes pleſure in ver-  
is called wyſdom. But after the ſaying of tue onely and  
the wyſe man doth not wyſdom ouercome within the co-  
malyce? The father and heed of malyce is ſciece without  
the ruler of darknes belial: whose ſteppes any outwarde  
who ſo euer foloweth walketh in þ night pleasure or ry-  
and shall come to eternall nyght. On the ſhynes is  
other ſyde þ grounde of wyſdom & in dede myſerye.  
wyſdome is fe  
wyſdome it ſelfe is Chryſt Iēſus / whiche lyſte.  
is very lyght & the bryghtnes of the glory  
of his father / puttynge away by hymſelfe  
onely þ nyght of þ folyſhnes of the world  
The whiche (wytnelſyng Paule) as he  
was made redempcyon & iuſtificacyon to  
vs that be borne agayn in him. Euen lyke  
wyſe was made also our wiſdom. We (ſaith

Folysynes is  
myſerye.  
wyſdome is fe  
lyſte.  
fooles also be  
wretches and  
unhappy.  
wyſe men also  
be happy and  
fortunate.  
Fylthynes is  
folysynes  
vertu is wiſdom.

Paule) preche Chryſt crucified / whiche to  
the iewes is an occation of vniue / & to the  
gētyles folyſhnes. But to þ elected boþe  
of the iewes & also of þ gentiles we preche  
Chryſt the vertue or strength of god / & the  
wyſdom of god / by whose wyſdom throug  
his example we may beare away the vi  
ctory of our ennemy malycy / yf we ſhal be  
wyſle in him in whom alſo we ſhal be con  
querours. Take moche of this wyſdom  
take her in thyne armes. Worldly wyſdom  
ſet at nought / which with false tytle & vñ  
der a fayned colour of honeste boſteth and  
ſheweth her ſelue gay to fooles / whā after  
Paule there is no greater folyſhnes with  
god than worldly wyſdom / a thynge that  
muſt be forgete in dede agayn of hym that  
wyll be wyſle in dede. If any man (ſaythe  
Paule) amouge you ſemeth to be wyſle in  
this worlde / let hym be a foole þ he may  
be wyſle / for the wyſdome of this worlde

worldly wyſe  
dome is very  
folyſhnes

he muſt be a  
foole in this  
worlde that  
wyll be wyſle  
in god.

The ſerchers  
were the phy  
losofers which  
ſerched for  
worldly wyſdom  
Yet coude they  
attayn no wyſe  
dome to ſauē  
the ſoule of mā  
vntyll Chryſte  
came.

is folyſhnes with god. And a lytell afore  
Paule ſayth it is wryten? I wyll deſtroy  
the wyſdom of wyſle men / & the prudence  
of prudent men I wyll reproue. Where is  
the wyſle man / where is þ ſubtile laþyer /  
where is the ſercher of this worlde. Hath  
not god made the wyſdom of this worlde  
folyſhnes. And I doute not but euē now  
with greate hate theſe folyſle wyſle men

hatke against the / & these blynde capteyns Many be chry-  
or guydes of blynde men crye out and rose sten men in na-  
agaynst the / sayinge that thou art decey- me onely but  
ned / that thou dorest and art madde as a the very chry-  
bedlem man / bycause thou entedest to de- sten men be they  
parte unto Chrysward. These be in na- whiche kepe &  
me onely chysten men / but in very dede obfue iwardly  
they are bothe mockers & also ennemyes Chrysies pre-  
of Chrysies doctryne. Take hede and be- ceptes.  
ware that theyr folyshe bablynge moue A true chrysie  
the not / whose miserable blyndnes ought he is good for  
rather to be wept / sorowed and mourned nothyng saith  
than to be counterfeyted or folowed. Oh hesiod<sup>9</sup> which  
what folyshe kynde of wysdom and clene neyther hathe  
out of ordre is this in tryfles and thynges wysdo, nor yet  
of no value / ye to fylthynes onely to be wyllerne it.  
clere wytted / ware and experte : but in To haue kno-  
those thynges whiche onely make for our lege is best of  
sanegarde or helthe : not to haue moche all. To be wyl-  
more understandyng than a brute beest. lyng to lerne  
Paule wolde we sholde be wyse but in & obeyente to  
goodnes / & chyldren in euyll. These men the truth is al-  
be wyse to all iniquite : but they haue no so a good thige  
lernyng to do good. And for as moche To lacke kno-  
as that facoudyous and greke poete He- lege is a very  
siodus counteth hym good for nothyng euryll thyngie.  
whiche neyther is wyse of hymselfe / ney- To disdayn to  
ther yet wyll folowe and do after hym lerne is worse.  
that gyueth hym good couseyle. Of what but to withstand-  
degre than shall they be counted whiche de & repugne  
agaynst the  
true to them  
whiche teache  
the truthe is  
worst of al far  
dest frō grace.

whan they themselfe be moost shamefull  
ly deveyued / yet never seace to trouble,  
to laugh / to scorne and put in feare them  
whiche all redy be come to theyr wyttes  
agayn? But shall not the mocker be moc-  
ked? He that dwelleth in heuē shal mocke  
them agayn / & our lord shal laugh them  
to scorne. Thou redest in the boke of Sa-  
pyence / they shal se veryly & shall despysle  
hym / but god shal mocke the. To be moc-  
ked of lewde men / is as it were a prayse.  
And no dubte it is a blessed thyng to so-  
low our heed Chryſt & his apostles / and a  
fearfull thyng truly to be mocked of god.  
I also (saith the wylde wyſdom) wyl laugh whā  
ye peryshe / & mocke you whā that thyng  
hath hapned to you which ye feared / that  
is to say / whan they awaked out of they-

Euyll men say  
ye good me as  
ye lyue now so  
lyued such & su-  
che pope holy  
fooles / & this  
came of them &  
so we trust to se  
happen of you.

Note how one  
vrice bryngeth  
in all other.

dreame & come agayn to themſelf whan it  
is to late / shall say. These be they whome  
we haue had in deryſyon and reprofe / we  
for lacke of understandynge haue counted  
theyr lyues to be madnes / & theyr ende to  
be without honour. This wiſdom is beſſe  
ly / and as James saþ diabolyke & of the  
deuyll / & is an ennemy to god / whose ende  
is destruction. For always after this wiſ-  
dom foloweth as a waytyng ſeruaunt or  
handmayde myſcheuous pſumpcion / after  
pſumpcyon foloweth blyndnes of mynde

after blyndnes of mynde foloweth feruent  
rage & tyrannye of affections & appetytes/  
after the tyrannye of affections foloweth  
the hole hepe of al vices and libertye to do  
what he lyseth Than foloweth custome/  
after foloweth moost wretched dulnes or  
insencibilitye of mynde / a dasynge of the  
wytes for lacke of capacitye. By which it  
is caused that euyll men pceyue not them  
self to synne. And whyles they be in suche  
insencibilitye without any sealyng or per-  
ceyuyng of themselfe / bodyly deth cometh  
sodeynly on them / & after it foloweth the  
seconde deth / whiche is deth euerlastyng.  
Thou seest how the mother of the extreme  
myschefe is worldly wysdom / but of the  
wysdom of Chryst whiche þ worlde thyn-  
keth folysynes / this wyse thou redest. All  
good thyngs came to men by hepes with  
her / & inestymable honestye by the handes  
of her. And I reioysed i al thyngs bycause  
this wysdom went before me / and I was  
not ware that she was mother of al good  
thyngs. This wysdom bryngeth with her  
as compaynons sobrenes and mekenes.  
Mekenes disposes & maketh vs apte to  
receyue the spiryte of god. For in the low-  
ly/humble & meke persone he retrayseth to  
rest. And whan þ spiryt hath replenished  
our myndes with his seuēfolde grace / than

The wysdome  
of Chryste.

forthwithal spryngeth that plenteous embage of al vertue with those blessed frutes of whiche þ chefe is the secrete ioye of a clere conscience/whiche ioye is knownen of none but onely of suche to whome it hath chaunced to taste of it. Ioye that never vanyssheth away/nor fadeth with the ioyes of this worlde / but increaseth and groweth to eternall gladnes and myrthe. This wylldom my brother (after the counseyle of James) must thou requyre of god with feruent & brennyng desyre. And after the counseyle of the wyse man dygge ha out of the beynes of holy scripture / as it were treasure hyd in the erthe. The chesci parte of this wylldom is that thou sholdst knowe thy selfe / whiche worlde to haue descended fro heuen the antiquite byleued & so moche hast that saying pleased great auctours/þ they iudged al plenty of wylldom to be shortly cōprehēded in this lytel sentence/that is to wyte/þf a man knowl himselfe. But let the weyght or authouritie of this conclusyon & doctryne be of noba nyng. The mystical louer in canticis thereth his spouse/ & byddeth her to gete her selfe out of þ dores/excepte she knowe her selfe/saying. O thou beautefull among al women / þf thou knowe not thy selfe/ go

out of the dores & walke after the steppes  
of thy flocke & sorte. Therfore let no man  
plumptuously take vpō hym this so great  
a thyng / to thynke that he knoweth hym  
selfe wel ynough. I am not sure whether  
any man knoweth his body vnto þ bttre-  
most / & thā how can a man knowe þ state  
of his mynde surely ynough? Paule who-  
me god so loued that he sawe þ mysteryes  
of the thyrd heuen / yet durst he not judge  
hymselfe whiche thyng doutles he wolde  
haue ben bolde to do / yf he had knownen  
hymselfe surely ynough. If so spirituall a  
man whiche discerneth al thingz & is hym  
self to be iudged of no man / was not surely  
ynough knownen to hymselfe. How shold  
we carnall men presume? In cōclusion let  
him semē to be a very unprofitable sowdy  
our / which surely ynough neyther knewe  
his owne cōpany / neyther his ennemys  
hoost. But so it is that one chrysten man  
hath not warre with an other but with  
hymselfe / & verly a great hoost of aduer-  
saries spryng out of our owne fleshe / out  
of the very bowels & inwarde parte of vs  
Lykewyse as it is redie in certeyn poetes  
tales of the bretherne gendred of the erth.  
And there is so lytell dyfference bytwene  
our ennemy & our frende / and so harde to  
knowe the one fro the other / that there is

Thou mayst  
rede of Jason  
& diuers other  
how they so-  
wed serpentes  
icthe & how of  
them sprange  
Grauns which  
fought amoge  
them selfe and  
newe cche  
other.

great ieopardy leest we somwhat recheles  
or neclgent defende our ennemy in stede  
of our frende / or hurte our frende in stede  
of our ennemy. The noble capteyn Iosue  
was in doute of an aungell of lyght / saying  
Art thou on our parte / or of our enemys  
parte. Therfore seyng that thou hast take  
vpon the warre agaynst thy selfe / and the  
chefe hope and cōfōrt of victory is ys thou  
knowe thy selfe to the vttermost / I wyl  
paynte a certayne ymage of thy selfe / as it  
were in a table / & set it before thyne eyes  
that thou mayst p̄fytly knewe what thou  
art inwarde and within thy skynne.

### ¶ Of the outward & inward man. Ca. iii

A man is a cer  
teyn monſtrous  
beest.

**A** Man is than a certeyn monſtrous  
beest cōpacete togyder of partes two  
or thre of great dyuersite. Of a soule as of  
a certeyn goodly thyngē / & of a body as it  
were a brute or dombe beest. For certeyn  
we so greatly excell not al other kyndes  
of brute beestes in perſytnes of body / but  
that we in al his natural gystes are fōud  
to hem inferyours. In our myndes ver  
y we be so celestial and of godly capacite  
that we may surmount aboue the nature  
of aungels / and be vnyt / knyt & made one  
with god. ys thy body had not ben addēd

to the thou haddeſt ben a celestial or god-  
ly thyng. If this mynde had not ben graſ-  
fed in þ/ playnly thou haddeſt ben a brute  
beest. These two natures bytwene them  
ſelſe ſo dyuerſe/ that excellēt Werkmā had  
coupled togyder with blesſed coſcorde: but  
the ſerpente the enmy of peace put them  
aſonder agayn with vnhappy diſcorde: ſo þ  
now they neyther can be ſepaſte without  
veru great turment & payne/ neyther lyue  
toyned togyder without contynual warre  
And playnly after the cōmun ſaying eche  
in the other holdeth the Wolſe by þ eares/  
& eyther may ſaye veru well & accorſingly  
to the other that proper & pleauant verſe  
of Catullus. I neyther can lyue with the  
nor without the. Suche ruffeling Wrang-  
lynge & trouble they make bytwene them  
ſelſe with comberous debate as thynges  
dyuerſe/ whiche in dede are but one. The  
body veruþy as he hymſelfe is bysyble / ſo  
delyteth he in thynges bysyble. As he is  
mortall / ſo foloweth he thynges tēpozall.  
As he is heuy / ſo ſynketh he downwarde.  
On the other party the ſoule myndeful of  
her celeſtyall nature enforceth upwarde  
with great violence & with a terrible heſt  
cryueth & wrastleth with the heuy burthē  
of þ erthly body. She diſpifeth theſe thi-  
nges that are ſeen / for ſhe knoweth them to

D.J.

God is than-  
tour of peace,

The ſerpente  
is the maker  
of debate.

he holdeth the  
wolſe by the  
eares/ this pro-  
uerbe we vſe o  
thē whiche be  
in ſuch cōbriāce  
fro whēſ they  
can in no wyſe  
ryd them leſe  
The prouerbe  
this wiſe ſprōg  
A certen man  
walked in a fo-  
reſt vpō whom  
came a wolſe &  
he coude make  
no other ſhyſt  
but tooke hi by  
the eares whiſ  
che were ſo  
ſhorte that it  
was harde to  
hold them: yet  
durſt he not let  
thē go nor laye  
hande on his  
wepōs for fere  
of bytryng/but  
held fast & cry-  
ed for helpe,

be trāsitory / she seketh true thyngs of substance  
which be pmanent & euer abyding  
& bycause she is imortal & also celestial she  
loueth thyngs imortal & celestial / & relinges  
with thinges of lyke nature / except she  
be vitterly drowned in the fylth of þ body  
& by contagiousnes of hym hath gone out  
of kynde from her natyue gentylnes. And  
verily neyther Prometheus so moche spo-  
ken of among poetes sowled this disconde  
in vs a porcyō of euery beest myred to our  
mynde / neyther our prymatyue & fyſt ma-  
kyng gaue it / that is to say / it spronge not  
in vs naturally / or nature gaue it not to  
vs i our first creaciō or natiuite: but synne  
hath euyl corrupte & decayed that whiche  
was well created / sowynge the poysone of  
dissenciō bytwene thē that were honestly  
agreed / for before þ tyme bothe the mynd  
ruled þ body without belynes / & the body  
obeyed without grudgīg. Now is it clene  
contrary. The ordre bytwene thē is so trou-  
bled / the affections or appetytes of the bo-  
dy stryue to go before reason / & reason is  
in a maner compelled to enclyne & folowe  
the iudgement of the body. Thou mayst  
compare therfore a man properly to a cō-  
munaltie / where is debate & parte takynge  
among them selfe. Whiche cōmunaltie for  
as moche as it is made of sondry kyndes

Poetes fayne  
pmetheus to  
haue made me  
of claye and  
thugh helpe  
of Dalias to  
put lyfe in the  
& a porcyon of  
euery beeste  
as the fyersnes  
of the Lyon the  
wplynes of the  
for the fereful-  
nes of the hare  
and so of other  
beestes.

Man is cōpa-  
red to a comen-  
welthe or real-  
me / where is a  
kynge / lordes /  
and the comen  
people.

of men gathered togyder / whiche be of dy-  
uerse and contrary appetyces. It can not  
be auoyded but that moche stryfe shal tyse  
therin / and parties taken oftentymes / one  
les the chefe rule and authozite be in one.  
And he hym selfe be suche a felowe that  
wyll comande nothyng but that whiche  
shall be holsome and profytable for the cō-  
mune welthe. And for that cause it must  
nedes be that he whiche is moost wyse  
sholde most beare rule. And he nedes must  
obey that leest perceyueth or vnderstan-  
deth. Now there is nothing more folyshe  
than the rascall or vyle cōmunaltye. And  
therfore ought they to obey the offycers  
and rulers / and beare no rule nor offyce  
them self. The noble estates or suche men  
whiche be moost auncient of age / ought  
to be herde : but so that it lye onely in the  
kynges arbytremēt to make statutes and  
lawes / whome it is mete to be aduertised  
to be put in remembraunce or counsayled  
now and than. But it is not mete that he  
sholde be cōpelled / or that any man shol-  
de maystrye or rule hym. And fynally the  
kyng obeyeth no man but the lawe onely  
The lawe must be correspondent to the  
ɔrgynall decree of nature or the fyſt ex-  
ample of honestye. Wherfore yf this ordre  
subuerted the vnruly cōmunes / and that

The kyng  
obeyeth the  
lawe onely.

D.ij.

ragyng dregges of the cite shall stryue to  
go before the senyours: or yf þe chefe lordes  
shall despyle the cōmaūdement of þe kyng/  
than aryleth perylous sedicyō or diuisyon  
in our cōmune welth/ye & except the pur-  
syon/decrece or auctorite of god socour/ all  
the mater weyeth & enclyneth to extreme  
mischefe and to vtter destruction. In man  
reason beareth þ rowme of a kyng. Thou  
mayst accompt for the chefe lordes certeyn  
affections & them of the body: but yet not  
all thyngs so beastly. Of the whiche kynde  
is natural reverence towarde the fathir/  
mother/loue to thy brethern/a benyuolē  
mynde towarde thy frendes & louers. Com-  
passyō vpon them that be vexed with ad-  
uersite or combred with sycknes. Feare of  
infamy/sclaunder or losse of thy good name  
Desyre of honest reputacyō / & suche other  
lyke. But suche affectiōs or passiōs which  
be very greatly disagreynge frō the deccrees  
of reason / & whiche be cast downe & must  
bow euē to the bylenes of bruite beestes.  
Thynke & reken those to be as it were the  
most raskal & vile sorte of þ cōmun people  
Of whiche kynde & sort be lechery/ryot/en-  
uy / & such lyke diseases/whiche al without  
excepciō must be kept vnder i þson/ & with  
punyshmet as vile & bonde seruautes that  
they rendre to theyz mayster theyz taske

Reason is kyng  
in a man.

The lordes be  
certaine gentle  
affections.

The cominers  
be vrie app-  
eates.

Worke apoynted to them yf they can : but  
yf not at þ leest þ they do no harme. Which  
thyngs þ Plato perceuyng by inspiracyon  
of god/wrote in his booke called Timens  
how þ sones of goddes had forged in man  
to theyr owne lykenes two kyndes of sou-  
les/the one kynde spirituall & imortal/the  
other as it were mortall/in daunger to dy-  
uerse pturbacions or mocydons of vnquiet-  
nes. Of whiche the fyrt is voluptuousnes  
(as he sayth) the bayte wherby men are  
allured and brought to vngacyousnes or  
mischefe. The next is sorowe or grefe whi-  
che letteth men & dryueth them from ver-  
tue or goodnes. After that feare & presum-  
ptuous boldnes /two madde couseyours:  
whome accōpanyeth indurate wroth/the  
desyre of vengeance. More ouer flatering  
hope with beestly ymaginacyon & knowl-  
lege not gouerned of reason/and worldly  
loue that layeth handes violently on all  
thynges. These be almoost the wordes of  
þ Plato/and it was not unknowen to hym  
the felicitie of this lyfe to be put in refray-  
nyng of suche pturbacyōs/for he wryteth  
in the same worke them for to lyue iustly &  
blessedly /whiche sholde haue ouercōme  
these appetytes/& them for to lyue vniust-  
ly & myserably that sholde be ouercōme of  
the same. And to that soule whiche is lyke

fourre affecti-  
ons of the  
mynde Joye  
sorowe hope  
and feare.

Reason dwel-  
leth in the  
brayne as in  
the palays.

The power  
wherin is con-  
tayned wrath  
and hate.

vnto the nature of god / that is to say / vnto  
to reason / as vnto a kyng he appoynted a  
place in the brayne / as in the chefe tour  
of our cite : & as thou mayst se the hyghest  
parte of our body / & nexte to heuen / & most  
farre fro the nature of a beest / as a thynge  
verlyl whiche is bothe of a very thynne  
bone / & neyther lade with grasse synewes  
nor fleshe / but surely furnysshed & apoynt-  
ted within & also without / with pouers  
of knowlege / that thrugh the shewyng of  
them no debate sholde ryse in our cōmune  
welthe / whiche he sholde not immediatly  
pceyue: but as touchyng the partes of the  
mortall soule / that is to wyte / the affectiō  
or appetytes as every one of them is / ey-  
ther obedyent / or elles grudgeth agaynst  
reason. So he remoued them fro hym / for  
bytwene the necke and the mydriffe he set  
that parte of the soule / wherin is conter-  
ned boldnes / wrath or anger / a sedicyous  
affection verlyl and ful of debate / whiche  
nedes must be refrayned: but he is not ve-  
ry brutyshe or beestly / & therfore he sepa-  
rate hym in a meane space frō the hyghest  
and lowest / leest yf he had ben to nygh to  
eyther of them / he wold eyther haue trou-  
bled the kynges quietnes / or else corrupte  
with the contagiousnes of them of the  
lowest sortes sholde with them also con-

spyre agaynst hym. Last of all that power  
whiche desyreteth the voluptuous pleasure  
of meate and dynke / wherby also we be  
moued to bodily lust / he banysshed bitter-  
ly awaye far fro the kyng; palays downe  
alowe bynethe the mydryffe in to the ly-  
uer and the paunche / that as it were a cer-  
teyn wylde beest bntamed / he sholde there  
stable and dwell at the racking / for bycause  
that power is accustomed to reple vp mo-  
cyons moost violent / & to be disobedient  
to the commaundementes of the kynge.  
What beestlynesse ye and what rebellyon  
is in the lowest porcyon of this power / at  
the leestwaye the preuy partes of thy bo-  
dy may teche the in whiche parte chefely  
this power of concupiscence rageth and  
tyranny regneth / whitch also of all mem-  
bres onely euer among maketh rebellyon  
with vncleynly mocions / the kyng cryenge  
the contrary / & that in bayne. Thou seest  
than euydently how that this noble beest  
man / so goodly a thynge aboue plarnly &  
Without any excepcyon endeth in an vn-  
reasonable or brute beest. But that noble  
couseylour whiche sytteth lyke a kyng or  
a ruler in his hygh toure / hauyng alway  
in remembraunce his owne begynnyng  
thynketh no fylthy nor lowe thynge. And  
he hath wherby he may be knowen from

The power  
wherin is con-  
tayned desprie;

D.iiiij.

The ornamen-  
tes of a kyng;

other a scepter of yuoye/ bycause he doth  
comande no thyng but þ whiche is ryght  
and good/in whose top wryteth Homere  
to set an egle/ bycause that reason moun-  
tyng vp to celestial thyngs/ beholdeth fro  
aboue those thyngs that be on the groûde  
disdeynfully / as it were with egles eyes.  
In cõclusiõ he is crowned with a crowne  
of golde/ for golde in the mystycall lettres  
moost cõmunity betokeneth wysdom. And  
the circle betokeneth that the wysdom of  
the kyng sholde be perfyte & pure in euery  
parte. These be the very giftes or vertues  
properly belongyng to kynge. Fyrst that  
they be very wyse that they do not amysse  
by reason of errore & lacke of true know-  
lege. And thå suche thyngs as they knowe  
to be good & ryght / those onely to wyll &  
purpose to do that they do nothig agaynst  
the decree or iudgement of reason inordi-  
natly/frowardly & corruptly. And who so  
euer lacketh any of these two poyntz/ cou-  
te hym to be not a kyng/that is to saye a  
ruler/but a robber.

## C Of the diuersite of affections. Ca. v.

**O**ur kyng Reason may be oppressed  
verly/pet bycause of þ eternal lawe  
which god hath grauen in hym he can not

be corrupted but that he shal grudge & cal  
backe. To whome yf the resydue of the cō we ought to ly  
munaltie wyll obey/he shall never comyt ue after reaso &  
any thyng at all eyther to be repented or not after affe-  
cions.  
of any ieopardye: but all thynges shall be perypoteticy  
admynystred with great moderacyon dis- wyll that affec  
cretly/with moche quietnes & tranquilitate tions shold be  
But as touching affections/verly Sto- thynkyng the  
ci & peripotetici barye somwhat/though necessary to p=  
bothe agree in this that we ought to lyue uoke i to styrre  
after reason; and not after affections. But a man to vertue  
Stoici wyll whan we haue vsed for a sea- Stoici be the  
son(as it were a scholemaister to teche vs followers of pla  
our fyre principles) the affections whiche to which put si  
immedyatly are stered vp of the sensuall licite & blessed-  
powers/ & now be come to iudgemēt and nes i the iward  
true examinacion what is to be ensued or cōtācye of the  
chosen/ & what to be eschewed or forsaken mynde onely /  
that than we vterly dampne and forsake ys a man were  
them. For than are they(as they saye)not so armed with  
onely no pfyte to veray wysdom/but also all vices that  
hurtfull & noyous. And therfore they wyll he myght be  
that a pfyte wyse mā shold lacke all suche wounded with  
mocypns/ as diseases or sycknesses of the no darte of ad-  
mynde/ ye & scarsely they graūte to a Wyse versite or fortu-  
man these fyre mocions/more gentyl pre- ne sayeng also  
uētyng reason whiche they call fantasyes no outwardē  
or ymaginacyons. Peripotetici teche the syftis of nature  
affections not to be destroyed vterly/but be reqred neces-  
to be refrayned/ & that the vse of them is sarily vnto fes-  
tivite but the testimony of cō  
sciēce inwardē to be sufficiēt.

**P**eripotetici  
be Aристoteles  
folowers whic  
che saye a man  
spayled with  
all kide of vertue  
& with a pure  
conscience to be a  
good man/ yet  
not happy or  
blessed/ for thei  
wyll beatitude  
to rest in the  
acte & outward  
practise of ver  
tue in p̄fying  
the coen welth  
Therefore saye  
they/ ryches/  
frēdes/ stregth  
of body/ helth/  
eloquence and  
such like to be  
required necess  
arily without  
whiche a man  
cannot p̄fyte  
an other/ yet  
wolde they not  
suche thynges  
to be desyred  
for loue of the  
thyngs the selfe  
but to profyte  
the comē welth  
& for the conve  
nacyon of man  
kynde,

not bttterly to be refused/ for bycause they  
thynke them to be gyuen of nature/ as a  
prycke or a spurre to styre a man to vertue  
As wrath maketh a man bolde & hardy/ is a mater of fortitude. Envy is a greate  
cause of polcy/ & in lykewyse of the other  
**S**ocrates in a certeyn booke that Plato  
made called Phedo/ semeth to agree with  
**S**toici/ where he thynketh philosophy to  
be nothyng else but a meditacio or practi  
syng of deth/ that is to say/ that the mynde  
withdrawe her selfe as moche as she can  
frō corporal & sensyble thyngs/ & couey her  
selfe to those thyngs whiche be perceyued  
with reason onely/ and not of the sensible  
powers. Fyrst of al therfore thou must be  
holde & cosyder diligently all the mocions  
mouyngs or steryng of thy mynde/ & have  
them surely knowen. Furthermore thou  
must vnderstāde no mocions to be so vio  
lent but they may be eyther refrayned of  
reason/ or else turned to vertue. Notwith  
standing I heare euerywhere this conta  
gious opinyon/ that some sholde say they  
be constrainyd to vices: & on the other syde  
many for lacke of knowlege of them selfe  
folowe suche mocions as the sayinges of  
decrees of reason: in so moch that what so  
ever wrath or envy doth conseyle or moue  
them to do/ that they call the zele of godis

as thou seest one commun welth to be more  
vnquiet than another: so is one man more  
enclyned or prone to vertue than another  
whiche differēce cometh not of þ diuersite  
of myndes / but eyther of the influence of ce-  
lestial bodyes / or els of our pgenitours / or  
els of the bryngyng vp in youth / or of þ co-  
plectiō of the body. The fable of Socrates  
of carters & horses good & bad is none olde  
wyues tale : for thou mayst se some to be  
borne of so moderate / softe / quiet & gentyl  
disposicion / so easy to be hadled / to be tur-  
ned & wynded / that without besynes they  
may be enduced to vertue / & renneth for-  
ward by theyr own courage without any  
spurryng. To some clene contrary thou  
mayst pceyue to haue happened: a body re-  
bellyous as a wylde & kyckyng horse: in so  
moche þ he whiche tameth him shal haue  
ynough to do & swete apace / and yet scarce  
with a very rough bytte / scarce with a wa-  
ster & with sharpe spurres can subdue his  
fyersnes. If any suche one hath hapned to  
the / let never þ rather thy hert fayle þ / but  
so moche the more feruently set vpon it/  
thyngyng on this wyse: not that the way  
of vertue is stopped or shutte vp from the:  
but a larger mater of vertue to be offred  
vnto the. But and yf so be that nature  
hath endued the with a gentyll mynde/

Some man so  
more prone to  
virtue then some

The rebellion  
of nature is to  
be imputed to  
no man.

thou art not therfore streyghtway better  
than an other man / but happyer / and yet  
agayn on that maner wyse art thou more  
happy / so that thou art also more bounde  
How be it what is he þ is endued with so  
happy gyftes of nature / Whiche hath not  
haboundauntly thynges ynough to wrestle  
withal. Therfore in what parte shal be ex-  
cepued most rage or rebellyon to be / in that  
parte reason our kyng must watche de-  
gely. There be certeyn vices appropiat  
to euery countree / as to breake promesse is  
famylyar to some: to some ryot or pdig-  
lite: to some bodyly lust or pleasure of the  
fleshe / & this happeneth to them by þ dis-  
posycyon of theyz countrees. Some vices  
accōpany the complexion of the body / as  
appetite & lust for the company of women  
& the desyre of pleasures & wanton sportes  
accōpany the sanguyne men. Wrath / fyer-  
nes / cursed speking foloweth the coleryke  
men. Brosnes of mynde / lacke of actiuite /  
sluggishnes of body / & to be gyue to moch  
slepe / foloweth the flumatike man. Enuy  
inwarde heuynes / bytternes / to be solytary  
selfe mynded / soleyn and chorlysshē fol-  
loweth the melancholyke pson. Some vi-  
ces abate & encrease after the age of man  
as in youth lust off þ body / wastfull expen-  
ces and rashnes / or folysshē hardynes. In

Some vyses  
folowe the  
countres.

Some vyses  
folowe the co-  
plexion of  
the body

vyses folowing  
the age.

olde age nyggesynes or to moche sauynge/  
waywardnes & auarice. Some vices ther  
be which shold seme appropriate to kynde  
as fyrsnes to the man/banite to the wo-  
man & desyre of wreke/or to be reuenged.

It fortuneth now & thā that nature as it  
were to make amēdes/recompenseth one  
disease or sycknes of the mynde/with an  
other certeyn contrary good gyfte or pper-  
tye. One man is somwhat prone or encly-  
ned to pleasure of worldly pastymes / but  
nothyng angry/nothyng enuyous at all.

An other is chaste/but somwhat proude or  
hygh mynded/somwhat hasty/somwhat  
to gredy vpon the worlde. And there be  
whiche be vexed with certeyn wonderfull  
& fatall vices/ with thefte/sacrylege & ho-  
micide:whiche truly thou must withstande  
with al thy might/against whose assaulte  
must be cast a certeyn brasen wall of sure  
purpose. On the other syde some affectiōs  
be so nygh neyghbours to vertue / that it  
is leopardous leest we sholde be deceyued  
the diuersitye is so daūgerous & doutfull.  
These affectiōs are to be corrected & amen-  
ded/& may be turned very wel to that ver-  
tue whiche they most nygh reselble. There  
is some man (bycause of example)whiche  
is soone set a fyre/is hote/at ones puoked  
to anger with the leest thyng in þ worlde/

vices ap-  
propriyed  
to kynde.

An euyll dys-  
ease of the  
mynde is som-  
tyme recōpen-  
sed with an  
other good  
gyfte i pper-  
te.

Let the vices  
whiche drawe  
nere vnto ver-  
tue be correc-  
ted.

Put not the  
name of vñe  
to ony maner  
of vyce.

knowe thy self.

Do all thyngs  
after the Iuge-  
ment of reason

ice hym refrayne & sobre his mynde / & he  
shal be bolde & couragious / nothyng sayng  
herted or fearfull / he shall be free of speche  
without dissimulacion. There is another  
mā somewhat holdig / or to moche sauynge  
let hym put to reason / & he shall be called  
thryfthy & a good husband. He that is som  
what flaterynge shal be with moderacyon  
curteys & pleasaunt. He that is obstynate  
may be constant. Solempnes may be tur  
ned to grauite. And that hath to moche of  
folyshe toys / may be a good compaynon.  
And after þ same maner of other sōwhar  
easyer diseases of the mynde / we must be  
ware of this onely þ we cloke not þ vice of  
nature with the name of vertue / callyng  
heuynes of mynde grauite / crudelice iustice  
envy zeale / fylthy nyggyshnes thryfste / fla  
tering good felowshyp / knauery or ryval  
dry vrganite or mery spekyng. The onely  
waye therfore to felicite is fyrlst that thou  
knowe thy selfe : more ouer that thou do  
nothyng after affectiōns / but in al thyng  
after the iudgement of reason: let reason be  
sōude & pure & without corrupcion: let not  
his mouth be out of taste / that is to saye  
let hym beholde honest thyngs. But thou  
wylte say: it is an harde thyng that thou  
comaudest: who sayth naye? And verely  
the saying of plato is true: what so euer

thynges be fayre and honest / the same be  
harde & trauaylfull to obteyne. Nothyng  
is more harde than that a man shold ouer-  
come hymselfe. But than is there no grea-  
ter rewarde than is felicite. Iheronymus  
spake that thynge excellently as he dothe  
al other thynges: nothyng is more happy  
than a chyisten man / to whom is pmyled  
the kyngdom of heue: nothyng is in grea-  
ter peryl than he which euery houre is in  
leopardye of his lyfe: nothyng is more  
stronge than he þ ouercōmeth the deuyll:  
nothyng is more weyke than he that is  
ouercōme of the fleshe. If thou ponder  
thyne owne strengthe onely / nothyng is  
harder than to subdue the fleshe vnto the  
spycyte. If thou shalte loke on god thy  
helper / nothyng is more easye. Than  
now therfore coceyue with all thy myght  
and with a feruent mynde the purpose &  
professyon of the perfyte lyfe. And whan  
thou hast groūded thy selfvpon a sure pur-  
pose / set vpon it & go to it lustely: mannes  
mynde never purposed any thyng feruēt-  
ly that he was not able to bryng to passe.  
It is a greate parre of a chyisten lyfe to  
desyre with full purpose and with all his  
herre to be a chyisten man / that thyng  
whiche at the fyſt syght or metynge / at  
the fyſt acquaintance or commynge to standome.

The sayeng of  
saynt Jerome.

To be willyns  
to be a chyiste  
man is a grete  
parte of chur-

The wye of  
vertue in pro-  
cess wexeth  
easye

shall seeme impossyble to be conquered or  
wonne/ in proces of tyme shall be gentil  
ynough & with vse easy: in cōclusion with  
custome it shall be very pleasaunt. It is a  
very pper saying of Hesiodus. The waye  
of vertue is harde at the begynnynge/ but  
after thou hast crept vp to the toppe there  
remayneth for the very sure quietnes. No  
beest is so wylde whiche wexeth not tame  
by the crafte of man. And is there no craft  
to tame the mynde of hym that is þ tamer  
of all thynges. That thou myght be hole  
in thy body/ thou canst stedfastly purpose  
and cōmaunde thy selfe for certeyn yeres  
to abstayne frō dynkyng of wyne/ to for-  
beare the fleshe and company of women  
whiche thyngs the phisician beyng a man  
þscribed to the. And to lyue quietly al the  
lyfe canst thou not rule thyne affecciōs/ no  
not a fewe monethes? whiche thyng god  
that is thy creatour & maker cōmaundeth  
the to do? To saue thy body from sycknes  
there is nothyng whiche thou doest not: to  
delyuer thy body & thy soule also frō eter-  
nall deth doest thou not these thyngs whi-  
che infideles ethnici & gentyles haue done

Cōf the inwardē & outwardē man  
and of the two partes of man/ pro-  
ued by holy scripture. Caplo. vi.

**C**erteynly I am ashamed in chysten  
mens behalfe/ of whome the moost  
parte folowe as they were brute beestes  
theyr affections & sensuall appetytes / & in  
this kynde of warre are so rude & vnexercise-  
sed/ that they do not as moche as knowe  
the diuersite bytwene reason & affections  
or pallyons. They suppose þ thyng onely  
to be þ man whiche they se & fele/ ye & they  
thynde nothyng to be belyde the thynges  
which offre them self to þ sensyble wyttes  
whan it is nothyng leesse than so. What so  
ever they greatly coueyte/ that they thyn-  
ke to be ryght: they call peace/certeyn and  
assured bôdage/ whyle reason oppressed &  
blynded foloweth whether so euer þ appe-  
tyte or affection calleth without resistence  
This is þ myserable peace whiche Chryſt  
the authour of very peace that knyt two  
in one came to breke/styring vp a holsom  
warre bytwene the father & the sone / by-  
twene the husbande & the wyfe/ bytwene  
those thynges whiche fylthy concorde had  
euyll coupled togyther. Now than let the  
authoritie of the philosophers be oflytell  
weyght / excepte those same thyngs be all  
taught in holy scripture/ though not with  
the same woordes. That the philosophers  
call reason/ that calleth Paule somtyme þ  
spiryt/somtyme þ inner man/ otherwhyle

E.J.

Crist in matþ  
sayth he came  
to make not  
peace but deui-  
lyon to set the  
father agaynst  
the sone / the  
sone agaynst  
his father/ the  
wyfe agaynst  
her husbonde  
the husbonde  
against his wife  
and so forthe.  
The hystorye  
meaneth that  
at somtyme in  
some places  
the husbonde  
sholde accepte  
the faythe of  
christ only & fo-  
lowe his holsom  
doctrine & the  
wyfe sholde pur-  
sue hym/ so  
tyme the wyfe  
sholde folowe  
chruste and the  
husbonde perse-  
cute her/ & in ly-  
kewise the son  
his father and  
the father the  
sone.

Reason / the  
spyrte / the  
inner man / the  
lawe of the  
mynde / be one  
this with paul

Affection / the  
flesh / the body  
the vitter man /  
the lawe of the  
membris /  
be one thyng  
with paule.

peace lyfe / ly-  
verte of soule /  
is the warre /  
deth / bondage  
of the body.

the lawe of the mynde. That they call af-  
fection / he calleth somtyme the fleshe: som-  
tyme þ body: an other tyme the vitter man  
and the lawe of the mēbres. walke (sayth  
Paule) in the spiryte / & ye shall not accom-  
plyssh the desyres & lustes of the fleshe /  
for the fleshe desyreteth contraty to the spi-  
ryte / & the spiryte contrary to the fleshe /  
that ye can not do what so euer thyngs ye  
wolde. And in an other place. yf ye shall  
lyue after the fleshe / ye shal dye. yf ye shal  
walkyng in the spiryte mortifye the dedes  
of the fleshe / ye shall lyue. Certeyn this is  
a newe chaūge of thyngs / that peace shold  
be sought in warre / and warre in peace: in  
deth lyfe / & in lyfe deth: in bondage liberty  
in liberty bondage. For Paule wryteth in  
an other place. I chastise my body & byng  
 hym in to seruitude. Heare also the liberty  
If ye be led with the spiryt / ye be not sub-  
iect to þ lawe. And we haue not (sayth he)  
receyued agayn the spiryte of bondage in  
feare / but the spiryte whiche hath elected  
vs to be þ chyldren of god. He sayth in an  
other place. I se an other lawe in my mē-  
bres repugnyng agaynst the lawe of my  
mynde / subduyng me to the lawe of synne  
whiche lawe is in my mēbres. Thou re-  
des with hym also of þ vitter man whiche  
is corrupte / and of the inner man whiche

is renewed daye by daye. Plato put two  
soules to be in one man. Paule in one man  
makech two men so coupled togyder/that  
neyther without other can be outher in  
heuen or hell: & agayn so separate that the  
deth of the one sholde be lyfe of the other.  
To the same (as I suppose) perteyn those  
thyng whiche he wrote to the Chorintes  
The fyrt man was made in to a lyuynge  
soule. The laste Adam was made in to a  
spiryte quyckenynge: but that is not fyrt  
whiche is spirituall/but that whiche is ly-  
uyng: than foloweth that whiche is spi-  
rituall. The fyrt man came of the erthe  
hym selfe terrestryall. The seconde came  
from heuen and he hym selfe celestial. And  
bycause it sholde more eydently appere  
these thynges to pertayne not onely to  
Chryst and Adam/but to vs all/he added  
saying. As was the man of the erth/suche  
are terrestryall & earthly persons. As is the  
celestial man/suche are the celestial psons.  
Therefore as we haue borne the ymage of  
the earthly man: euен so now let vs beare  
the ymage of the celestyall man. For this  
I saye bretherne that fleshe & blode shall  
not possesse the kyngdom of heuen/nor cor-  
ruption shall possesse incorruption. Thou  
pceyuest playnly how in this place he cal-  
leth Adam made of erth that thyng which

A double man

The last adam  
is Chryste.

E.ii.

Jacob syg-  
reth the spiryt  
Esau the fleshe

Jacob & Esau  
the sōes of Isaac  
& Rebekca fou-  
ghete in they:  
mothers belly  
she counseyled  
with god / & he  
answerted of the  
shall spryngē  
two cōtary peo-  
ple which shal-  
de euer be at  
warre but the  
elder shold ser-  
ue the yonger  
Esau was fyrt  
borne & Jacob  
solowed hol-  
dige Esau fast  
by the fote.

Afterwarde  
Esau beyng a  
hungred solde  
to Jacob his  
enheritaūs for  
a messe of pota-  
ge. when Isaac  
was olde he  
bade Esau to  
kyll some ve-  
neson that I  
myght eate of  
it & blysse the  
or 3 dñe.

in an other place he calleth the fleshe and  
the vter mā whiche is corrupte. And this  
same thyng certaynly is also the body of  
deth/wherwith Paule agreeued cryed out  
Oh wretche that I am/who shall deliuer  
me from this body of deth. In conclusion  
Paule declarynge the moost dyuerse fruyte  
of the fleshe & of the spiryte wryteth in an  
other place/saying. He that soweth in his  
fleshe shal repe or mowe of his fleshe cor-  
rupcyon:but he that soweth in the spiryte  
shall repe or mowe of the spiryte lyfe eter-  
nal. This is þ olde debate of two twynnes  
Jacob & Esau / whiche before they were  
brought forth in to lyght wrastled within  
the cloysters of the mothers belly / & Esau  
verly caught frō Jacob the preemynencie  
of byrth / & was fyrt borne:but Jacob pre-  
uented him agayn of his fathers blessing.  
That whiche is carnall cōmeth fyrt / but  
the spiritual thyng is euer best. The one  
was reed/hygh coloured and rough with  
heare: the other smothe. The one vnquiet  
and a hunter: the other reioysed in domesti-  
call quietnes. And the one also for hunger  
solde the right that pteyned to hym by in-  
heritaunce/in þ he was the elder brother/  
whyle he enticed with a vyle prest and re-  
warde of voluptuousnes/fell from his na-  
ture libertye in to the bondage of synne.

The other procured by craft of grace that  
whiche belonged not to hym by ryght of  
law. Betwene these two brethern though  
bothe were borne of one bely / & at one ty-  
me yet was there never ioyned pfyte con-  
conde / for Esau hateth Jacob / Jacob for  
his parte though he quyteth not hate for  
hate / yet he sleeth & hath euer Esau suspe-  
cted / neyther dare come within his daun-  
ger. To the lykewyse what so euer thyng  
affection counseyleth or psuadeth / let it be  
suspected. For the doutfull credence of the  
counseylour Jacob onely sawe the lord.  
Esau as one delytyng in blode lyueth by  
the sworde. To conclude whan the mother  
asked counseyle of the lord he answered:  
the elder shall be seruaunt to þ younger: but  
the father Isaac addid: thou Esau shalt do  
seruyce to thy brother: and the tyme shall  
come whan thou shalt shake of & loose his  
yoke from thy necke. The lord pphecyeth  
of good & obedyent persones / the father of  
eyl & disobedient psones. The one decla-  
reth what ought to be done of al men: the  
other tolde afore hande what þ most parte  
wolde do. Paule wylleth that the wyfe be  
obedyēt to her husbande: for better is (sayth  
scripture) the inuite of the man / thā the  
goodnes of þ woman. Our Eve is carnal  
affection / whose eyes þ subtile & crafty ser-

But by the de-  
uyce & meanes  
of the mother  
Jacob stale a-  
waye his fa-  
thers blesyng  
and was made  
lorde of his  
brother.

Then came  
Esau waylyng  
to haue a bles-  
syng / then an-  
swered the fa-  
ther. I haue  
made hym thy  
lorde.

After that Ja-  
cob sawe our  
lorde face to  
face.

in good mē the  
spirite whiche  
is sygured by  
Jacob ruleth /  
the body obey-  
eth. In euill  
men the fleshe  
whiche is syg-  
nified by Esau  
ruleth of hym  
the empyre or  
dominyon of  
the spryte.

The woman  
here signyfie-  
th a carnall  
person whiche  
chaunged by  
grace of fayth  
foloweth the  
bidding of the  
spyrte in eue meane  
that is obediyent to her husbande  
by thyngse.

The woman sy-  
gureth affectio-  
nem reson.

Abraham had  
a son by his  
seruante Agar  
whose name  
was Ismaell &  
an other bi his  
wyfe Sara  
whoe he called  
Isaac. Ismael  
was moche el-  
der then Isaac  
& in playeng to-  
gyther mysen-  
treated Isaac  
wherwith sara  
displeased bad  
Abraham put  
away thy ser-  
uant Agar  
with her son al-  
so which Abra-  
ham was loth  
to do/but god

pent dayly troubleth & vexeth with tepta-  
cyon / & she is ones corrupte gothe forth  
seaseth not to puoke & entyce the man al-  
so throug consent to be parte taker of the  
iniquitye or myscheuous dede. But what  
redest thou of the newe woman/ of her  
I wyl put hatred bytwene the (meanyng  
the serpēt & the wōinan) and bytwene her  
generacion & thyne/she shall trede downe  
thy heed/ & thou shalte lare awynte to her  
hele. The serpent was cast downe on his  
brest/the dethe of Chryſt weyked his vio-  
lence / he now onely lyeth awynte to her  
hele pruely. But the womā throug grace  
of fayth chaunged as it were in to a man  
boldly tredeſt down his venymous heed  
Grace is encreased and the tyranny of the  
flesſe is dymynysched. Whan Sara was  
mynyſched & decayed/ than dyd Abraham  
(god beyng the authour) growe and en-  
crease. And than ſhe calleth hym not hub-  
bande but lorde/ neyther yet coude ſhe op-  
teyn to haue a chylde before ſhe was dryed  
vp & bareyn. What I pray the brought ſhe  
forth at the laſt to her lord Abraham now  
in her olde days/ye & past chylde bearyng.  
Veryly Isaac ſ̄ is to ſay ioye/for as ſoone  
as affectionis haue wered olde & are weyked  
to do/but god in a man/than at the laſt ſpringeth vp the

blisſed trāquilite of an inocēt mynde / with cōmañded him  
ſure quietnes of þ spiryt / as it were a cōti- to obey his  
nual feest. And as þ father let not his wyfe w̄yues request.  
haue her pleasure without aduiseſēt: eue ſo hath the ſportyng of þ chyldeſ togyder  
ſuſpecte / I meane of Isaac with Iſmaell.  
Sara wolde not þ chylde of a bondwomā & the chylde of a free womā ſholde haue cō  
uerſacyon togyder at þ age: but þ Iſmael  
(whyle as yet youth is feruēt) ſhould be ba- Let youth flee  
niſſhed out of þſence / leſt vnder a colour of the occaſyon  
paſtyme he might entice & drawe vnto his of synne.  
owne maners Isaac yet yonge & tender of  
age. Now was Sara an olde wyfe & now  
had brought forth Isaac / yet myſtructeth  
Abrahā except the anſwere of god had ap-  
proued his wyues couſeyle / he is not ſure  
of the woman bntyll he herde of god. In  
all thyngs þ Sara hath ſayd to the/heare  
her voyce. O happy olde age of them in  
whome ſo mortyfied is the carnall man  
made of the erth / that he in nothyng be-  
ſyeth the ſpiryte / which agremēt whether  
in al thyngs þ fyte may happe to any man  
in this lyfe or no / verly I dare not affe-  
me / paduenture it were not expedient / for  
quen vnto Paule was gyue vnquietnes &  
trouble of the fleſh þ messenger of sathan  
to vex him withal. And at þ thyde tyme he  
desyzed to haue þ messenger taken frō him

E. iiii.

Trouble of the  
fleſh is expe-  
dyent to the  
exercyſe of ver-  
tie & custody  
of humirlyte.

when thou art  
tempted fall to  
prayer.

hydra was a  
serpente with  
many heddes  
of whiche one  
was immortall  
with her fou-  
ghte Hercules  
a whē he smote  
of one heed. viij  
sprange for it/  
At the laste he  
sought with a  
bournig sword  
and so sered he  
theyr neckes  
that they  
coudē no more  
springe.

Than had he none other answere of god  
but onely this. Paule my grace is sufficient  
for the. For strengthe is wrought & made  
pſyte in weyknes. In dede this is a newe  
kynde of remedy. Paule leest he sholde be  
proude is tempted with pryde/þ he myght  
be stronge in Chryst: he is compelled to be  
weyke in hymselfe: he bare the treasure of  
celestial reuelaciōs in a vessel of erth/that  
the excellencye sholde depende of þ myght  
of god/ & not of hymself/ whiche one exam-  
ple of thaponstle putteth vs in remembrance  
& warneth vs of many thyngs. Fyrst of all  
that whan we be assaulted of vycies/imme-  
diatly we must gyue our selfe to prayer a-  
gayne/ and desyre helpe of god. More ouer  
that temptacions to pſyte men are not pe-  
rylous: but also are very expedyent to the  
contynuānce & preseruyng of vertue. Last  
of al whan al other thyngs are full tained  
than the vice of baynglorþ euē in þ cheſe  
tyme of vertues layeth awaite: & this vice  
to be as it were Hidra/ whome Hercules  
fought withall a quycke monstre longe of  
lyfe & fruytful/by reason of her own wou-  
des/ which at þ last ende whan all labours  
be ouercōme can scarce be destroyed. Re-  
uertheles contynuall & iportuniate labour  
ouercōmeth al thyng. In the meane tyme  
whyle thy mynde rageth & is vexed with

þe hemet þturbacyons/by all maner mea-  
nes thrust togyder/drawe downe/holde &  
bynde this þrotheus with tough bandes

þrotheus that  
is to say affecti-  
on must be hol-  
de downe.

þyngs/in to fyre/in to the shappe of some  
terrible wylde beest & in to a rēnyng ryuer  
vntyll he cōme agayne in to his owne na-  
tural lykenes and shappe. What is so lyke  
þrotheus as is the affections & appetites  
of fooles whiche drawe them somtyme in  
to beestly and bodyly lust / somtyme in to  
mad ice or wrath/otherwhyle i to poysone  
envy & straunge fascions of vices. Agreeeth  
it not well that þ excellent connyng poete  
Virgil sayd: there shal dyuerse similitudes  
and fascions of wylde beestes delude and  
mocke / for sodeynly he wyll be a fearfull  
swyne & foule tygre/ & a dragon full of sca-  
les/ & a lyonesse with a reed mane/or shall  
counterfepte the quycke sounde of þ flame  
of fyre:but here haue in remēbraunce what  
foloweth. The more he chaungeth hym  
self in to al maner of similitudes/the more  
my sone (sayth Virgil) strayne thy tough  
bandes. And also bycause we shall not nede  
to returne agayne to fables of poets/thou  
shalt by thensample of the holy patriarche  
Jacob lerne to endure & to wrastle lustely  
all nyght vnto the morynge of the helpe

þrotheus is a  
god whiche  
chasigeth hym  
to all maner fa-  
cyons/he is a  
grete ppheſier  
but he wyl tell  
nothyng with-  
out copulacion.

Urgyll reher-  
seth of arstew  
which had lost  
his beest & co-  
ſelled with his  
mother cirene  
a goddes how  
he myght resto-  
re the agayne  
she ſent him to  
þþe & taught  
a craft to bind  
hym vntyll he  
had tolde the  
trouthe/ then  
taught þþeus  
how of a deed  
they myght be  
restored again

Jacob wrastled with an aūgell all nyght, whō in the moring he wolde not let go vntyl he had blyssed hym in the same place/ the aūgell smote his thygh and the synewes shranke so that Jacob haled on the one leg after that.

of god begin to givē light. And thou walt say / I wyll not let the departe except thou shalt haue gyuē me thy blesyng fyſt. But what rewarde of his victory & greate vertue that myghty & excellent stronge wrangler obteyned / it is certaynly very pſytable to heare. Fyſt of al god blessed hym i that same place. For cuermore after that the temptacyon is ouercome / a certeyn synguler encrease of diuyne grace is added unto a man / wherby he shold be an other tyme moche more surely armed thā he was before agaynst the assaulte of his enimye. Farthermore thrugh touchyng of þ thigh the synewe of the cōquerour Wered Wydred & shronke / & he began to halte on the one fote. God curseth them by the mouth of his pphete whiche halt on bothe theyre fete / that is to say / them which wyl bothe lyue carnally / & please god also. But they be happy in whom carnal affections be somortifyed / that they beare & lene moost of all to the ryght fote / that is / to the spiryte fyinally his name was chaunged : of Jacob he was made Israel / & of a besy wrangler a quiet psone. After that thou hast chastysed thy fleshe or thy body / & crucyfied hym with vices and concupiscentes / than shall trāquillite and quietnes without all trouble come unto the / that thou may

be at leysse to beholde the lorde / that thou God appereth  
mayst taste & fele þ the lorde is pleasant & after a grete  
swete / for þ thyngc is signisid by Israell. tempest.  
God is not seen i fyre / neyther in the horle he hath wal-  
wynde & troublous rage of temptacyon / ked. xi. dayes &  
but after the tempest of the deuyl (yf so be xi. nyghtes vn-  
that thou shalt endure perseuerantly) fo- to the mounte  
loweth the hyssyngc of a thynne ayre or of Orell wher-  
wynde of spirituall cōsolacyon. After that he prayed in a  
ayre hath brethed quietly vpon the / than cave / A voyce  
applye thyne inwardre eyes / & thou shalte bad hym come  
be Israell / and shalt say with hym. I haue forth & stande  
seen my lorde / and my soule ys made hole. afore god / and  
Thou shalte se hym that sayd : no flesche then came a  
shall se me / that is to say / no carnall man. grete wynde  
Consyder thy selfe dylygently / yf thou be then a quakige  
flesche / thou shalte not se god : yf thou se then fyre / & god  
hym not / thy soule shall not be made hole not in the fyre.  
Take hede therfore that thou be a spirite. then felowed  
the hyssyngc of a thynne ayre / and then appered god  
to Elias.

**C**Of thre partes of man / the spiryte /  
the soule / and the flesche. Caplo. viij.

**T**hese thynges afore written had ben Origene in his  
and that a greate deale more than fyſt boke vpō  
ſuffycyent : neuertheleſſe that thou mayſt the epiftle of  
be ſomwhat more ſenſiblly knownen vnto paule to the ro-  
thy ſelfe / I wyll reherſe compenduously mains maketh  
the dyuylſyon of a man / after the descrip- this diuylſion.  
yon of Origene / for he foloweth Paule

maketh thre partes/ the spiryte/ the soule  
and the fleshe/ whiche thre partes Paule  
syned togyder/ wrytyng to the Thessalon  
icenes. That your spiryte (sayth he) your  
soule & your body may be kepte cleane and  
uncorrupte/ that ye be not blamed or accu  
sed at the comyng of our lord Iesu Christ  
And Esaias (leuynge out the lowest parte)  
maketh mencyon of two/ saying my soule  
shall desyre & longe for the in the nyght/ ye  
& in my spiryte & my hert strynges I wyll  
wake in the mornynges for to please the.  
Also Daniell sayth/ let the spiryt & soules  
of good men laude god. Out of the which  
places of scripture Origene gathereth not  
agaynst reason the thre pericions of man  
that is to wite/ the body/ otherwise called  
the fleshe/ the most vile parte of vs/ wher  
in the malycyous serpent thrugh original  
trespace hath wryten the lawe of synne  
wherwithall we be puoked to fylthynes.  
And also yf we be ouercom we be coupled  
and made one with the devyll. Than the  
spiryt wherin we represent þ similitude of  
the nature of god/ in which also our most  
blessed maker after the original paterne &  
example of his owne mynde hath grauen  
the eternal lawe of honestie with his syne  
ger/ that is with his spiryte & holy goost.  
By this parte we be knyt to god/ & made

The fleshe.

The spiryte.

one with him. In the thyrd place & in the  
myddes bytwene these two he putteth the  
soule/ whiche is part taker of the sensyble  
appetites & natural motions. She is in a se-  
dicious & wranglyng comune welth must  
nedely ioyne her selfe to þ one parte or the  
other/ she is troubled of bothe partes/ she  
is at her libertie to whether parte she wyl  
encyne. If she forsake the fleshe & conuey  
her selfe to the partes of the spiryt/ she her  
selfe shal be spiritual also. But & yf she cast  
her selfe downe to þ appetites of the body  
she shall gowe out of kynde in to the ma-  
ner of þ body. This is it that Paule ment  
wrytyng to the Chorintes. Remembre ye  
not that he þ ioyneth hymselfe to an har-  
lot is made one body with her: but he that  
clueth to the lord/ is one spiryt with hym  
He calleth the harlot the frayle & weyke  
parte of the man. This is that pleasant &  
flaterynge womā of whome thou redest in  
the seconde chapiter of proverbes on this  
wyse. That thou mayst be delyucred from  
a straunge woman & from a woman of an  
other countree/ whiche maketh her wordes  
swete & pleasant/ & forsaketh her husbande  
to whome she was marayed in her youth/  
& hath forgete the pmesse she made to her  
lorde god: her house boweth downe to deth  
and her path is to hell. who so euer gothe

Thou must re-  
membre the soule  
& the spirite to  
be one substanc-  
ce/but in the  
soule be many  
powers as wit  
wyl/memory:  
but the spyrte  
is the moost  
pure & fardest  
fro corruption  
the moost high  
& diuine pouer  
of our soule.  
Capar of god  
imediatly whe-  
ren god hath  
graue the law  
of honesty that  
is to saye the  
lawe naturall  
after the simili-  
tude of the eter-  
nal lawe of his  
owne mynde,

in to hell / shall never returne: nor shall at-  
tayne the path of lyfe. And in the. viij. chap-  
ter / That thou mayst kepe the frō an evyl wo-  
man / & frō the flaterynge tong of a straunge  
woman / let not thy hert melt on her beau-  
ty / be not thou deceyued with her becke-  
for the pyce of an harlot is scarce worth a  
pece of breed: but the womā taketh away  
the precious soule of the man. Dyd he not  
whan he made mencyon of the harlot / the  
herte & the soule expresse by name thre pac-  
tes of the man. A gayne in the. ix. chapter.  
A folyshe woman euer bablynge & full of  
wordes / swymyng in pleasures / & hath no  
lernynge at all / sytteth in the dores of her  
house vpon a stole in an hygh place of the  
cite to call them that passe by the waye /  
be goyng in theyr iourney / who so euer is  
a chylde / let hym turne in to me: & she sayd  
vnto a foole & an heftles yson: water that  
is stolen is pleasaunter / & breed that is hyd-  
pyuely is sweter. And he was not ware  
that there be grautes / & theyr gelles be in  
the bottom of hell. For who so euer shall  
be coupled to her / he shal descēde into hell  
And who so euer shal departe frō her / shal  
be saued. I besech the with what colours  
coude more workmanly haue be paynted  
and set out eyther the venymous entyce-  
mentes and wanton pleasures of the pov-

soned flesche / prouokynge & temptynge the  
soule to fylthynes of synne / or else the im-  
portunytye of the same cryenge and cry-  
uyng agaynst the spiryte / or the wretched-  
ende that foloweth whan she dothe ouer-  
ende the spiryte. To conclude therfore /  
the spiryte maketh vs goddes / the flesche  
maketh vs beestes : the soule maketh vs  
men : the spiryte maketh vs relygyous /  
obedyent to god / kynde and mercyfull.  
The flesche maketh vs despysers of god /  
disobedyent to god / vnkynde and cruell.  
The soule maketh vs indifferent / that is  
to saye / neyther good nor badde. The spi-  
ryte desyreteth celestyal thynges: the flesche  
desyreteth delycate and pleasaunt thynges.  
The soule desyreteth necessary thynges: the  
spiryte cargeth vs vp to heuen: the flesche  
thrusteth vs downe to hell. To the soule  
nothyng is imputed / that is to saye / it  
dothe neyther good nor harme: what so  
ever is carnall or spryngeth of the flesche  
that is fylthy : what so ever is spirytuall  
procedyng of the spiryte / that is pure / per-  
fyte & godly: what so ever is naturall & p-  
cedeth of the soule / is a meane & indifferet  
thyng / neyther good nor bad. Wylt thou  
more playnly haue the dtyersytle of these  
thre ptes shewd unto the as it were with  
a mannes synger? certeynly I wyll assay.

That which  
is naturall  
deserueth no  
rewarde. **T**hou doest reuerence to thy father & mo-  
ther: thou louest thy brother / thy chylde /  
& thy frende: it is not of so great vertue to  
do these thyngs / as it is abhomynable not  
to do them. **F**or why sholdest thou not be-  
yng a chysten man do that thyng whiche  
the gentyles by the techyng of nature do/  
pe whiche brute beestes do? **T**hat thyng  
that is natural shall not be imputed vnto  
meryte. **B**ut thou art come in to such a  
strayte case that eyther þ reuerence toward  
thy father must be despised / þ inward loue  
toward thy children must be subdued / the  
benyuolēce to thy frende set at nought / o/  
god must be offēded. **W**hat wilt thou now  
do? **T**he soule standeth in the myddes by-  
twene two wyses: the fleshe cryeth vpon  
her on þ one syde / the spiryte on the other  
syde. **T**he spiryte sayth / god is aboue thy  
father: thou art bounde to thy father but for  
thy body onely. **T**o god thou art bounde  
for all thyngē that thou hast. **T**he fleshe  
putteth the in remembraunce / saying. Er-  
cepte thou obey thy father / he wyll dishe-  
ryte the / thou shalt be called of euery man  
an vnkynde & vnnaturall chylde / loke to  
thy pfyte / haue respecte to thy good name  
and fame. **G**od eyther dothe not se / or else  
dissimuleth & wyttyngly loketh besyde it /  
or at þ leest wyll be soone pacifyed agayn.

Now thy soule doubteth / now she waueth  
hyther and thyther / to whether of ey-  
ther parte she turne her selfe. That same  
shall she be / that that thyng is she went  
vnto. yf she obey the harlot / that is to say  
the fleshe (the spirite despised) she shall be  
one body with the fleshe. But & yf she lyft  
up her selfe and ascende to the spiryte (the  
fleshe set at nought) she shal be trasposed  
& chaunged to the nature of the spiryte. Af-  
ter this maner accustome to examyne thy  
selfe prudently. The errour of those men is  
exceding great whiche oftentimes weneth  
that chynge to be pfyte vertue & goodnes  
whiche is but of nature & no vertue at al.  
Certeyn affeacions somwhat honest in ap-  
petance / & as they were disguised with vi-  
sors of vertue / deceyueth neclygēt plones.

The iudge is hasty and cruell agaynst the  
felon: or him that hath trespassed the lawe  
he semeth to hymseife constant & of grauite  
uncorrupte and a man of good cōscyence/  
Wylt thou haue this man discussed? If he  
faouur his owne mynde to moche and fo-  
low a certeyn natural rygorousnes with-  
out any grefe of mynde / paduenture with-  
some pleasure or delectacyon: yet not le-  
nyng from the offyce & duty of a iudge / let  
 hym not forthwith stande to moche in his  
owne conceyce: it is an indifferent thyng

The soule  
doubteth

Some affecti-  
ons be dysgy-  
sed with visors  
of vertue.

An example  
of the Judge;

J.S.

that he dothe. But yf he abuse the latte  
for pryuate hate or lucre/nwo it is carnall  
that he dothe/and he cōmytteth murder:  
but & yf he fele great sorowe in his mynde  
bycause he is compelled to destroye and  
kyll hym / whom he had leuer amended  
and saued. Also yf he enioyne punysshmen  
accordynge to the trespace with suche a  
mynde/with suche sorowe of herte/ as the  
father cōmaudeth his syngulerly beloued  
sone to be cutte/launced or feared: of this  
maner shall it be spirituall that he dothe.

The moost parte of men thvgh psonesse  
of nature and some spcyall propertye/ey-  
ther reioyse or abhorre certayne thynges.  
Some there be whom bodily lust tickleth  
not at al:let not them by & by ascrybe that  
vnto vertue which is an indifferēt thyng/  
for not to lacke bodily lust / but to over-  
come bodily lust is the office of vertue. In  
other man hath a pleasure to fast / a plea-  
sure to be at masse/a pleasure to be mocht  
at chyrche & to say a great deale of psalmo-  
dye: examyne after this rule that thyng  
whiche he dothe:yf he regarde the cōmu-  
nē or aduantage/it smelleth of þ fleshē  
and not of the sp̄rite:yf he do folowe but  
his owne inclynacyon (for he dothe that  
whiche pleaseth his owne mynde) than  
he hathe not wherof he so ought greatly

Some men re-  
joyce naturally  
with some cer-  
tainie thynges.

The rule of  
true p̄te.

to reloyne / but rather wherof he ought to feare. Beholde a ieopardous thyng vnto thy self. Thou prayest and iudgest hym that prayeth not. Thou fastest / and condemnest hym that fasteth not. Who so ever dothe not that thou doest / thou thyngest thy selfe better than he : beware leest thy faste perteyne to thy fleshe. Thy brother hathe nede of thy helpe / thou in the meane space mumblest in thy prayers vnto god / & wylt not be knowen of thy brothers necessite. God shall abhorre these prayers : for how shall god heare þ whyle thou prayest / whā thou whiche art a man canst not fynde in thy herte to heare another man. Perceyue also an other thyng. Thou louest thy wyfe for this cause onely that she is thy wyfe: Thou doest no greate thyng / for this thyng is comune as well to infydeles as to the: Or elles thou louest her for none other thyng but bycause she is to the pleasant and delectable. Thy loue nowe draweth to thy fleshwarde. But thou louest her for this thyng chefely / bycause thou hast perceyued in her the ymage of Chyst / whiche is godly reuerence / modestye / sobernes / chastite: and now louest not her in her selfe but in Chyste: yea rather Chyste in her. After this maner louest spictrually. Not

Let a christen  
man marke  
this well.

The chaste  
loue towarde  
thy wyfe.

F.ij.

withstandyng we shall saye more of these  
thynges in theyr places.

Certayne generall rules of true  
chysten lyuyng. Ca. viij.

**N**ow for bicausse we haue opened as  
me semeth þ waye (how so euer we  
haue done it) and haue þpared as it were  
certeyn stiffe and mater vnto the thyng  
whiche was purposed. We must haste to  
that whiche remayneth/leest it sholde not  
be an Enchiridion/ that is to saye/a lytell  
treatise hansom to be carryed in a mannes  
hāde/but rather a great volume/we wyl  
enforce to gyue certeyn rules/as they were  
certeyn poyntes of wrastling/by whose  
guyding & conueyance/as it were by the  
guyding of þ threde of Dedalus men may  
easely plunge vp out of the blynde errores  
of this worlde/as out of Labirinth<sup>9</sup>/whi  
che is a certeyn comberous maze/& come  
vnto the pure and clere lyght of spirituall  
lyuyng. None other scyence is there whi  
che hath not her rules. And shal the crafte  
of blessed lyuyng onely/be without the  
helpe of all maner þcepti? There is with  
out sayle a certeyn crafte of vertuous ly  
uyng and a discyplyne/in whiche who  
so euer exercysse themselfe manfullly/then

Enchiridion.

Lerne the  
crafte of  
Vertue.

Shall fauour that holy sp̄it̄pte / whiche is  
the promoter and brynger forwarde of all  
holy enforcement and godly purposes. But  
who so euer sayth / departe fr̄ vs we wyll  
not haue þ knowledge of thy wayes : these  
men the mercy of god refuseth / bycause  
they fyrt haue refused knowledge. These  
culpers shall be taken partly of the persone  
of god / of the persone of the deuyll / and of  
our persone / partly of thynges / that is to  
saye / of vertues and vices / and of thynges  
to them annexed / partly of the mater or  
misse wherof vertues or vices be wrought  
They shall profyte synglerly agaynst thre  
culþyngs remayning of original synne  
For though baptym haue wyped awaie  
the spotte / yet there cleueth styll in vs a  
certeyn thyng of the olde disease lefte be-  
hynde / bothe partly for the custody of hu-  
mptyng / and also for the mater & encrease  
of vertue. These be blyndnes / the fleshe  
and infirmyt̄ye or weykenes. Blyndnes  
with the myſt of ignorance dymmeth the  
judgement of reason. For partly the synne  
of our fyrt progenytours hath not a lytel  
dusked that so pure a lyght of the counte-  
naunce / reſemblaunce or ſimilitude of god /  
which our creatour hath shewed vpon vs  
And moche more corrupte bryngynge vp

Mota.

F.115.

nes of vices / custome of synne hath so  
creid it / that of þ lawe grauen in vs of god  
scarle any sygnes or tokenes dothe appere.  
Than as I began / blyndnes causeth that  
we in the election of thyngs be as good as  
halfe blynded & deceyued with errore / in  
the stede of the best / folowyng the woorke  
preferryng thynges of lesse valure before  
thynges of greater pryce. The fleshe trou-  
bleth þ affection so moche / þ euene though  
we knowe what is best / yet loue we þ con-  
trary. Infirmytē & weyknes maketh vs  
that we beyng ouercome eyther with te-  
dyousnes or with temptacion / forsake the  
vertue whiche we had ones gotten & at-  
tayned. Blyndnes hurteth the iudgement  
the fleshe corrupteth the wyll / infirmytie  
weyketh constancye. The fyrt poynt ther-  
fore is that thou can discerne thyngs to be  
refused from thynges to be accepte: & ther-  
fore blyndnes must be take away least we  
stumble or stager in the election of thyngs.  
The nexte is / that thou hate the eyll as  
soone as it is ones knownen / & loue that  
whiche is honest and good: and in this  
thyng the fleshe must be ouercome / least  
contrary to þ iudgement of the mynde we  
wolde loue swete and delectable thynges  
in the stede of hol som thyngs. The thyrde  
is / that we cōtynue in these thyngs which

Eyll must be  
knowen & had  
in hate.

We began well: and therfore the weyknes <sup>Perseyuerāce</sup> must be had,  
must be vnderset / leest we forsake the way  
of vertue with greater shame than yf we  
had ben never aboute to walke or entre  
therin. Ignoraunce must be remedied / that  
thou mayst se which way to go. The flesh  
must be tamed / leest she lede the asyde out  
of the hygh waye / ones knowen in to by-  
patches. Weyknes must be conforted / leest  
whan thou hast entred in to the strayte  
way thou sholdest eyther faynte or stoppe  
or turne backe agayne / or leest after thou  
hast ones set thy hande to þ plowe sholdest  
loke backwarde / but sholdest reioyce as a  
strong gyant to haste the way / euer stret-  
chyng forth thy self to those thingz which  
be afore the without remēraunce of those  
thyngz which be behynde the / vntyll thou  
mayst lay hande on the reward apoynted  
& on þ crowne pmyled to them þ cōtynue  
vnto these thre thingz: therfore we shal ap-  
plye certeyn rules accordyng to our lytell  
power.

**A**gaynst the euyll of ignorauice  
the fyrt rule. Caplo. ix.

**B**ut in asmoche as fayth is the onely  
gate vnto Chryſt / the fyrt rule must  
be that thou judge very wel bothe of hym  
and also of scripture gyuen by his sp̄iſt / &  
we must Judge  
wel of scripture.  
ff. iii.

Countefayte  
not euyl psons

Probations of  
christen sayth.

that thou byleue not with mouth onely/  
not fayntly/not necligently/not doubtful-  
ly/as the comune raskall of chyisten men  
do: but let it be set fast & imouable thogh  
out all thy brest/ not one iote to be contey-  
ned in them that apperteyneth not great-  
ly vnto thy helth. Let it moue þ nothyng  
at all that thou seest a great parte of men  
so lyue / as though heuen & hell were but  
some maner of tales of olde wyues/to sea-  
re or slater yong chyldren withal: but by-  
leue thou surely & make no haste/ though  
the hole worlde sholde be madde at ones/  
though the elementes sholde be chaunged/  
though the aȝels sholde rebell: yet veri-  
te can not lye/it can not but come whiche  
god told before shold come. yf thou byleue  
he is god/ thou must byleue nedes that he  
is true also / & on this wyse thynke with-  
out waueryng/nothyng to be so true/no-  
thyng to be so sure/ & without doubte of  
the thing; whiche thou hearest with thyne  
eares/which thou psently beholdest with  
thyne eyes/which thou handest with thy  
handes/ as those thynges be true whiche  
thou redest in the scriptures / that god of  
heuen/that is to saye verite gaue by inspi-  
racyon whiche the holy apphetes brought  
forth / and the blode of so many martyrs  
hath approued: vnto whiche now so ma-

þy hondzeth yeres the consent of all good  
men hathe agreed and set theyz seales:  
whiche Chryſt here beyng in fleshe bothe  
taught in his doctryne and expreſſly repre-  
ſented or counterfeyled in his maners and  
lyuyng. Tanto which also myracles beare  
wytnes / the deuylls confesse & ſo moche  
byleue / that they quake and tremble for  
ſcare. Last of al whiche be ſo agreeable vnto  
to the equite of nature / whiche ſo agree  
bytwene themſelue / & be euery where lyke  
themſelue / whiche ſo rauyſſheth the myn-  
des of them that attende / ſo moueth and  
chaungeth them. If theſe ſo great tokens  
agre vnto them alone / what the deuylls  
madnes is it to doubt in the fayth? ye of  
thoſe thynges paſſed thou mayſt eaſely con-  
iecte what ſhall folowe: how many and  
great thynges alſo / how incredyble to be  
ſpoken dyd the prophetes tell before of  
Chryſt: whiche of theſe thynges came not  
to paſſe? ſhall he in other thynges deceyue  
whiche in them deceyued not? In concluſion  
ſyon the pphetes lyed not / & ſhall Chryſt  
the lorde of prophetes lye? If with thiſ &  
ſuche other lyke cogytacyons thou often  
ſtere vp the flame of fayth / and than fer-  
uenitly deſyre of god to encrease thy fayth  
I ſhall meruayle yf thou canſt be any lon-  
ge tyme an euyll man. For who is all to

gyder so vnhappy & full of myschefe that  
wolde not departe frō vices / yf so be he be-  
terly beleued that with these momentary  
pleasures / belyde the vnhappy vexacio of  
conscyence & mynde is purchased also ete-  
nall punyshmentes. On the other syde / yf  
he surely byleued for this temporall & ly-  
tell worldly vexacyon to be rewarded or  
recompensed to good men an hondred  
folde ioye of pure cōscyence presently: and  
at the last lyfe immortall.

**C**The seconde rule. Caplo.x.

we must entre  
in to the waye  
of helthe or sal-  
uacion boldly.  
and with a ro-  
cke courage.

**I**Et the fyfte poynt be therfore that  
thou doubte in no wyse of þymyses  
of god. The nexte þ thou go unto þ waye  
of lyfe / not slouthfully / not feerfully : but  
with sure purpose / with all thy hert / with  
a cōfident mynde / & (yf I may so say) with  
suche mynde as he hath that wolde rather  
fyght than dynke: so that thou be redy at  
all houres for Chrystes sake to lese bothe  
lyfe & goodes. A slouthfull man wyl & wyl  
not. The kyngdom of heuen is not gotten  
of negligent & recheles þsones / but playn-  
ly reioyseth to suffre violence: And violent  
þsones violetly obteyne it. Suffre not the  
affection of them whome thou louest syn-  
gularly to holde the backe hastyngh thyself

Worde: let not the pleasures of this woorde  
call the backe agayne: let not the care of  
thy housholde be any hyndraunce to the.  
The cheyne of worldly belynesse must be  
cut asonder/for surely it can not otherwise  
be losed. Egypt must be forsaken in suche  
a maner that thou turne not agayn in thy  
mynde at any tyme vnto the pottes of the  
fleshe. Sodoma must be forsaken vtterly  
hastely yea & at ones: it is not lawfull to  
loke backe. The woman loked backe she  
was turned in to þ ymage of a stone. The  
man had no leyser any where to abyde in  
any region/but was comaundered to haste  
in to the mountayne / oneles that he had  
leuer to haue peryshed. The pphete cry-  
eth out þ we sholde flee out of the myddes  
of babylon. The departyng of the israelites  
frō Egypt is called flyght or ronnyng  
away. We be comaundered to flee out of ba-  
bylon hastely/ & not to remoue a lytel and  
a lytell slowly. Thou mayst se the moost  
parte of men prolong the tyme/ and with  
very slowe purpose go about to flee from  
vices. whan I haue ones ryd my selfe out  
of suche and suche maters/saye they / yea  
whan I haue brought that & that bely-  
nes to passe. Oh foole what & yf god this  
same daye take agayne thy soule frō the?  
perceyuest thou not one belynes to ryse of

Egypte sygny  
fyeth bōdages/  
afflyccion / vy-  
ces & blyndnes

The Israelytē  
being a hōgred  
in desert wyl-  
shed to go back  
agayn to Egipt  
sayenge to  
Moyies/ howe  
happy were we  
when we sate  
there by the  
pottes of fleshe

Lot was comā  
ded to departe  
hastely out of  
Sodoma & not  
to loke backe/  
his wyfe loked  
back & was tor-  
ned in to a salt  
ston/so we may  
neither with  
the Israelytē  
desyre to goo  
backe agayne  
to the pleasure  
of Egypt of vy-  
ces & syne[n]cē  
ther with the  
wyfe of Lotte  
may loke back  
again to our ol  
de cōuersaciō.

There may be  
no prolongyng  
tyme in slayng  
yyses.

Confydence  
ingod.

Serne Chryſt  
all togyder / &  
no man elles.

an other / and one vice to call in an other,  
why rather doest thou not to daze that  
thyng whiche the sooner thou doest / the  
easier shall it be done / be dylygent some  
other where. In this mater to do rashly  
to ronne heedlong & sodeynly is chefest of  
all and moost pſytalbe. Regarde not nor  
ponder how moche thou forsakes / but be  
sure Chryſt onely shall be ſufficiyent for all  
thyngs : onely be bolde to cōmyt thy ſelue  
to hym with all thyne hert : ſet thou my-  
trufe in thyne owne ſelue / aduenture to  
put vnto hym all the gouernaunce of thy  
ſelue: trust to thy ſelue no longer / but with  
full confydence cast thy ſelue from thy ſelue  
to hym / and he shall receyue the : cōmyte  
thy care & thought to the lorde / & he shall  
nouryſſhe the vp / that thou mayſt ſyng  
the ſonge of the ſame propheete. The lorde  
is my gouernour / & I ſhal lacke nothyng.  
In a place of paſture he hath ſet me / by  
the water syde of cōforde he hath brought  
vp me: he hath conuerted my ſoule: be not  
mynded to parte thy ſelue in to two / to the  
world & to chryſt: thou canſt not ſerue two  
maſters: there is no felawſhyp bytwene  
god and belial. God can not awaie with  
them whiche halte on bothe theyr legges:  
his ſtomacke abhorreth them whiche be  
neyther hote nor colde / but luke Warme.

God is a very falouse louer of soules: he  
wylle possesse onely and all togyder that  
thyng whiche he redemeid with his blode:  
he can not suffre the felawshyp of the de-  
uyll whome he ones ouercame with deth.  
There be but two wayes onely / the one  
whiche by obedyence of the affections le-  
deth to pdicyon: the other whiche thrugh  
mortysfenge of the flesche ledeth to lyfe.  
Why doubtest thou in thy selfe / there is no  
thyrd waye / in to one of these two thou  
must nedes entre / wylt thou or wylt thou  
not / What so euer thou arte / or of what  
degree / thou must nedes entre in to this  
strayte waye / in whiche fewe mortal men  
walke. But this waye Chryst hym selfe  
hath trode / & haue troden synce the worlde  
began who so euer pleased god. This is  
doubtles the tneitable necessite of y god-  
des Adrasta / otherwyse called Remesis or  
Rhanusia / that is to say / it can not be cho-  
sen but that thou be crucified with Chryst  
as touchyng the worlde / yf thou purpose  
to lyue with Chryst. Why lyke fooles fla-  
ter we our selfe / why in so weyghty a ma-  
ter deceyue we our selfe. One sayth / I am  
not of the clerye or a spūal man / I am of  
the worlde / I can not but vse the worlde.  
An other thynketh / though I be a preest  
yet am I no monke / let hym loke vpon it.

Two wayes  
onely / the one  
of saluacio / the  
other of pdico

Adrasta nemes-  
sis or Rhānu-  
sia is a goddes-  
whiche punys-  
sheth insolency  
she forbiddeth  
that ony man  
loke to hysghe  
yf ony so do he  
escapeth not  
vnpunysshed  
though it be  
neuer so late: yf  
ony be to ful of  
insolency we  
say / take hede  
Rhamnusia  
seeth the well  
ynough.

Every man putteth to another the lyfe  
of Chryſt and ſayings of his  
apostelles.

The worlde.

The reward is  
givēn to hym  
that laboreth.

And the monke also hath founde a thyng to  
flater hyselue withal/ though I be a monke  
yet am I not of so strayte an ordre as such  
& ſuche. An other ſayth. I am a yong man  
I am a gentyll man/ I am ryche/ I am a  
courtyer/ & to be ſhort a priue, thofe thinges  
perteyn not to me whiche were ſpoken to  
thafeſtles. Oh wretche then apteyneth it  
nothyng to the that thou sholdest lyue in  
Chryſt? If thou be in the worlde/in Chryſt  
thou art not: yf thou cal the ſkye/the erthe  
the ſee & thiſ comun ayre the worlde: ſo is  
there no man whiche is not in the worlde:  
but & yf thou call þe worlde ambicyon/ þis  
to ſay/delyre of honour/ p'mociō/or autho-  
rite: yf thou call þe worlde pleasures/coue-  
touuſnes/bodily luſt: certeynly yf thou be  
worldeſly thou art not a chryſte man. Chryſt  
ſpake indifferently to al men: who ſo euer  
wolde not take hiſ crosse & folowe hym  
coude be no mete man for hym / or be hiſ  
diſciplie: to dye with Chryſt as touchyng  
the fleſſe he is nothyng to the/ yf to lyue by  
hiſ ſpiryte pteyneth nothyng to the: to be  
crucified as touching the worlde pteyneth  
nothyng to the/ yf to lyue godly or in god  
pteyne nothyng to the: to be buryed toge-  
ther with Chryſt belongeth nothing to the  
yf to acyſe agayn to eternal glory belongeth  
nothyng to the: the humilitate/pouerte/tri-

bulacpon / byle reputacyon / the laborous  
agonies & sorowes of Chryſt perteynne no  
thyng at all vnto the / yf the kyngdome of  
hym pteyne nothyng vnto the. What can  
be more lewde than to thynke þ rewarde  
to be cōmune as well to the as to other:  
and yet neuerthelesse to put the labours  
þerby the rewarde is obteyned / frō the/  
to a certeyn fewe ps ons. What can be mo-  
re a wanton thyng þā to desyre to regne  
with þ hed / & yet wylt thou take no payne  
with hym. Therfore my brother loke not  
so greatly what other men do / & in cōpa-  
cyon of them flater or please thy self. To  
dye as touchyng synne: to dye as tou-  
chyng carnall desyres: to dye as touchyng  
the worlde is a certayne harde thyng and  
knowen to very fewe / yea though they be  
mōkes / & yet is this the cōmun or general monkes.  
þessyon of all chryſten men. This thyng  
a greate whyle agone thou hast sworne &  
holyply þmysed in þ tyme of baptym: than  
which bow what other thyng can ther be  
þether more holy / or religyous? eyther we  
must peryshe / or else without exceptiō we  
must go this way to helth whether we be  
knyghtes or plowe men. Notwithſtāding  
though it fortune not to al men to atteyn  
the þerfyte counterfeptyng or folowing of  
þe heed / yet al must enforce with fete and

handes to come thereto. He hath a greate  
parte of a chyffen mans lyuyng / whiche  
with al his hert with a sure & stedfast pur-  
pose hath determinyd to be a christe man.

### The thyrdre rule.

Capro. xi.

**B**eit leest that thyng feare the fro the  
waye of vtre bycause it semeth shat  
pe and greuous / partly bycause thou must  
forsake worldly cōmodites / partly bycau-  
se thou must fyght cōtinually against the  
very cruell enemys / the flesche / the deuyl  
& the Worlde. Set this thyrdre rule before  
the alway / beare thy selfe in hande that al  
the feerful thyngs & fantasies which apere  
forthwith unto the as it were in þ first en-  
tring of hel ought to be contred for a thing  
of nougþ / by therāple of Virgili⁹ Encaſ  
For certeynly þ thou shalt consider þ very  
thyng somewhat gründly & stedfastly (scr-  
tig at nougþ these apparet thingz which  
begiled thine eyes) thou shalt pceyue that  
none other way is more cōmodious than  
the way of Chryſt. Though thou accoune  
this thyng not at al that this waye onely  
ledeth to eternall lyfe / yea & though thou  
haue no respecte unto the rewarde. For I  
beseeche the what kynde of lyuyng after  
the cōmune course of the Worlde is ther

Encaſ i the. vi.  
book of virgil  
went downe in  
to hell accom-  
panied with  
the prophetesse  
sybil in the  
first curse  
appered many  
fantasies and  
wonderful mo-  
dices not so pe-  
nillous indeede  
as they apere

that thou canst chose in whiche thou shal  
not beare/ and suffre thynges ynough ha-  
boundantly bothe carefull and greuous.  
who is he that knoweth not the lyfe of  
courtyers to be full of ḡreuous laboure  
and wretched mystery/ excepte it be eyther  
he that never proued it or certainly a very  
naturall foole. Oh immortall god what  
bondage/ howe longe and howe vngood-  
ly muste there be suffred euен unto the ly-  
nes ende. what a comberous besynesse is  
there in sekynge in purchasyng the princes  
loue and grace. A man must flatter to ob-  
tayne the fauoure of all suche as may ey-  
ther hynder or further one. The counte-  
naunces must nowe & than be feyned and  
newe fassyoned. The iniuries of the gret-  
ter men muste be whyspered or muttered  
with sylence secretly. Consequently what  
kynde of yuell lyfe can be ymagyned whe-  
of þ lyfe of warryours is not full? Of ey-  
ther lyfe than mayste thou be a very good  
witnesse/ which hast lerned bothe at thyn  
owne peryll. And as touchyng the mer-  
chaunt man what is that he eyther dothe  
not or suffreth not fleyng pouertye by see/  
by lande/ through fyre & water? In ma-  
trimony what a mountayne of housholde matrymonys,  
cares be there? what mystery fele not they  
there whiche proueth and hath experiece

The lyfe of  
warryours.

The lyfe of  
marchautes.

The mesery of  
matrymonys,

B.j.

In bearynge  
of offyces.

A christen man  
obteyneth me-  
ryte in every  
thyngē.

of it. In bearynge of offyces howe moche  
veracyon/ howe moche laboure/ & howe  
moche peryll is there/ whiche way so euer  
thou tourne thy selfe an huge company of  
incommodytes meteth the. The very lyfe  
of mortal mē of it selfe without addycion  
of any other thyngē is combred and tan-  
gled with a thousandde myseryes whiche  
be comen and indifferent as well to good  
as bad. They all shall growe into a great  
heape of merytes vnto the if they shall  
fynde the in the way of Christ/ if not they  
shalbe the more greuous/ more ouer fru-  
itlesse/ and yet must never plesse be suffred.  
Who so euer be souldyers of this worlde  
fyrlie howe many peres do they pant  
blowē/ sweate/ and canuaſſe the worlde  
toumentynge them selfe with thought  
and care/ more ouer for howe transytorie  
and thynges of naught? Laste of all in  
howe doubtfull hope. Adde to this that  
there is no rest or easement of myseries/  
in so moche that the moze they haue la-  
boured the greuouser is the payne. And  
whan all is paste what shall the ende be  
of so tedyous and laborous a lyfe/ verely  
eternall punyschement. So nowe and  
with this lyfe compare the waye of ver-  
dous/ whiche at the fyrlie seafeth to be ter-  
rible/ in processe is made easier/ is man-

pleasant and delectable / by whiche waye  
also we go with very sure hope to eter= Ticius because  
nall felycite . were it not the vttermoste  
madnesse to haue leuer with equall la= he wolde haue  
boure to purchase eternall dethe rather  
than lyfe immortall? yet are these world= toyned with  
ly men moche madder than so / that they  
whiche chose with extreme laboure to appollos mo-  
go to laboure euerlastynge / rather than ther was cast  
with meane labours to go to immortall vulters gnawe  
quyetnesse . More ouer if the way of ptyie his herte euer  
or obedyence to god were so moche more of apollo down  
laborous than the way of the Worlde / yet to hell where  
here þ greuousnesse of the labour is swa= increasyng  
ged with hope of rewarde / and the com= agayne.  
forze of god is not lackynge whiche tour= The meanyng  
neth the bytternesse of the gall in to the of the fable is  
swetnesse of hony . There one care calleth this / he was a  
in an other / of one sorowe springeth an= grete man and  
other / no quyetnesse is there at all . The coude not be co= teted but wold  
laboure and afflyctyon withoutforthe / haue more and  
the greuous cares and thoughtes with= aduaiced hym  
inforthe cause the very easementes to be selfe to more  
sharpe and bytter . These thynges so to honour & wold  
be was not vñknowen to the poetes of hauing put apol-  
the gentyles whiche by the punyfshment tree which sig= lo out of his co-  
of Ticius / Ixion / Tantalus / Sisiphus / nyfied by his  
and of Pentheus / paynted and discry= mother / but  
ued the myserable and greuous lyfe of apollo subdue  
leude and wretched persones: of whome spoylede hym

of his posses-  
ons so that  
afterwarde he  
lyued in care &  
miserie among  
the lowest sorte  
& coude not ob-  
tayne any for-  
ther honor.

Pyron was cast  
of Juno lady  
of honour in to  
hell where he  
rommeth roude  
& contynually co-  
passest for ho-  
nor but he cou-  
de not obtain.

Syssyphus rol-  
leth a stone fro  
the hyll fote to  
the top, thā sly-  
deth the stone  
& the discendeth  
to fetche hym  
up agayne.

Ambytion is  
ever at the hyll  
fote he is ne-  
ver so hyshe  
but that he ha-  
the one hyll mo-  
re to clyme,  
he seeth one  
thyng more  
whiche he  
coneterth.

is also the late confessyon in the booke of  
Sappence, we be weryed in the wape of  
inyquite and perdycion, we haue walked  
harde wapes/but þ way of god we knowe  
not. what coude be either sythyer or more  
laborous than the seruytude of Egypce  
what coulde be greuouer than the capti-  
uite of Babylon? what more intollerable  
than the yoke of Pharao and of Nabu-  
godonosor? But what sayth Christ? take  
my yoke vpon your neckes and ye shall  
fynde rest vnto your soules: my yoke sayth  
he is plesaunt and my burthen lyght. To  
speake breuely, no pleasure is lackyng  
where is not lacking a quyet conscience.  
No misery is there lacking where an un-  
happy conchyence crucyfyeth the mynde.  
These thynges must be taken as of most  
certaynty/ but and if thou yet doubt go  
aske of them whiche in tyme passed haue  
ben conuerted out of the myddle of Babyl-  
lon vnto the lorde: & by experiance of them  
at þ leest way byleue nothyng to be more  
troubelous and greuous than byces/no-  
thyng to be more easy or of quycker sped  
than not to be drowned in besynesse/no-  
thyng more cherefull & more comfortable  
than is vertue. Neuer the lesse go to let us  
be that the wagis be lyke/and that the la-  
bours be lyke also/ yet for all that howe

greatly ought a man to desyre to warre  
vnder the slanderde of Christ/ rather than Tantalus ston  
vnder the baners of the dyuell. ye holde deth styl in hel  
moche leser were it to be vexed or to suffre <sup>in a ryuer of</sup>  
affliccyon with Christe/ than to swymme <sup>wyne euer is</sup> churste almal  
in pleasures with the dyuell. Before ouer ner offrytes  
ought not a man with Wynde and wether <sup>aboutch hym &</sup>  
with shpp sayle and swyftnesse of horses <sup>yet he is euer</sup> hungry nether  
to flyc from a lorde not very fylthy onely is suffred to  
but very cruell and disceytfull/whiche re= <sup>drinke or eate</sup>  
quyret so cruell seruyce and so strayne a <sup>Couetousnes</sup>  
taske/whiche promyseth agayne thynges dare not vse  
so vncertayne/ so caduke/ so transytorpe/ <sup>they: gooddes</sup>  
whiche so lone fadre and vanysche awaye/ <sup>but be hungry</sup>  
of the whiche very same thynges yet dis= <sup>and thyngy</sup>  
ceyuet he the wretches and that not sel= <sup>for more.</sup>  
dome. O thought he perfourme his pro= <sup>Denthous was</sup>  
messe ones/ yet another tyme whā it plea <sup>loued into an</sup>  
ser hym he taketh them awaye agayne/ <sup>harric z eten of</sup>  
so that the sorowe & thought for the losse <sup>his owne dogs</sup>  
of thynges ones possessed is moche more <sup>ges & he drd.</sup>  
than was the greuous labour in putcha= <sup>non other thin</sup>  
syng them. After that the merchaunt man <sup>ge all his lyfe</sup>  
hath myngled togyther bothe ryght and <sup>but hunte & for</sup>  
wronge for the entent of increasynge his <sup>lowe dogges:</sup>  
goodes/ after he hath put his honest re= <sup>so he consumed</sup>  
putacyon of good reporte that is spronge <sup>himselfe & his</sup>  
of hym/his lyfe/his soule in a thousande <sup>substaunce lyke</sup>  
icopardes/ if it so be than that þ chaunce <sup>a foole wret-</sup>  
of fortune happe arþght at the later ende <sup>chedly & belly.</sup>

B.ij.

With all his traynayle whate other thyng  
hath he prepared for hym selfe more than  
the mater of myscrable care if he kepe his  
goodes if he lese them a perpetuall trou-  
ment. If fortune chauice a mysse what re-  
mayneth but þ he shulde be made toopea  
wretche wrapped in double myserþ/part  
þy because he is disapoynted of the thyng  
wheron his hope hanged/besyde that by-  
cause he can not remembre so great laboure  
spent in wasse without moche bathe so  
towre of hert and grefe of mynde. No man  
enforseth with sure purpose to come to  
good lyuyng or couersacyon whiche hath  
not attayned it. Christe as he is not mock-  
ed/ so neyther he mocketh any man.  
Remembre an other thyng/ whan thou  
lyest out of the worlde vnto Christe/ if  
the worlde haue any comodyties or plea-  
sures that thou forsakesst them not/ but  
chaungest tryfles with thyngs of more va-  
lue. Who wyl not be very glad to chaunge  
syluer for golde/slynte for precyous stonys  
Thy frendes be displeased? What than-  
ter company ons. Thou shalte lacke out-  
wardre pleasures of thy body/ but thou  
shalte enioye the inwardre pleasures of  
þe mynde/ whiche be better/ purer/ and

more certayne. Thy good muste be demys-  
tished / never ylesse these richesse encrease  
whiche neyther the mouthes distroy nor  
theues take awaie. Thou ceasest to be  
of pryce in the worlde / but thou for all  
that arte well beloued of Christe: Thou  
pleasest the fewer / but yet the better.  
Thy body wareth leane / but thy mynde  
wareth fatte. The beautye of thy skynne  
vanyssheth away / but the beautye of thy  
mynde apereth bright. And in lyke ma-  
ner if thou shalte reken all other thyn-  
ges thou shalte perceyue nothyngе not  
of all these apparant good thyngeſ to be  
forsaken in this worlde / that is not re-  
compensed largely with greater aduaun-  
tage and more excellent a great waye. Many thyngeſ  
But if there be any thyngeſ which though may be reſey-  
they can not be defyred without byce / ued & possessed  
yet without byce maye be possessed: Of but not desired  
whiche kynde of thyngeſ is the good e-  
ſtymacyon of the people / fauoure of the  
comunaltie / loue or to be in conceyte / au-  
thorite / frendes / honoure due to vertue.  
For the most parte it chaunseth y al these  
thingeſ be gyuen without serchyng for / to  
them that aboue all thyngeſ ſeke the kyng-  
dome of heuen / whiche ſelſe thynge Christ  
þymysed a god perfourmed to Salomon.

S. iiiij.

Fortune for þ mosse parte foloweth them  
that flyeth from her/and flyeth from the  
that folowe her. Certaynly what so euer  
shall happen to them that loue/ noþyng  
can be but prosperous vnto whom losse is  
turned to aduañtage/ tourment/ vexacy-  
on or aduersite to solace/rebukes to laude  
punysshment to pleasure/ bytter thynges  
to swetnesse/ yuell thyngs to good. Dou-  
test thou than to enter in to this way and  
forſake that other way/seynge there is so  
vnequall comparyson/ ye none at all of  
god vnto the dyuell/ of hope to hope/ of  
rewarde to rewarde/of labour to labour/  
of solace to solace.

### C The fourth rule. cap. xiij.

Let Christ be  
þy marke & en-  
sample of lyuyng  
what christ is.

**B**ut that thou mayste haſte & make  
þpede vnto felycite with a moe ſure  
course/ let this be vnto þ the fourth rule  
that thou haue Christ alway in thy ſyght  
as the onely marke of all thy lyuyng and  
couersacyon/vnto whom only thou ſhu-  
dest direcute all thyn enforcementys/ all thy  
pastymes and purpoſes/ all thy rest and  
quyetenesse/ and also thy besynesse. And  
thynde thou not Christe to be a boyce or  
hym to be noþyng els ſane charyte ſym-

glycete/or innocency/pacyence/clennesse/  
and shortly what soever Christe taught.  
Understante well also that the dyuell is  
none other thing but what soever calleth <sup>what the</sup>  
away from such thyngs as Christ taught. <sup>dyuell is.</sup>  
He directeth his iourney to Christ whiche  
is carryed to vertue onely. And he beco-  
meth bonde to the dyuell whiche gyueth  
hym selfe to vyces. Let thyne eye therfore  
be pure/ and all thy body shall be bryght  
and full of lyght. Let thyne eye loke unto  
Christ alone as unto onely and very fe-  
llycye/ so that thou loue nothyng/ mer-  
uayle at nothyng/desyre nothyng but ey-  
ther Christe or els for Christe. Also that  
thou hate nothyng/ abhorre nothyng/  
sye nothyng/ nothyng auoyde but onely  
synne or els for synnes sake. By this mea-  
nes it wyll come to passe þ what so euer  
thou shalte do/ whether thou slepe/whe-  
ther thou wake/wether thou eate/whe-  
ther thou drinke/ and to conclude that thy  
very sportes & pastymes/ye (I wyll speke  
more boldly) that some vyces of þ lyghter  
sorte in to which we fall now & thā whyle  
we haste to vertue/all þ hole shall growe  
and tourne in the unto a great heape of  
rewardes. But and if thyne eye shall not  
be pure/ but loke any other warde than  
unto Christ/ ye though thou do certayne

Hewe ferforth  
thynges pfered  
vnisought for  
ought to be  
refused.

Thre orders  
of thynges

Thynges  
honest.

Thynges whiche be good or honest of them  
selfe/ yet shal they be vnfrutefull or perad-  
uenture very peryllous and hurtfull. For  
it is a great faute to do a good thyng not  
well. And therfore that man that hasteth  
the streyght way vnto the marke of very  
felycite/ what so euer thynges shall come  
and mete him by þ way/ so farforth ought  
he eyther refuse or receyue thē as they ex-  
ther further or hynder his iourney: of whi-  
che thynges there be thre orders or thre de-  
grees. Certayne thynges verily be of suche  
maner fylthe that they can not be honest/  
as to auenge wronge/ to wylle yuell to  
another. These things ought alway to be  
had in hate/ ye though thou shuldest haue  
neuer so gret aduaūtage to cōmyt thē/ or  
neuer so great punysshment if thou dyddest  
thē not/ for nothing can huet a good man  
but fylthynesse only. Certayne thynges on  
thoþher syde be in such maner honest that  
they can not be fylthy/ of whiche kynde be  
to wyll or wylle al mē good/ to helpe thy  
frendz with honest menes/ to hate vices/ to  
reioyce with vertuous comunyeacion. Cer-  
tain thynges verily be indifferēt or bytwene  
boþhe/ of their oþer nature neyther good  
nor bad/ honest nor filthy: as helth/ beutie/  
strength/ facūdþousnesse/ cōnynge/ & suche  
other. Of this last kynde of things therfore

nothig ought to be desired/ for it selfe ney-  
ther ought to be vsurped more or lesse/but  
as serforthe as they make & be necessarye  
to þ chefe marke/I meane to folow Chri-  
stes lyuyng. The very philosophers haue  
certayn markes also bnpfyt & indifferent/in  
which a man ought not to stāde styl nor ta-  
ry/whiche also a man may cōuenyētly bse  
referryng thē to a better purpose/ & not to  
enjoy them & tary vpon them putting his  
hole felycite in them: not withstandynge  
those meane & indifferent things do not al  
after one maner & equally eyther further  
or hynder them þ be goynge vnto Christ/  
therfore they muste be receyued or refusid  
after as eche of thē is more or lesse of va-  
lue vnto thy purpose. Knowlege helpeth <sup>þ</sup> ptye sygn-  
fyeth seruyces  
more vnto ptye than beauty or streghth of honour/reue-  
body or ryches:& though al lernig may be <sup>reince/obedy-</sup>  
applied to Christ/ yet some helpeth more <sup>ence due to god</sup>  
cōpendyously thā some. Of this ende and Science must  
purpose se thou measure the pſytablenes <sup>beloued for</sup>  
or vnp̄profytablenes of al meane thynges. <sup>christes sake.</sup>  
Thou louest lernig/it is very well if thou  
do it for Christes sake: but if thou loue it  
therfore only bycause thou woldest know  
it/than makest thou a stop & taryeng ther  
from whēce thou oughtest to haue made a  
step to clymbe further. But if thou desyre  
scyencys that thou by their helpe myghtest

more clerely beholde Christe hydde in the  
secretes of scripture/and whan thou kno-  
west hym loue hym/whan thou knowest  
and louest hym teache/declare/and open  
hym to other men/and in thy selfe entope  
hym. Than prepare thyselfe vnto study of  
scyences/but no further than thou mayste/  
thynde them profitable to good luyng.  
If thou haue confydence in thy selfe and  
trust to haue great aduauntage in Christ,

how ferforthe go forthe boldly as an aduenturous mer-  
chaunt to walke as a straunger somewhat  
the letters of the gētyles be to be red/loke further/ye in the lernyng of gentyles/and  
in the seconde chapitre what ciens vnto the honestynge of the temple of  
this meaneth. apply the rychesse or treasure of the egypt-  
ians vnto the honestynge of the temple of  
god. But & if thou feare greater losse than  
thou hopest of aduauntage/than returne  
agayne to our fyre rule: knowe thy selfe  
and passe not thy boundes/kepe the within  
thy lystes. It is better to haue lesse kno-  
lege and more of loue/than to haue more  
of knowledge and not to loue. Knowlege  
therfore hath the maistrye or chefe roume  
amongest meane thynges. After that is  
helthe/the gyftes of nature/eloquence/  
beautye/strengthe/dignyte/fauoure/au-  
thorite/espertyte/good reputacion/kynne  
frendes/stuffe of housholde. Every one of  
these thinges as it helpeth most & nyghest  
way vnto vertue/so shall it mosse chesely

be applyed in case they be offred vnto vs  
hastyng in our way/ if not than may we  
not for cause of them tourne a syde from  
our iourney purposed. Money chaunsed  
vnto the/ if it let nothyng to good lyuyng

Mony shulde  
this wylle  
beloued.

mynister it/make frēdes with the wycked  
māmon: but if thou feare losse of vertue  
and good mynde/ dispysē that aduaūtage  
full of domage and losse/ and folowe thou  
euēn Crates of Thebes flyeng thy gre-  
vous and comberous packe in to the see/ of golde in to  
rather than it shulde holde the backe from  
Christe. That thyngē mayste thou do the  
easylper/ if as I haue sayde/ thou shalte better it is  
custome thy selfe to meruayle at none of that I drowne  
those thyngē whiche be without the/that  
is to say/ whiche pertayne not vnto þ in-  
ner man/for by that meanes it wyll come  
to passe þ thou canst neyther ware proude  
or forget thy selfe. If these thyngē fortune  
vnto the/ neyther thou shalte be vexed in  
thy mynde if they shulde eyther be denied  
the or taken from þ/for as moche as thou  
puttest thy hole felicite in Christe onely.  
But & if it chāuce they come vnto þ belyds  
thyne owne laboure/be more dylygent &  
crysūspect hauyng no lesse care than thou  
haddest before: haue in myndethat a ma-  
ter to exercysē thy selfe vertuously on is  
gauen to the of god/but yet not without

Crates of the  
cite of Thebes  
cast a grete sōe  
the see/sayeng  
hēce ye mische  
uous rychesse  
you than you  
me/he suppos-  
ed that he  
coude not pos-  
cesse rychesse  
& vertue bothe  
to gyther.

Byc ause pro: ieopardy & daunger. But if thou haue the  
methus had benignyte of fortune suspected couterfayt  
dey & with fire Prometheus/do not receyue þ disceptful  
stolen from he- bore/ and go lyght and naked vnto that  
uen puit lyfe in whiche is onely very felycite. Certaynly  
to hym/ Jupy- ter sent pander Who soever with great thought & care de-  
s woman with syre money as a precyous thyng/ a coun-  
a boxe full of al the chefe socour of lyfe to be therin/ ther-  
kinds of diseses to hi/ but pme: kynge them selfe happy as longe as it is  
theus was, pui safe/ callyng them selfe wretches whan it  
ded & refused it is lost: Those men no doute haue made of  
but his brother Epymetheus re feyned vnto theselfe many goddes. Thou  
ceued it & ope: hast set vp thy money and made it equall-  
ned it & than al vnto Christ/ if it can make þ happy or  
maner of syck- nessesse flewe happy. That I haue spoken of money bn  
abrode.

Prometheus caught rude  
mē ciuyle & ho- nest maner/ yet our onely marke whiche is Christ/ so far-  
wolde he bere uently þ we shulde haue no layser to care  
no rule amon- gest them but for any of these thyngs/ eyther whan they  
fledde to solita be gyue vs/ or els whā they be take from  
rynes/rhynkis vs/ for the tyme is shorte as sayth Paule:  
al kyndis of my sery to be in be ryng rule/ Hēce forwarde sayth he they that vse the  
worlde/ muste be as they vsed it not. This  
but his brother Epymetheus toke the miserr upon hym.  
Paule his selfe to se his purvysse as theng they vfel it not

mynde I know well þ worlde laugheth to  
scorne as folysche & madde: neuer þ lessit  
pleaseth god by this folyschynesse to save  
them þ byleue. And þ folisschynesse of god is  
wyser thā man. After this rule thou shall

examyn / ye what souer thou doest. Thou  
exercyseth a crafte? it is very well done if  
thou do it without fraude: but wher unto  
lokest thou to fynde thy houshold? but for  
what entēt to fynde thy housholde / to wyn  
thy housholde to Christ? thou conest well.  
Thou fastest / verily a good werke as it a= <sup>when fastynys</sup>  
pereth outwardē: but vnto what ende re= <sup>is supstycious.</sup>  
ferrest thou thy selfe / to spare thy vitayles  
or that thou mayste be counted the more  
holy? Thyne eye is wanton / corrupt / and  
not pure. Peraduenture thou fastest leest  
thou shulde fall in to some disease or syck-  
nesse. Why fearest thou sycknesse? leest it  
wolde take the from þ vse of voluptuous  
pleasures; thyne eye is corrupt. But thou  
desyrest helth bycause thou mayst be able  
to study. To what purpose I beseche the  
referrest thou thy study to get the a bene-  
fyce withall? with what mynde desyrest  
thou a benefyce? verily to lyue at thyne  
owne pleasure / not at Christ. Thou hast  
missed þ marke which a christen mā ought  
to haue euerywher þfixed before his eyes.  
Thou takest meate that thou myghtest  
be stronge in thy body / & thou wylt haue  
thy body stronge that thou myghtest be  
suffycient vnto holy exercyses & watche.  
thou hast hyt þ marke. But thou purdest  
for helth & good lyuing leest thou shuldest

The superstiti-  
ous honouring  
of sayntes.

be more yuell fauoured or deformed/leest  
thou shuldest not be stronge ynough unto  
bodily luste/thou hast fallen from Christe  
makynge vnto the another god. There be  
whiche honour certayne sayntes with cer-  
tayne cyremonyes. One saluteth Christe  
fer every day/but not excepte he beholde  
his ymage. Whyther loketh he? verily to  
this poynte/he hath borne hym selfe in  
hande that he shall be all þ day sure from  
Rochas. <sup>from</sup> Puel dethe. Another worshypeth one Ro-  
chus/but why? bycause he byleueth that  
he wyll kepe away þ pestylence from his  
body. Another mōbleth certayne prayers  
to Barbara or George/leest he shulde fall  
in to his enemys handes. This man  
steth to saint Apolyne leest his tethe shul-  
dake. That man visyteth þ ymage of holy  
Job/bycause he shulde be without scab-  
bes. Some assygne & name certayne por-  
tion of their wynnynge to poore men/leest  
their merchandysse shulde perisshe by sor-  
wake. A taper is lyght before saynt Hier-  
on to thentent that thing whiche is los-  
may be had agayne. In conclusyon after  
this same maner loke howe many thyngs  
be whiche we eyther fauour or els loue/so  
many sayntes haue we made gouernours  
of the same thynges/whiche same sayntes  
be dyuers in dyuers natures: so þ paul

S<sup>t</sup> Christopher.  
~~from~~  
~~death~~

Rochas. <sup>from</sup>  
~~the pestilence~~

S<sup>t</sup> Barbara. or  
George. <sup>in my</sup>

Appolyne.  
~~from~~  
~~all~~

Job. <sup>from</sup>  
~~scabbards~~

S<sup>t</sup> Hieron. <sup>for</sup>  
~~things lost~~

dothe the same thing amounge the frenche  
men that Hieron dothe with our countrey  
men þ almayns/ and neyther James nor  
Johan can do that thyng in euery where  
whiche they do in this or þ place: whiche  
honouryng of sayntes trewly/except it be  
referred from þ respect of corporall cōmo-  
dities or incomodities vnto Christ/is not  
for a christen man/ in so moche þ it is not  
farre from þ supersticiousnesse of the whi-  
che in tymē passed bowed þ tenth parte of  
their goodes to Hercules/to thentēt they  
micht ware riche/or a cocke to Esculapi-  
us that they myght be recovered of their  
diseases:or which sacrifyced a bull to Nept-  
unus that they micht haue good passage A cocke to  
Esculapius  
by see and prosperous saylynge. The na-  
mes be chaunged/but veryly they haue  
bothe one ende and entent. Thou prayest  
god that thou mayste not dye to soone/or  
whyle thou arte yonge/ and prayest not  
rather that he wolde gyue to the a good  
mynde that in what so euer place dethe  
shulde come vpon the he shulde not fynde  
the unprepared. Thou thynkest not of  
chaungyng thy lyfe/and prayest god thou  
myghtest not dye. What prayest thou fos-  
than? certaynly that thou myghtest sygne  
as longe as is possyble. Thou desyrest ry-  
chesse and can not vse rychedesse/doest not

A cocke to  
Esculapius

A bull to  
Neptunus

Thou prayest  
for longe lyfe;

H.J.

thou shan desyre thynne owne confusyon.  
Thou desyrest helthe and canste not bē  
helth / is not nowe thy honouryng of god  
dishonouryng of god. In this place I am  
sure some of our holy men wyll crye out  
agaynst me with open mouthes / whiche  
thynke lucre to be to þ honouring of god/  
and as þ same Paule sayth with certayne  
swete benedictyons disceyue the myndes  
of innocent persons whyle they obey and  
serue their bely / & not Iesu Christe. Than  
wyll they saye / forbyddest thou worshyp  
of sayntes in whom god is honoured? I  
bereley dispraye not thē so greatly whiche  
do those thingz with certayne syngle and  
childdysse superstycion for lacke of instru-  
ctyon or capacite of wyt / as I do thē whi-  
che sekynge their own aduaūtage prayseth  
and magnifieth those thingz for most gret  
and perfyte holynesse / whiche thyngz per-  
aduenture be tollerable & may be suffred/  
& for their owne profyte & aduaūtage cher-  
risse & maintayne þ ignorance of the peo-  
ple whiche neyther I my selfe do disprise/  
but I can not suffre þ they shulde accōpte  
thingz to be highest & most chefe / whiche  
the selfe be neyther good nor bad / & those  
thynged to be greatest and of most value  
whiche be smallest & of leest value. I wyll  
prayse it & be contēt that they desyre helth

They accōpte  
the honouryng  
of sayntes for  
absolute p̄yte.

of Kochus whom they so gretly honouer/  
if they consecrate it unto Christ. But I wyl  
prayse it more if they wolde praye for no-  
thing els but þ with the hate of vices the  
loue of vertues myght be encreased: and  
as touching to lyue or to dye let them put it  
into the handes of god / & let them say with  
Paule whether we lyue wheder we dye/  
to god & at goddes pleasure we lyue or dye.  
It shalbe a perfyte thyng if they desyre to  
be dissolued from þ body and to be with  
Christ: if they put their glory & ioy in dis-  
eases or sycknesse / in losse or other doma-  
ges offortune / þ they might be accompted  
worthy whiche euен in this worlde shulde  
be lyke or confyrnable vnto their heed.  
To do therfore suche maner of thynges  
is not so moche to be rebuked as it is pe-  
tillous to abyde styll and cleave to them.  
I suffre infirmyte and weaknesse / but  
with Paule I shew a more excellenter way.  
If thou shalte examyne thy studyes and  
all thy actes by this rule / and shalte not  
stande any where in meane thynges cyll  
thou come euен vnto Christe / thou shalte  
neyther go out of thy waye at any tyme/  
neyther shalte do or suffre any thyng in  
all thy lyfe whiche shall not tourne and  
be vnto the a mater of seruyng and hos-  
pitiyng god.

## C The fyfth rule. cap. xij.

perfyte prte.

Two worldes.

**L**et vs adde also the fyfth rule as an ayder vnto this forsayd fourth rule/ that thou put perfyte pity/ that is to sape the honouryng of god in this thyng onyl/ if thou shalt enforce alway from thynges visyble whiche almosste euery one be imprefyte or els indifferēt to ascende to thynges inuisible after the diuysyon of a man aboue rehersed. This precept is apertaynyng to þ mater so necessarilie/ that whether it be through neglygence or for lacke of knowlege of it/ the moiste parte of chyten men in stede of trewe honourers of god are but playne supersticious/ and in al other thynges saue in the name of chyten men onely vary not greatly from the supersticion of the gentyles. Let vs ymagyne therfore two worldes/ the one intelligible þ other visyble. The intellygible whiche also we maye call the angelicall worlde/ wherin god is with blessed myndes. The visyble worlde/ þ cyrcle of heauen/ the planettes/ & sterres/ with all that included is in them as the fourre elementes. Than let vs ymagyne man as a certayne thirde worlde/ parte taker of bothe þ other of þ visyble worlde if thou beholde his body/ of the inuyisble worlde if thou cōsydes

his soule. In þ visyble worlde bycause we  
be but straingers we ought never rest/but  
what thynges so euer offreth it selfe to the  
sencyble powers/that is to say to the syue  
wyttes/ þ must we vnder a certayne apte  
comparysyon or simylitude aply to the an-  
gelycall worlde/or els (whiche is most pro-  
fytale) vnto maners and to that parte of  
man whiche is corespondent to þ angelyke  
worlde/that is to say to the soule of man.  
What this visyble sonne is in the visyble  
worlde þ is the diuyne mynde/ that is to The sonne is  
the diuyne  
mynde of god.  
say god in þ intelligible worlde/ & in that  
parte of the which is of that same nature/  
that is to say in the spyrte. Loke what the  
moone is in the visyble Worlde/that in the  
invisyble Worlde is þ congregacion of an-  
gels & of blessed soules called the tryum-  
phant churche/ and that in the is the spy-  
phant churche. What so euer heuens aboue worketh  
in the erthe vnder them/ that same dothe  
god in the soule. The sonne gothe downe  
aryseth/rageth in heate/ is temperate/  
quyckneth/bringeth forthe/maketh rype/  
draweth to hym/ maketh subtile and  
thynne/purgeth/ hardeneth/mollyfyeth/  
illumyneth/clereth/cheryssheth and com-  
forteth. Therfore what so euer thou be-  
holdest in hym/ ye what so euer thou seest  
in the grosse parte of this worlde of the

The occasion  
of pyte,

The glory of  
god appered  
in the face of  
moyse/but we  
beholde the glo-  
ry of god i the  
face of Iesu  
Chreste.  
The grace of  
god is called  
lyght/rnyght  
is compared  
to sygne.

lementes whiche many haue seperated  
from the heuens aboue and cycles of the  
fyrnament. In conclusyon what so euer  
thou consydrest in the grosser parte of thy  
selfe/accustome to applye it to god and to  
the inuyisble porcyon of thy selfe. So shall  
it come to passe that what so euer thyng  
shall any where offer it selfe to any of the  
sensyble wyttes/that same thyng shall be  
to the an occasyon of pity/to honour god.  
Whan it delyteth thy corporall eyes as oft  
as this visyble sone spredeth hym selfe on  
the erthe with newe lyght/by and by call  
to remembraunce howe great the plea-  
sure is of the inhabytauntes of heuen/bn  
to whome the eternall sonne euer spin-  
geth and arylseth/but neuer goth downe.  
Howe great are the ioyes of that pure  
mynde wherpon þ light of god alwayes  
shyneth and casteth his beames. Thus by  
occasion of the visyble creature pray with  
the wordes of Paule/that he whiche is  
maunded lyght to shyne out of darknesse  
may shyne in thy herte/to gyue lyght and  
knowlege of the glorye of god in the face  
of Iesu Christ. Repete such lyke places of  
holy scripture in whiche here & there the  
grace of the spryte of god is compared to  
lyght. The night semeth tedious to the  
darke/thynke on a soule destytute of the

nyght of god & darke wth byces: ye and if  
thou canst peeyue any derknesse of nyght  
in the / pray that the sonne of iustyce maye  
atysse vnto the. This wyse thinke & surely  
byleue that thing; iuyisble whiche thou  
seest not are so excellēt / so pure / so perfyt /  
that thinges whiche be sene in cōparysyon  
of them are scarce very shadowes repre-  
syng to the eyes a small & a thynne simy-  
lytude of the. Therfore in this outwardē  
cōporall thing; what so euer thy sensyble  
wytes eyther desyre or abhorre / it shalbe  
a greet deale metter þ the spyrit loue or hate  
the same thyngē in inwardē & incorporall  
thyngē. The goodly beautye of thy body  
pleaseth thyne eyes / thinke than how ho-what soever is  
nest a thing is the beauty of þ soule. A de-perceyued in  
formed byslage semeth an vnpleasant thig. the body that  
remembre howe odious a thing is a mynde vnderstonde  
desyled with byces: and of all other thyn- in the wynde  
do likewyse. For as þ soule hath certayne  
beautye wherwith one whyle she pleaseth  
god / & a defourmyte wherwith an other  
whyle she pleaseth þ dyuell / as lyke vnto  
lyke: so hath she also her youthe / her age /  
sicknes / helth / dethe / lyfe / pouerty / riches /  
soye / sorowe / werre / peace / colde / heate /  
thrust / drinke / hunger / meate. To cōclude  
wostly what soever is fylthy in the body /  
that same is to be vnderstante in the soule.

The nature of  
sylthy pleasure

Therefore in this thyng resteth the iour-  
ney to the sprituall and pure lyfe/ if by a  
lytle and lytle we shal accustome to with-  
drawe our selfe from these thyngs whiche  
be not trewly in very dede/but partely a-  
pere to be that they be not:as fylthy & bo-  
luptuous pleasure/honour of this worlde  
partely vanyshe awaye and haste to re-  
tourne to naught/ and shall be rauyshed  
and carryed to these thyngs whiche in dede  
are eternall immutable and pure: whiche  
thyng Socrates sawe full well/a philo-  
sopher not so moche in tonge and wordes  
as in lyving and dedes/for he saythe that  
so onely shall the soule departe happily  
from her body at the last ende/if aforchad  
she haue dyligently through true knowl-  
lege recorded & practysed dethe/ and also  
haue longe tyme before by the dispysyng  
of thynges corporall/ and by the contem-  
placyon and louyng of thynges sprituall  
vsed her selfe to be as it were in a maner  
absent from the body. Neyther the crosse  
vnto whiche Christ calleth and exhorteth  
vs/ neyther that dethe in whiche Paule  
wylleth vs to dye with our heed/ as also  
the prophete saythe: for thy sake we be-  
slayne all the daye longe/ we be accom-  
pled as shepe appoynted to be kylled/ne-  
ther that whiche the apostle wryteth in

what is the  
crosse of christ.

other termes savyng / seke those thynges  
that be aboue / not whiche be on the erthe.  
Taste and haue perceyuance of thynges  
aboue / meaneth it any other thyngē than  
that we unto thynges corporall shulde  
be dull and made as thoughē we were in-  
sensyble and vterly without capacyte .  
So that the lesse felyng we haue in thyng-  
es of the body / so moche the more sweet-  
nesse we myght fynde in thynges pertay-  
ninge to the spryte / and myght begynne  
to lyue so moche the trewlyer inwardely  
in the spryte / the lesse we lyued outward-  
ly in the body . In conclusyon to speake  
more playnly / so moche the lesse shulde  
move vs thynges caduke and trausitory /  
the more acquaynted we were with thin-  
ges eternall . So moche the lesse shulde we  
regarde the shadowes of thyngē / the more  
we haue begonne to loke vp vpon the the  
very trewe thynges . This rule therfore  
musse be had euer redy at hande / that we  
in no wylle stande stylle any where in tem-  
perall thynges / but that we ryse thence  
makynge as it were a steppe unto the loue  
of sprituall thyngē by matchyng the one  
with the other / or els in comparyson of  
thynges whiche are truyssible that we be-  
gynne to dispyse that whiche is visyble .  
The disease of thy body wyll be the easier

Cycuta is a  
poison eþe.

If thou woldest thynke it to be a remedye  
for thy soule. Thou shuldest care the lete  
for the helthe of thy body if thou wolden  
tourne all thy care to defende and mayn-  
tayne the helthe of the mynde. The dethe  
of the body putteth the in feare / the dethe  
of the soule is moche more to be feared.  
Thou abhorrest the poyson whiche thou  
seest with thyne eyes / bycause it bringeth  
myschefe to the body / moche more is the  
poyson to be abhorred whiche sleeth the  
soule. Cicuta is poyson of þ body / but bo-  
luptuousnelle is moche more & redy poy-  
son to the soule. Thou quakest and trem-  
blest for feare / thy heere standeth upright /  
thou arte spechelesse / thy sprytes forsa-  
ken the and thou warest pale / fearynge  
leest the lyghtnyng whiche apereth out  
of the cloudes shulde smyte the / but howe  
moche more is it to be feared leest there  
shulde come on the / the inuisybe lyght-  
nyng of the wrathe of god / whiche sayth  
So ye cursed persones in to eternall fyre.  
The beautie of the bodye rauyssheth the  
why rather louest thou not feruently that  
fayrnesse þ is not sene? Translate thy loue  
in to that beautye that is perpetuall / that  
is celestyall / that is without corruptyon /  
and the discretelyste halte thou loue the  
caduke and trãsitory shappe of the body.

Thou prayest that thy felde maye be wa-  
tered with rayne leest it drie vp / praye ra-  
ther that god wyll bouchesafte to water  
thy mynde leest it ware barayne from the  
frute of vertues. Thou restorest and en-  
creasest agayne with great care the waste  
of thy moneynesse: the greatest care of al ough-  
test thou haue to restore agayne the losse  
of the mynde. Thou hast a respecte longe  
afore hande to age / leest any thyng shulde  
be lackingynge to thy body: and shuldest thou  
not prouyde that nothyng be lackingynge  
to the mynde. And this veryly ought to be  
done in those thynges whiche dayly me-  
terribilitie our sensyble wyttes / and as every  
thyng is of a dyuers kynde / euens so dy-  
uerly dothe moue vs with hope / feare /  
loue / hate / sorow / & ioy. The same thyng  
make be obserued and kepte in all maner  
of lernynge whiche include in them selfe a  
playne sence and a mystery / euens as they  
were made of a body and a soule / that the  
lyterall sence lytle regarded thou shuldest  
loke cheffly to þ mystery: Of whiche maner  
are the letters of al poetes & philosophers  
cheffly the folowers of plato. But most of  
al holy scripture / which beyng in a maner  
lyke to Silen<sup>o</sup> of Alcibiades / vnder a rude  
and folysche couering include pure diuyne  
and godly thingz: for els if thou shalt rede

The mystery  
in all thynges  
must be loked  
vpon.

Holy scripture  
is sylenus of  
Alcybyades.  
Sylenus be  
rimages made  
with ioyntes  
so that they  
may be opened  
contaynyng  
outwardre the  
sympathie of  
a sole or an ape  
or suche lyke  
tryfels: & whan  
they ar opened  
sodainly appe-  
reth some excel-  
lent or meruay-  
lous thynges/  
vnto such thyng-  
es alcibiades  
a noble man of  
Athenes com-  
pared the phy-  
losopher So-  
crates / for so-  
crates was so  
sympathie outwar-  
de / and so excel-  
lente inwardre.

Without the allegory the ymage of Adam  
formed of moy st cley and the soule brethed  
into hym / & Eve plucked out of the rybbe/  
howe they were forbyd the tree of knowl-  
lege of good and yuell / the serpent enty-  
lynge to eat / god walkynge at the ayre  
whan they knewe they had synned / howe  
they hydde them selfe / the aungell set at  
the doores with a turnynge sworde leet  
after they were eicte / the waye to them  
shulde be open to come agayne shortly.  
If thou shuldest rede the hole hystorie of  
the makyng of the worlde / if thou rede  
(I say) superfycially these thinges / seking  
no further than apereth outwardly / I can  
not perceyue what other gret thyng thou  
halt do than if thou shuldest synge of the  
ymage of cley made by Prometheus / or  
offyre stolen from heuen by subtyltie and  
put in to the ymage to gyue lyfe to þ cley.  
ye peraduenture a poetes fable in the al-  
legory shall be redde with somwhat more  
frute than a narracyon of holy booke / if  
thou rest in þ rynde or bter parte. If whā  
thou redest the fable of the gyauntes / it  
warneth and putteth the in remembrance  
that thou stryue not with god and thyne  
ges more mighty than thou / or that thou  
oughtest to abstayne from suche studyes  
as nature abhorret / and that thou shul-

The fable of  
the gyauntes;  
A greate nobre  
of gyauntes  
buylded mou-  
tayne vpō mou-  
tarne to pluck  
Jupyter out of  
heuen / but Ju-  
piter vndermy-  
ned theyr mou-  
taines / & slew  
them with  
lyghtynge.

dest set thy mynde vnto these thynges (if so be they be honest) whervnto thou arte mosse apte naturally: That thou tangle not thy selfe with matrymony / if chastyte be more agreeable to thy maners. Agayne that thou bynde not thy selfe to chastyte if thou seme more apte to maryage. For moste comenly those thynges come yuell to passe whiche thou pouest agaynst nature. If the cuppe of Lyc̄es teache þ men with voluptuousnesse as with wytche-craft fall out of their mynde and be chaunged vitterly fro mē vnto beestes. If thristy

Circes was a woman which by enchantment turned men to dyners fasciōs of beestes with poysons or dr̄ches.

Tantalus teache the that it is a very myserable thyng for a man to sytte gappyng vpon his rychesse heaped togyther & dare not vse them. The stone of Siciphus that ambycion is laborous and myserable. If the labours of Hercules putteth the in re membrānce that heuen must be obtained with honest labours and enforcementes infatygable / lernest thou not that thyng in the fable whiche þ philosophers teache and also diwynes / maisters of good lyng? But if (without allegory) thou shalte rede the infautes wrestlyng in their mothers bely / then her taunce of the elder brother sold for a messe of potage / the blyssyng of the father preuented and taken away by fraude. Soly smydden with the synge of

Tantalus;

Syphus.

The labours  
of Hercules.

without allego-  
ry / synge  
is baren,

Many vngood  
ly thynges in  
scrystture as  
they appere  
outwardē.

Dauyd com-  
mytted adul-  
tery with Bar-  
sabe/ and cau-  
sed Urye her  
husbande to  
be slayne.

The mysteries  
must be hande-  
led wth crafte

Dauyd / and the heere of Sampson the  
uen: it is not of so great valure as if thou  
shuldest rede the feynyngē of some poete.  
What differēce is there whether thou rede  
the boke of kynges or of the iudges in the  
olde testament/ or els the history of Titus  
Liuyus/ so thou haue respecte to the alle-  
gorye in nere nother? For in the one/ that  
is to say Titus Liuyus/ be many thyngē  
whiche wolde amende the comen maners:  
in the other be some thinges/ ye vngoodly  
as they seime at þ fyrl lokyng on/ whiche  
also if they be vnderstande superstycially  
shulde hurte good maners: As the theſte  
of Dauyd/ and adultery bought with ho-  
micide/ howe the doughters of Lot laye  
with their father by stelthe/ and concey-  
ued/ and a thouſande other lyke maters.  
Therefore the fleshe of the scripture diſ-  
ſed cheſely of the olde testament/ it ſhall be  
mete and couenient to ferche out the my-  
ſtery of the ſpyrite. At Anna to the ſhall  
haue ſuche taste as thou bringest with the  
in thy mouthe. But in openyng of myſ-  
teries thou mayſt not folow the coiectures  
of thyne own mynde/ but the rule muſt be  
knowen and a certayne craft/ whiche one  
Dionisius teacheth in a boke entytled De  
diuiniſ nominibus/ that is to ſay/ of the  
names of god: and ſayne Auguſtyne in a

certayne warke called *Doctrina christiana*  
that is to say the doctrine of a christen  
man. The apostle Paule after Christe o-  
pened certayne fountaynes of allegory/  
whome Origene folowed & in that parte allegory.  
of diuynite obtayned doutlesse the chefe  
roume and maystry. But our diuynes ey- Our diuynes.  
ther set naught by the allegory or handle  
it very dremyngly and vnfrutefullly: yet  
are they in subtylty of disputacyon equall  
or rather superiours to olde diuynes.  
But in treatyng of this crafte that is to  
saye in pure apte and frutefull handlyng  
the allegory not ones to be compared  
with them and that specyally as I gesse  
for two caused. The one that the myste-  
rye canne be but weake and barayne that  
is not fortyfyed with strengthe of elo-  
quence and tempred with certayne sweet-  
nesse of speakyng in whiche our elders  
were passyng excellent and we not ones  
taste of it. An other cause is for they con- Arystotle only  
tent with Arystotle only expell from scho- is redde nowe  
les the secte of Plato & Pittagoras and adayes.  
yet saynt Augustyn preferreth these later  
not only bycause they haue many senten-  
ces moche agreeable to our relygyon but  
also bycause the very maner of open and  
clere speche whiche they vse (as I haue  
sayde before) full of allegories drameth

Olde diuynes  
with helpe of  
eloquence han-  
deled the Alle-  
gories welsa-  
uourdly

The gospell  
hath her fleshe  
and spyrte.

very nygh to þ style of holy scripture. No  
meruaile therfore though they haue more  
comodously hadled the allegories of the  
worde of god / whiche with plētuous one-  
cyon were able to encrease & delate to co-  
lour & garnysshē any maner thyng neuer  
so baren / symple / or homely / whiche men  
also beyng most expert & cōnyng of all an-  
tiquite had practysed & exercysed longe be-  
fore in poetes & vokes of þ Plato / þ thynge  
whiche they shulde do after in diuyne my-  
steryes. I had letter that thou shuldest rele  
the cōmentaries of those men / for I wolle  
instruce and induce the not vnto cōtent-  
on of argumentes / but rather vnto a pure  
mynde. But & if thou can not attayne the  
mystery / remēbre yet that some thiȝ hyd  
hyd whiche though it be not knownen yet  
verely to haue trust to obtayne it shall be  
better than to rest in the letter whiche kyl-  
leth. And that se thou do not onely in the  
olde testament / but also in the newe. The  
gospell hath her fleshe / she hath also her  
spyrte: for though the bayle be pulled  
from þ face of Moyses / neverthelesse ye  
vnto this daye Paule saythe per speciu-  
lum in enigmate / not the thynges selfe and  
clerely / but the ymage or symplitude of the  
very thynges as it were in a glasse vnder-  
fytely & obscurely: and as Christ hym selfe

sayth in his gospell of Iohan. The fleshe  
profyreteth no thyng at all/it is the spiryte  
that gnueth lyfe. I veryly wolde haue ben  
afrayde to haue sayd it profyreteth not at all/  
it shold haue ben ynough to saye the flesh  
profyreteth somwhat / but moche more the  
spiryte: but now verite hymself hath sayd  
it profyreteth not at all. And so greatly it pro-  
fyreteth not/that after the mynde of Paule  
it is but deth / excepte it be referred to the  
spiryte: yet at the leest way in this thyng  
is the fleshe profytale for that she ledeth  
our infirmyty as it were with certeyn gre-  
tes or steppes vnto the spiryte. The body  
without the spiryte can haue no beyng:  
the spiryt of the body hath no nede. Where-  
fore ys after the doctryne of Chrysostom the spt  
ryte be so great & excellent a thyng/ that  
he onely gnueth lyfe: hyther to this poynt  
must our iourney be/that in al maner let-  
tres/in al our actes we haue respect to the  
spiryte/ & not to the fleshe. And ys a man  
wolde take hede/he sholde soone perceyue  
that this thyng onely is it wher unto ex-  
horteth vs amonge the prophetes specially  
Esaias:among thapostles Paule/whiche  
almost in euerie epystle playeth this parte  
and cryeth that we sholde haue no confi-  
lyfe/liberty/lighght/adpcion: & those noble

Adopcyon is  
inheritaunce/  
not by bvrthe  
but by eleccyō.

scuytes so greatly to be desyred whiche he  
nobreth. The fleshe euery where he despiseth/  
condempneth & couseyleth from her.  
Take hede & thou shalt perceyue that our  
mayster Chryst doth the same thynge here  
and there. Whyles in pullynge the ase out  
of the ppyt / in restorynge the syght to the  
blynde / in rubbynge the eates of corne / in  
unwashen handes / in the feestes of syn-  
ners / in the parable of the pharysee & the  
publycane / in fastynge / in the carnal bi-  
therne / in the reioysyng of the iewes that  
they were the chyldren of Abraham / in of-  
fryng of gystes in the temple / in prayng  
in delatynge of theyr phylateirs / & in many  
lyke places he despyseth the fleshe of the  
lawe / & supsticyon of them whiche had le-  
uer be iewes openly in the syght of man  
than pryuely in þ syght of god. And whan  
he said to the woman of Samary / bylent  
me that þ hour shall come whan ye shall  
honour the father neyther in this moun-  
taine / neyther in Ierusalē: but the hour  
shall be now is whan the very true wo-  
shippers shall worshyp the father in spry-  
te & verite: for surely þ father requyret  
suche to honour hym. The father is a spi-  
rite / & they whiche honour hym must ho-  
nour in spiryte & verite. He signyfyed the  
same thyng in dede whan at the mariage

Phylateys  
were papers  
which the pha-  
rysees ware on  
hye in theyr fo-  
recheddes / ha-  
uyng the ten  
comandmētes  
written in them

he turned the water of the colde & unsauers  
ry leurre into wyne of the spiryte/makynge  
dronke the spiritual soules/euen unto the  
contempte & despysyng of theyr lyfe. And  
leest thou sholdest thynke it a great thyng  
that Chrys̄t despysed these thyngs whiche  
now I haue rehersed/yea he despysed the  
eatynge of his owne flessh & dynkyng of  
his owne blode/excepte it were done spiri-  
tuall. To whome thinkest thou speake he  
these thyngs: the flesche pfyeth nothyng  
at all/it is the spiryt that quyckneth & gy-  
ueth lyfe?verly not to them whiche wch  
saynt Johns gospell/or an agnus dei han-  
gynge about theyr neckes thynke themself  
sure seō al maner of harine/& suppose that  
thyng to be þ very pfyte religion of a chry-  
sten mā:but to them to whome he opened  
the hygh mistery of eating his owne body  
þf so great a thing be of no valure/yea if it  
be pernyctious or perylous: what cause is  
there wherfore we sholde haue cōfideēce in  
any other carnal thyngs/except þ spiryt be  
present? Thou yaduēture sayst masse day-  
ly and lyuest at thyne owne pleasure/and  
hurtes/no no more thā þf they perteyned  
no thyng at all to the: thou art yet in the  
flesche of the sacrament: but and þf whyle  
thou sayest/thou enforcest to be the very

Saynt Johās  
gospel hāgynge  
at their neckes

same thynge whiche is signifed by recey-  
uyng that sacrament/that is to saye/to be  
one spiryt with the spiryt of Chryſt/to be  
one body with the body of Chryſt/to be a  
quycke membre of the chyrche: yf thou loue  
nothyng but in Chryſt/yf thou thynke all  
thy goodes to be comun to all men/yf the  
incōmoditees of al men greue the even as  
thyne owne: Than no doubtē thou sayest  
masse with great fruyte/and that bycause  
thou doest it spiritually. If thou perceyue  
that thou art in a maner trāſfygured and  
chaunged in to Chryſt / & that thou lyuest  
now leſſe & leſſe in thyne owne ſelue/gyne  
thankes to þ spiryte whiche onely quycke  
neth and gyueth lyfe. By any ben wont to  
nombre how many masses they haue ben  
at euery day/ & hauyng conſydence in this  
thyng as of moſt valure(as though now  
they were no farther bounde to Chryſt) as  
ſoone as they be departed out of þ chyrche  
returne to theyr olde maners agayn/that  
they embrace þ fleshe of pite/that is to ſay  
of pure lyfe or ſeruyce of god I diſpraye  
not: that they there ſtop I prayſe not: let  
that be pformed in the whiche is there re-  
preſented to thyne eyes. There is repſew-  
ted to the the deth of thy heed: diſcūſſe thy  
ſelue withinforth/and( as the ſaying is) in  
thy bosom how nygh thou art deed to the

Let it be per-  
formed in the  
that is repre-  
ſented in the  
massē,

Wold. For yf thou be possessed holly with  
wrath/ambicyon/couetousnes/enuy/yea  
though thou touche þ aulter: yet art thou  
satte frō masse. Chryſt was slayne for the/  
snee thou therfore these beestys/sacrifise thy  
ſelue to hym whiche for thy ſake ſacrifysed  
himſelf to his father:yf thou ones thynke  
not on th̄ ſynges/& hast cōfidence in the  
iher: god ſeteth thy carnall & groſſe reli-  
gion. Thou art baptiſed/thynke not forth  
with þ thou art a christen man/thy mynde  
all togyder ſauoureth nothyng but thiſ  
worlde: thou art in þ ſyght of the worlde a  
chryſte man/but ſecrete & before god thou  
art more hethen thā any hethen mā. Why  
ſo? for thou haſt the body of the ſacrament  
& art without the ſpiry特 whiche onely pro-  
fiteth. Thy body is waſhed/what mater  
maketh that whyle thy mynde remayneth  
ſyll defyled & inquinate. Thy body is tou-  
ched with ſalte/what thā whā thy mynde  
is yet bnsauery. Thy body is aþoynted/  
but thy mynde is bnanoynted. But if thou  
be buryed with Chryſt withinforth/& ſtu-  
dyest to walke with hym in the newe lyfe  
I than knowe the for a chryſte mā. Thou  
art ſprinced with holly water/what good  
dothe that/yf ſo be thou wype not awaye  
the inwarde fylth from thy mynde. Thou  
honourest ſaintes/ & art iopoulos & glad to

3. iii.

## Sprynclynge of holy water.

Touchyng of  
reykes.

The true hono-  
ryng of saintes

tonche theyr relykes / but thou despisen  
the chefe relykes which they left behynde  
them / that is to be vnderstande / the examp-  
ples of pure lyuyng. There is no honour  
more pleasant to Mary than yf thou shal  
dest counterfayte her humilitie. No religion  
is more acceptable to sayntes or more ap-  
propriate than yf thou woldest labour to  
rep̄sent & folowe theyr vertues. Wylt thou  
deserue the loue and fauour of Peter or of  
Paule / counterfayte the ones fayth / & the  
others charite / & thou shalte do a greater  
thyng than yf thou sholdest ron to Rome  
x. tymes. Wylt thou worshyp saynt Fraunces  
singularly? thou art hye mynded / thou  
art a great louer of money / thou art shub-  
burne and selfe wylled / full of cōtencyon  
Wyse in thyne owne opinion / gyue this to  
the saynt / swage thy mynde / & by the ex-  
ample of saynt Fraunces be more sober  
humble or meke / despysse fylthy lucre / & be  
desyrous of ryches of the mynde / put away  
scrupulyng & debates with thy neyghbours  
and with goodnes ouercome euyll. The  
saynt setteth more by this honour than yf  
thou sholdest set before hym a thousand  
brennyng tapers. Thou thynkedst it a spe-  
cyall thyng to be put in thy graue wrapp-  
ped in the cowle or habyte of saynt Fraunces?  
Trust me lyke vesture shall p̄fete the

mothyng at all whan thou arte deed / yf  
thy luyng and maners be founde vn-  
spke whan thou were alwe. And though  
the sure example of all true vertue & perte  
lyfe. shewynge how thou sholdest honour  
god in euery thyng is fette of Chryste  
moost comodously in such maner/that  
in no wypse thou canst be deceyued. Neuer-  
thelesse yf the worshypynge of Chryst in  
his sayntes delyte the so greatly / se that  
thou counterfayte Chryste in his sayntes/  
and for the honoure of euery saynt loke  
thou put alwaye all byces / byce by byce/  
so that thou sacrefyle to euery saynt syn-  
gularly some one byce singularly/ or else  
study to embrace and counterfayte some  
one singular vertue in euery saynt/suche  
as thou perceyuest to haue reigned moost  
chesely in euery saynt/singularly of them  
whiche thou worshyppest so specyally. If  
this shall come to passe / than wyll I not  
reproue those thyngs whiche be done out-  
wardly. Thou hast in great reuerence the  
ashes of Paule / I dampne it not / yf thy  
celygon be perfyte in euery poynte / but  
yf thou haue in reuerence the deed ashess  
or powder of his body/and settest no store  
by his quycke ymage yet spekyng / and  
as it were brethyng / whiche remayneth

Let vs count-  
terfeyt Chryste  
in his sayntes.

J.iii.

Let vs houour  
the quycke  
ymage of  
paule.

The very yma-  
ge of Chryst is  
expressly payn-  
ted in the gos-  
pell.

Apelles was  
the moost con-  
nyng paynter  
that euer was

In his doctrine: is not thy religyon prepos-  
terous & out of ordre / & accordyng to the  
comune prouerbe / the carte set before the  
horse? Honourest thou the bones of Paule  
le hyd in the shryne / & honourest thou not  
the mynde of Paule hyd in his wrytyng?  
Magnisfest thou a pece of his carkas shyn-  
yng thrugh a glasse / & regardest not thou  
the hole mynde of Paule shynyng thrugh  
his lettres? Thou worshyppest the asthes  
in whose presence now & than the deformy-  
tees & diseases of bodyes be taken away  
Why rather honourest thou not his doctry-  
ne / wherwith the deformytees & diseases  
of foules are cured and remedayed? Let the  
vnlaythfull meruayle at these myracles &  
sygnes for whome they be wrought: but  
thou that art a faythfull man embrase his  
bokes / that as thou doutest not / but that  
god can do all thyngs / euен so thou mygh-  
test lerne to loue hym aboue all thynges.  
Thou honourest the ymage of the bodily  
countenaunce of Chryst formed in stone or  
tree / or else portrayed with colours: with  
moche greater reuerence is to be honoured  
the ymage of his mynde / whiche by work  
manshyp of the holy goost is figured & ex-  
pressed in the gospels. Neuer any Apelles  
so expressly facyoned with pensell the pro-  
portions & fygure of the body as in the othe-

pon & doctrine of euery man appereth the  
image of the mynde / namely in Chryste /  
whiche whan he was very simplicite and  
pure verite / no discorde / no unlyke thyng  
at all coude be bytwene þyself & chefe pa-  
terne of his diuynne mynde & the ymage of  
his doctrine & lernyng fro thens deduc-  
& deriuac / as nothyng is more lyke the  
father of heuen than his sone / whiche is þ  
worde / the wysdom & knowlege of the fa-  
ther / spryngyng forth of his moost secrete  
vert: so is nothyng more lyke unto Chryst  
than the Worde / the doctrine & techyng of  
Chryst / gauen forth out of þy preuy partes  
of his most holy brest: and ponderest ihou  
not this ymage? honourest it not? lokest  
thou not substantially with deuoute eyes  
þpon it? embrasest it not in thy herte? hast  
thou of thy lord & mayster relykes so ho-  
ly / so full of vertue & strengthe / & settynge  
them at nougat? sekest thou thingz moche  
more alienate / straunger & farder off? Thou  
beholdest a cote or a sudore / that is sayd  
to haue ben Chrystes / astonyed therat as  
though thy wyttes were rapte: & art thou  
in a dreame or a slumber whan thou redest  
the diuynne oracles or answeres of Chryst?  
Thou byleuest it to be a great thyng / ye a  
lest at home / a lytell pece of the crosse: but

The honou-  
ryng of the  
crosse.

þ is nothing to be cōpared to this þt thou  
beare shryned in thy hert þ mystery of the  
crosse. Or else yf suchē thyngs make a man  
religious & devout/what can be more reli-  
gious than þ ielwes/of whiche very many  
(though they were never so wycked) per-  
with theyz eyes sawe Jesu Chryſt lyuyng  
bodyly/herde hym with theyz eares/with  
theyz handes handled hym.what is more  
happy thā Judas which with his mouth  
kyssed þ diuyne mouth of Chryſt. So mo-  
che doth þ fleshe without the spiryt þþre  
nothig at all/that it sholde not ones haue  
þþted the holy virgin his mother þ she of  
her owne fleshe begate hym/except þen  
her spiryt had ȝeþued his spiryt also: this  
is a very great thyng/but heare a greater.  
The apostles enioyed the corporal þsene  
& felishyp of Chryſt(redest thou not) how  
weyke / how chyldysshe they were / how  
grosse & without capacite/who wolde de-  
þre any other thyng unto the most þþre  
helth of his soule/thā so longe familiaritie  
& conuersacyon togyder with hym þ was  
bothe god & man? yet after so many myr-  
acles shewed/after þ doctrine of his owne  
mouth taught & declared to thē/after sur-  
& euident tokens þ he was rysen agayne  
dyd he not at þ last houre whā he shold be  
þeþued by in to heue cast in theyr teeth

The very apo-  
stelles as longe  
as Chryſt was  
þreſet wauered  
in the faythe.

they; bristabylite in ihe sayth. What was  
than the cause? verlyly the flesche of Chrys-  
t and let: & thens is it þ he saith: except I go  
away/ the holy goost wyl not come/ it is  
expedient for you þ I departe. The corpo-  
rall p[er]sone of Chrys[ti]n is vnp[ro]fitable vnto  
welth. And dace we in any corporal thyng  
besyde þ put p[ro]fyt p[re]te/ þ is to say/ þ loue &  
honour of god? Paule saw Christ i his hu-  
manite. What supposest thou to be a grea-  
ter thyng than þ/ yet setteth he noug[ht] by  
it saying. Though (saith he) we haue kno-  
wen Chrys[ti]n carnally / now we do not so.  
Why knewe he hi not carnally/ for he had  
profited & ascended vnto more p[ro]fyt gyft[es] of þ  
sp[irit]u. I bse paduerture mo wordes i dispu-  
tyng these thyng[es] than sholde be mete for  
him which gaueth rules: neuertheles I do  
it þ more diligently (& not without a great  
cause) for þ in very dede I do p[re]cyeue this er-  
ror to be the comun pestilence of al chrys[ti]n-  
dom: whiche brigeth & occasioneth yea for  
this causeth þ greter mischefe: for almoche  
as i semblance & apparence it is next vnto  
godly loue or holynes. For there are no bi-  
ges more perylous than they which coun-  
tersayte vertue; for besydes this that good  
men may lyghtly fall in to them: none are  
with more difficulty cured/ bycause the co-  
mun peple unlearned thynteth our religio-

noe vices  
See vivilnes  
This is those  
Y rumteng  
~ de me

to be violate whan suche thynges are rebuked/let incōtynent all þ worldē crye out against me/let certeyn þchers/suche as are wont to crye out in theyr pulpittes/bathe whiche with ryght good wyll syng these thynges inwardly in theyr own stomaches lokyng verly not vnto Chryſt/but vnto theyr owne aduaūtage/through whose eyther supsticyon without lernynge/or fayned holynes I am compelled oftentimes to shewe and declare that I in no wylere buke or checke the corporall ceremonyes of chryſte men & deuout myndes of symple psones: namely in suche thynges that are approued by authorite of the chyrche. for they are now & than partly sygnes of pite and partly helpers thervnto. And bycause they are somewhat necessary to yonge infantes in Chryſt/tyll they ware elder and growe vp vnto a pfyt man. Therfore it is not mete they sholde be disdeyned of them whiche are perfyte/leest by theyr example the weyke pſone sholde take harme. That thou doest I approue/ so the ende be not amyſſe. More ouer yf thou stop not there whense thou oughtest to ascēde to thyngs more nere to helth. But to worship Chryſt with bſible thynges in stede of inuyſible & in them to put the hyghest poynt of reliſpon/ & for them to stande in thyne owne

The vſe of ce-  
remonyes.

To mor  
yip Chriſt  
with bſible  
thynges in  
steed of inuyſible  
thynges in ſtand  
of inuyſible  
reliſon

conceypte/to condempne other men/ to set  
up hole mynde vpon them/ & also to dye  
in them/ and to speke shortly that thou be  
withdrawen from Chryste with the very  
same thynges whiche be ordyned for the  
ement onely that they sholde helpe vnto  
Chrst: this is veryly to departe from the  
lawe of the gospell whiche is spirituall/ &  
fall in to certeyn supsticion of ceremonyes  
lyke unto the iewes: whiche thyng p-ad-  
vture is of no lesse ieopardy thā yf with-  
out suche supsticion thou sholdest be infect  
with great & manyfest vices of the mynde:  
this is forsothe the more deedly disease Be  
it/ but þ other is worse to be cured. How  
moche every where sweteth the chefe de-  
fender of the spiryte Paule to call awaie  
the iewes frō the confidence of dedes & ce-  
remonyes/ & to promote them vnto those  
thynges whiche are spirituall: & now I se  
the communalte of chrysten men to be retur-  
ned hyther agayne. But what sayd I the  
communalte? that myght be yet suffred had  
not this errour inuaded & caught a greate  
parte bothe of preestes & doctours: & to be  
bothe the flockes of them almoost thrugh  
out whiche pessle in tytle & habyte a spi-  
rituall lyfe. If they whiche sholde be the  
very salte be unsauery: wherwithall shall  
other be seasoned? I am ashamed to re-

The communal-  
te is turned to  
the confidence of  
ceremonyes.

Superistycious herse with what supastion the mod parrte  
persones are touched.  
of them obserue certayne ceremonyes or  
mennes iuencyons / yet not institute for  
such purpose. How odiously they require  
them of other men: what cōfidence wil-  
out mystrust they haue in them: how in-  
discretly they iudge other men: how in-  
ly they defende them. To these they dede  
they thynke heuen to be due / in whiche of

Paule & Anto-  
ny were hermy-  
tes of passyng  
holy conuersa-  
cyon.

The defenders  
of ceremonyes

they be ones roted at ones they thynke  
thēselfe Paules & Antonyes. They begyn  
O good lord / with what grauytpe / with  
how great authorite to correct other mens  
lyues / after the rule of fooles & vndiscrete  
persones (as sayth Terens) So that they  
thynke nothyng well done but þ they do  
them selfe. But for all that whan they be  
weren olde syres in theyr maner of lyuyng  
thou shalte se þ as yet they sauour or taste  
of Chryſt nothyng at all: but to be beſtly  
swymmyng in certeyn chorlyſſe vyses in  
theyr lyuyng & pastyme frowarde / & scarce  
can ſuffre and forbear theyr owne ſeluen  
charite colde: in wrath feruent: in hate as  
tough as whyte lether: in theyr tonges be-  
aymous & full of poysone: in exercysyng &  
puttyng forth of theyr malyce cōquerours  
& not able to be ouercome: redy to ſtryue  
for euery lytell tryſle: & ſo farre from the  
perfection of Chryſte / that they be not ones

induced with these cōmune vertues / whē  
as the vētay ethnyces or hethen men ha-  
d learned / eyther by reason gyuen to them  
of nature / or by vse of lyutng / or by the pre-  
apes of philosophers. Thou shalt also se  
them in spirytuall thynges cleme without  
capacie / fyre that no man shall knowe  
how to entreate or handell them / full of  
crist and contencyon / gredy vpon volup-  
tuous pleasure / at the worde of god redy  
to spewe / kynde to no man / mysdemyng  
other men / flaterynge theyr owne selues.  
It is come to this poynt now at last with  
the labours of so many yeres / that thou  
sholdest be of all men the worse / and yet  
thyne thy selfe the best : that in steede of a  
chrystian thou sholdest be but a playne  
iewe / obseruyng onely vnfruytfull tradit-  
ions and ceremonys of the inuencyons  
of man / that thou sholdest haue thy glory  
aloye / not in secrete before god / but open-  
ly afore the woorlde ? But and yf thou hast  
walked in the spiryte & not in the fleshe :  
where be the fruytes of the spiryte ? where  
is charite ? where is that cherefulnesse or  
loypous myrthe of a pure mynde ? where is  
tranquillite and peace towardes all men ?  
where is pacyence ? where is perseuerance  
of softe mynde / wherwith thou lokest day  
by dape contynually for the amendment

The xpoeryxe  
of relpygous  
persones.

euen of thyne ennemyes: where is bounynge  
or gentylnesse / where is frenesse of herte  
where is mekenes / fidelite / discrecio / chaste-  
tute or sobrenesse / temperaunce & charitie  
where is the ymage of Chrysie in thy me-  
ners? I am sayst thou no keper of bones  
no these / no violatour of holy thynges /  
kepe my pfectyon. But what other thing  
is this to saye than I am not lyke other  
men / extorsioners / adulterers / per & I ha-  
twyse in a weke: I had leuer haue a po-  
cane humble & lowly askynge mercy then  
this kynde of pharysees rehersyng their  
good dedes. But what is thy pfectyon  
it I praye the that thou sholdest not per-  
forme that thyng thou pimysed longe ago  
whan thou were baptysed / whiche was  
that thou woldest be a chrysiten man / that  
is to saye / a spiritual ydone / & not a carnal  
iude / whiche for þe tradicionys of man shol-  
dest transgresse the comandementys of god  
Is not the lyfe of a chrysiten man spiritual  
Here Paule spekyng to þe Romayns / su-  
dampcion is to them that are grafted in  
Chrysie Jesu / which walke not carnally in  
after the fleshe: for the lawe of the spiryte  
of lyfe in Chrysie Jesu hath delyuered me  
from the lawe of synne & deth: for þe which  
the lawe weyked by reason of the fleshe  
coude not performe or make good / þe same

god made good / sendyng his sone in the  
similitude of fleshe prone to synne / and of  
synne condēpned synne in the fleshe / that  
the iustfyeng of the lawe myght be fulfyl  
i eo in vs whiche walke not after þ fleshe  
but after the spiryt: for they that be in the  
fleshe / be wyse in thynges perteynyng to  
the fleshe: but they which be in the spiryt  
perceyue those thinges that pteyne to the  
spiryte: for wyldeom of the fleshe is deth / &  
wyldeom of the spiryt is lyfe & peace: for the  
wyldeom of the fleshe is an ennemy to god  
bycause she is not obedient to the lawe of  
god / nor yet can be. They þ be i the fleshe  
they can not please god: what coude be spo-  
ken more largely? what more playnly: ne-  
uerthelesse many men subtile & crafty to  
flater or fauour theyr owne vices: but þne  
and redy wt hout aduysement to checke  
other mens / thynke these thynges to per-  
teyne to themielse nothyng at all: & that  
paule spake of walkyng carnally or after  
the fleshe / they referre to adulters onely &  
kepers of quenes: that he spake of wisdom  
of the fleshe which is enemy to god / they  
turned it i o them whiche haue lerned hu-  
manite / or that they call secular scyences:  
In eyther other they set vp theyr creestes / &  
clap theyr handes for ioye / bothe that they  
neyther be adulters / & in al sciences stacke

The expositio  
and mynde of  
soms clerkes.

A. J.

The fleshe &  
the spyrte of  
ther poule.

fooles. More ouer to lyue in the spyppe  
they dreme to be none other thyng tha to  
do as they them selues do: whiche yrones  
yf they wolde as diligētly obserue þ tongue  
of Paule as they maliciously despysse But  
lys/they sholde soone pceyue þ the apostle  
callith the fleshe that thyng þ is visyble  
& the spyppe that thyng that is inuisyble:  
for he techeth euery where that thing þ vis-  
yble ought to serue to thynges inuisyble:  
& not contrary wylle inuisyble thynges to  
serue thynges visyble: thou of a preposi-  
tous ordre applyest Chryſt to those thyng-  
es whiche were mere to be applied vnto  
Chryſt: requyrest thou of me recorde that  
this worde fleshe perreyneth not onely to  
ſylthy and ſuperfluous luſt of the body  
holde & understand that thyng whiche the  
ſayd apostle (doyng that ſame whiche he  
in al places doth) wryteth to the Colocen-  
tes. Let no man myſleade you for þ nones  
in the humilitate and religyon of aungelles  
whiche thynges he never ſawne walkyng  
in bayne/inflate with the ymagination of  
the fleshe/ & not holdyng the heed/that is  
to ſay Chryſte/ of whome all the body by  
couples & ioyntes mynyſtred vp & cōpacē  
groweth in to the encrease of god / & leſſ  
thou woldest doute any thyng þ he ſpake  
of them whiche haþng cōfideſce in certeyn

corporal ceremonies barke agaynst þ spū-  
al purposes of other men: take hede what  
foloweth: yf ye be deed with Chryſt/ ab ele-  
mentis hui⁹ mūdi/frō tradicyons/ceremo-  
nies & iuēcions of men: why haue ye yet  
suche decrees among you/as though ye ly-  
ued vnto the woldē. And anone after cal-  
lyng vs frō the same thyngs saith: yf ye be  
ysen vp agayne with Chryſte / leke those  
thyngs þ are aboue wherē Chryslic lytteth  
on þ ryght hande of god. Be expert & wyſe  
in those things that be aboue/ & not on the  
erthe. More ouer gyuyng pceptes of þ spū-  
all lyfe/ what exhorteth he vs to do at the  
last/ whether þ we shold vſe suche or suche  
ceremonies: whether þ we shold be this or  
that wiſe arrayed/ that we shold lyue with  
this or þ meates / that we sholde say custo-  
mably any certeyn nombre of psalmes: he  
made mencion of no suche thynges: what  
than? Mortifye (said he) your mēbres whi-  
che be on þ erthe/ fornicacyon/bnclēnes/bo-  
dyly lust/euyl cōcupisſence/ & auaryce whi-  
che is þ seruyce of ydols: & a lytel after that  
now put frō you al suche thyngs/wrathe/  
indignacyon/malyce: & agayne/spoylyng  
your ſelſe of the olde man with al his actes  
puttyng on you the newe man whiche is  
tenewid i knowlege of god after þ ymage  
of hym whiche made hym. But who is the  
B. iij.

Mortify the  
members on  
the erthe.

The olde man olde man? beryly Adam/he that was made  
of the erth/ whose couersacyon is in erth/  
not in heuen. By the erth vnderstād what  
so euer is bysyble/ and therfore temporall  
& transitory. Who is that newe man? be-  
ryly the celestyall man that descended frō  
heuen Chyste. And by heuen vnderstande  
what so euer is inuisyble/ & therfore eter-  
nall and euerlastynge. At the last leest we  
sholde be mynded to purchace the fauour  
of god after the maner of the iewes with  
certeyn obseruaunces/as ceremonyes ma-  
gicall/he techeth that our dedes are plea-  
saunt and alowed of god/ so long as they  
are referred vnto charite/ and also spryng  
therof/ sayinge. Aboue all these thynges  
kepe charite the bonde of perfection/ & let  
the peas of god reioyse as a victor in your  
heretes/ in whiche also ye be called in one  
body. I wyll gyue the a more playne to-  
ken & euydent probacyon that this worde  
fleshe signyfyeth not the lust of the body  
only. Paule nameth often the fleshe/ of-  
ten the spycyte/ wrtyng to a certeyn peo-  
ple named Galatas/ whiche he called not  
only frō lust of the body to chaste lyuyng  
but enforceth to withdrawe them frō the  
secte ~~of~~ of the iewes & confydence of worke  
in to whiche they were enduced by false  
apostles. In this place therfore nobryng

the dedes of the fleshe/marke what vices  
he reherseth. The dedes of þe fleshe(sayth  
he) be manyfeliþ/whiche are fornycacyon/  
menclynnes/to be shameles/lechery/Wor  
shypynge of ydolles/Wytchcrafte/preuy  
hate/discoide/otherwyse called cōtencion  
or stryfe/emulacyon that may be called in  
dignacyon or disdayne/ire otherwyse cal-  
led wrathe/scoldynge discencyon/that is  
to say/dyuerſite in maynteynyng of opi-  
nions / sectes / or maynteynyng of qua-  
relles/enuy/homycyde/dronkennesse/ex-  
cesse in eatynge / and suche lyke. And not  
longe after he sayth: ys we lyue in the spi-  
ryte/let vs walke in the spirite. After that  
as declarynge and vterynge a pestylence  
contrary to the spyrte/he addeth: let vs Bayne glorye  
is a pestylence  
contrary to the  
not be made desyrous of bayne glory/pro-  
uokynge one the other/& enuyenge one an  
other. The tree is knowen by the fruyte.  
That thou omittest not watche/fastyng/  
sylence/orys ons/and suche other lyke ob-  
seruaunces/I passe not theron/I wyll not  
byleue that thou art in the spyrte excepte  
I may se the fruytes of the spyrte. why  
may I not affirme the to be in the fleshe  
whan after almoost a hondreth yeres ex-  
ercyle of these thynges/pet in the I fynde  
the dedes of the fleshe/enuyousnes more  
than is in any woman/contynuall wrath

of fyernes: as in a man of warre/scolding/  
lust & pleasure insaciable/ malycyous cut-  
syng/backbytyng with tong more benym-  
ous than the poyson of a serpent/an hygh  
mynde/stubburnes/ lyght of thy pmesse/  
vanite/faynyng/flaterynge? thou iudgest  
thy brother i his meate/drynke or raymet  
but Paule iudgeth the of thy dedes: dothe  
that separate the from worldly & carnall  
men/that thou art i lyghter causes verlyp  
but yet with the same vices infected? is he  
more sylthy/whiche for his inheritaunce ta-  
ken from hym or it caine to his hādes: for  
his doughter defyled/for hurte done to his  
father/for some offyce/for his prynces fa-  
vour:cōceyueth wrath/hatred:emulacion  
(whiche may be called indignacion or dis-  
dayne) thā thou which (I am ashamed to  
tell) for how lytel a tryfle/yea for nothing  
doest al the same thyngs moche more ma-  
lycously / the lyghter occasyon to synne  
lyghteth not/but agrauateth the synne/  
neyther it maketh mater in how lytell or  
greate a thyngē thou synne / so it be done  
with lyke affection: & yet is there differēce  
verlyp: for so moche the greuouer dothe  
every man trespass/the lesse ȳ occasyon is  
wherwith he is pulled away frō honeste.  
I speke not now of those monkes or rely-  
gious psons whose maners euē the hole

wolde abhorreteth / but of thē whom the cō  
mūn people honoureth not as mē / but as  
angels / whiche self same notwithstanding  
ought not to be displeased with these wo  
nes / whiche rebuketh þ vices & noteth not  
the psones : but & yf they be good men / let  
them also be glad to be warned of what  
so euer man it be / in those thyngs whiche  
þtyneth to helth: neyther it is vnknowe  
to me that amonges them are very many  
which holpen with lernynge & wytte haue  
tasted the mysteryes of the spiryte (but as  
Iulius sayth) it fortuneth almoost euery  
where: that the greater parte ouercōmeth  
the better. Notwithstanding (yf it be law  
full to cōfesse the trouth) se we not all the  
moste strayne kynde of monkes to put the  
chefe poynte of relygyon eyther in cere  
monyes or in a certayne maner or forme  
of saying / that they call theyr dyuyne ser  
vice / or in a labour of the body / whiche  
monkes yf a man sholde examyne and ap  
pose of spirituall thynges / he sholde scarce  
fynde any at all that walked not in the  
fleshe. And here of cōmeth this so greate  
infyrmyte of myndes / tremblynge for  
feare where is no feare / and therin suer  
te and careles where is moost peryll of  
all: here of commeth the perpetuall in  
fancye in Chrys (to speke no greuousper)

preposterous that we preposterous estimers of thinges  
as settynge be- make moost of suche thynges whiche by  
hynd that that shold be before them selfe are of no value: those sette at  
nought whiche onely are suffycyent/ euer  
lyuynge vnder tuters or scholemasters/  
euer in bondage/ neuer aduaunsyng our  
selfe by to the lyberty of the spiryte/ never  
growyng by to the large stature of cha-  
rite: whan Paule cryeth to a certeyn peo-  
ple called Galathas/ stande fast/ be not ye  
locked agayn vnder the yoke of bondage.  
And in an other place the lawe was our  
tutor or scholemaster in Chryste/ that of  
sayth we sholde be iustifyed. But seynge  
that faith is come/ now we be no more un-  
der a tutor or scholemaster: for euery one  
of you (sayth he) is the veray sone of god  
through sayth whiche he hath in Chryste  
Iesu. And not moche after he sayth/ & we  
also whan we were lytel ones were in ser-  
vice and bondage vnder the ceremonyes &  
lawe of this worlde. But whan the tyme  
was fully expyred/ god sent his sone made  
of a woman/ made vnder the lawe to re-  
deme them whiche were vnder the lawe/  
that we by adopcyon sholde be his sones.  
And for bycause ye be the sones of god/  
god hath sent the spiryte of his sone in to  
your hertes/ cryeng Abba pater (as a man  
wolde saye dade father) And so is he not

now a seruaunt/but a sone to god. And  
agayne in an other place. Bretherne ye be  
called in to lybertye/let not your lybertye  
be an occasyon vnto you to lyue in the  
fleshe / but in charite of the spiryte serue  
one an other : for all the lawe is fulfylled  
in one sayinge. Loue thy neyghboure as  
thy selfe / but and yf ye byte and eate one  
the other / take hede leest ye be consumed  
one of an other. And agayne to the Ro-  
maynes. ye haue not receyued the spiryte  
of bondage agayne in feare / but the spri-  
tyte that maketh you the sones of god by  
adopcion/in whome we crye dade father.  
vnto the same also pteyneth that he wry-  
teth to Timothe / sayenge. Exercyse thy  
selfe vnder the dedes of pite : for bodyly  
exercyse is good but for a small thynge/  
pite is good vnto all maner thynges. And  
to the Corynthes. God is a spiryte / and  
where the spiryte is/there is lyberty. But  
why reherse I one or two places / whan  
Paule is all togyder at this poynte/ that  
the fleshe whiche is full of contencyon  
sholde be despysed / & that he myght settle  
vs in the spiryte whiche is the authour of  
charite & lybertye. For these companyons  
be euer inseparabile on the one syde / the  
fleshe/bondage/vnquietnes/contencyon  
or stryfe. And on the other syde the spy-

To loue is the  
greatest comau-  
dement.

Chrysste last of  
all warmeth vs  
of charite.

mat: 25.35.

what is true  
charite.

cyte/peace/loue/sybertye. These thynges  
euery where Paule mengleth with other  
sayinges. And seke we a better mayster of  
our relygyon / namely whan all dyvynne  
scripture agreeeth to hym? This was the  
greatest comandement in the lawe of De-  
ses. This Chryst iterateth and synyslith  
in the gospell: & for this cause chefely was  
he borne: for this cause dyed he to teche vs  
not to counterfayte the iewes / but to loue.  
After the last souper made the euene before  
his passyon / how diligently / how tender-  
ly / & how affectuously gaue he charge to  
his discypples / not of meate / not of dynke /  
but of charite to be kepte one towardes  
an other: what other thyngē techeth he /  
what other thyngē desyreteth his discypple  
Iohan than that we loue one an other.  
Paule euery where (as I haue sayd) com-  
mendeth charite / but specyally wrytynge  
vnto the Corynthes he preferreth charite  
bothe before myracles & prophecyes / and  
also before the tonges of angels. And say  
not thou by and by that charite is / to be  
ost at the churche / to croche downe before  
the ymages of sayntes / to lyght tapers or  
wax candels / to say many lady psalters or  
saynt Katherynes knottes. God hath no  
nede of these thynges. Paule calleth cha-  
rite to edysye thy neygbbour / to compre-

that we all be membres of one body / to  
synke that we al are but one in Crist / to  
creuse in god of thy neyghbours welthe  
even as thou doest of thyne owne. To re-  
medy his incomodites or losses as thyne  
owne. yf any brother erre or go out of the  
ryght ware / to warne hym / to monyshe  
hym / to tell him his faute mekely / sobrelly  
& curteisly / to teche the ignorant : to lyfte  
up hym that is fallen : to cōforte & courage  
hym that is in heuynes : to helpe hym that  
laboureth / to socour y nedyn. In cōclusyon  
to referre all ryches & substance / al thy stu-  
dy / all thy cares to this poynte / that thou  
in Chrysste sholdest helpe as moche as thy  
power extendeth to. That as he neyther  
was borne for hymselfe / nor lyued to his  
owne pleasure / neyther dyed for hymselfe  
but dedycate hym selfe hoolly to our pro-  
fyses. Euen so sholde we apply our selfe /  
and awayte vpon the cōmodityees of our  
bretherne / & not our owne : whiche thynge  
yf it were vsed / nothyng sholde be eyther  
more pleasant or elles easie than the lyfe  
of religyous persones / whiche we se now  
clene contrarie / greuous almost every  
where and laboryous / and also full of su-  
perslycyon / lyke vnto the iewes / neyther  
pure from any vices of the laye people /  
and in many sondry thynges moche more

The lyfe of  
relygious  
men is greuous  
and tedious.

Saynt Anguſtyn defyled / whiche kynde of men saynt Anguſtyn  
ſtyne wolde not knowe monkes & chanɔes of his owne relifyon if he were now  
gustyne( of whome many glorie & reioyce  
as of the authour and founder of theyrlip-  
uyng) yf he now myght lyue agayn cer-  
tainly wolde not ones knowe / and wolde  
ctye out / sayinge that he wolde approue  
nothyng leſſe than this kynde of lyfe / and  
that he had iſtytuted an ordre and ma-  
ner of lyuyng / not after the ſuperſticiyon  
of the iewes / but after the rule of the a-  
poſtles. But I heare euuen now what cer-  
teyne men( whiche are ſomwhat well ad-  
uised) wyll anſwere vnto me. A man muſt  
take hede in lytel and ſmall thyngeſ / leſſe  
a lytell & a lytell he ſhoulde fall in to grea-  
ter byces / I heare it ryght well / and I  
allowe the ſaying / neuertheleſ thou ough-  
test to take hede a greate deale more that  
thou ſo cleue not to theſe lytell and ſmall  
thyngeſ that thou sholdest fall clene from  
the mooſt cheſe & greateſt thyngeſ. There  
is the ieopardye more euydent / but here  
more greuouſe. So flee Scilla that thou  
fall not in to Charibdis. To obſerue theſe  
lytell thyngeſ is holsome verylly : but to  
cleue bterly vnto them is veray ieopar-  
dous. Paule forbiddeth not the to vſe the  
lawe and ceremonyes / but he wyll not  
hym to be bounde to the lawe and cere-  
monyes whiche is free in Chryſte: he con-

how farforth  
we ought to de-  
ue to the ſmall  
thyngeſ.

Scilla & charib-  
dys loke what  
they meane at  
the ende of the  
ſixt chappitre.

dempneth not the lawe of dedes / ys a man  
use it lawfully / without these thynges p=  
aduenture thou shalte not be a chyisten  
man / but they make the not a chyisten man /  
they wyll helpe vnto pite and godlynes /  
euен so yet ys thou vse them for that pur-  
pose. But and ys thou shalte begyn to en-  
toye them / to put thy trust and confidence  
in them / at ones they utterly destroye all  
the lyuyng of a christien man. The apostle  
setteth noug̃t by the dedes of Abraham /  
whiche to haue ben veray perfyte no man  
wubreth: & hast thou confidence in thyne.  
God disdeyneth certayne sacrifices called  
victime / the sabbottes and certayne holy  
dayes called freomenye of his people the  
iewes / of whiche thyngs he hymselfe was  
authour and comauuder / and darest thou  
copare thyne owne obseruaunces with the  
preceptes of the lawe of god? yet here god  
redy to spue at them & agreued with them  
For what entent (sayth he) offre ye to me  
the multytude of victimes / I am full. As  
for holocaustes of wethers / talowe or in-  
warde suet and fatte of beestes / blode of  
calues / of lambes and gotes I wolde not  
haue / whan ye come before my presence  
who hath requyred these thynges of your  
hādes that ye myght walke in my houses  
Offre ye no more sacryfyce in bayne / your

Corporal thynges  
thynges helpe  
to pyte.

Uxctyma was  
the sacryfyce  
of a beest wher  
of he that offe-  
red dyd eate  
parte / & parte  
wente to thuse  
of the preestes  
the cal the kyd  
ncis & the fatte  
aboure them  
was burned to  
god / that same  
sacryfyce for  
certeyn cosyde-  
racyons is also  
called hostia.

Holocaustes  
that is the ho-  
le beest sacryfy-  
ed to god no  
man hauynge  
parte therof

Sabbat day  
was every se-  
uenth day as  
our sondaye.

Neomenye  
were holidays  
at the new of  
the mone.

Kalendas that  
same that neo-  
menyes be.

Sayes.

ensence is abhomynacyon to me / I wyl  
not suffre any more the feest of the Med-  
menye and sabbot daye / with other feest  
dayes. The companies of you are infected  
With iniquite / my soule hathe hated your  
kalendas & your solempne feestes. These  
thyngs be greuous vnto me / I was even  
lycke to abyde them. And whan ye put  
forth your hades / I wyl turne myne eyes  
from you : whan he reherseth the obser-  
uaunces and maners of holy feestes and  
sacrifyce : more ouer the multyplyenge of  
prayers / noteth he not them as though  
he poyned them with his fynger / whiche  
measure theyz relygyon with a certayne  
nombre of psalmes and prayers / whiche  
they call dayly seruyce. Marke also an-  
other thyng how meruaylously the facin-  
dyous pphete expresteth hepyng togyder  
the disdayne or idignacion of god : so that  
he now coude suffre neyther with eares  
neyther eyes. What thynges (I beseeche  
the) verly tho thyngs which he himselfe  
had ordeyned to be kepte so religiounly  
whiche also were obserued so reueretly so  
many yeres of holy kyngs & pphetes. And  
these thyngs abhorreteth he as yet in y car-  
nall lawe. And trustest thou i ceremonies  
made at home in thyne owne house / now  
in the latte of the spicryt? God in an other

place by deth the same prophete to crye in-  
cessantly and to put out his brest after the  
maner of a trumpe / as in an ernest mater-  
& worthy to be rebuked sharply / & such a  
mat as unmethe coude be opteyned of these  
men but with moche ado. He (sayth he)  
they seke from day to daye / & knowe they  
wyl my waps / as a people that hath done  
iustyce / & hath not forsaken þ iudgemēt of  
theyr god. They aske me for þ iudgemētes  
of iustyce / & desyre to drawe nygh to god:  
why haue we fasted (say they) & thou hast  
not loked vpon vs & meked our soules / &  
thou woldest not knowe it: lo in þ daye of  
your faste (answereth the prophete) your  
owne wyll is founde in you / and ye seke  
out all your detters / loo unto steyfe and  
contencyon ye faste / & ye snyte with your  
fist cruelly / faste ye not as ye haue fasted  
vnto this daye / that your crye myght be  
herde on hygh. Is this the faste that I  
haue chosen / that a man sholde vere and  
trouble hymselfe for one daye / eyther that  
a man sholde bowe downe his heed as a  
hoke or cyrle / and to strawe vnderneath  
hym sacke cloth & asshes: wylte thou call  
this a faste or a daye acceptable vnto god?  
But what shall we saye this to be: dothe  
god condempne that thyng / whiche he  
hym selfe commaunded? Naye forsothe.

The vse of spi-  
rituall lyfe.

May 3.

What than? But to cleue and stycke fast in  
the flesche of the lawe / & to haue confidence  
of a thyng of nothyng that is it verly  
whiche he hateth deedly. Therfore he she-  
weth that he wolde haue added in eyther  
place. Be ye wasshed (sayd he) and made  
clene / take away your euyl cogitacions &  
thoughtes out of my syght: whan thou  
hearest the euyl thoughtes reherced / tou-  
cheth he not euydely the spiryte & the in-  
warde man. The eyes of god seeth not out-  
warde / but in secrete / neyther he iudgeth  
after the syght of the eyes / neyther rebu-  
keth after the hearyng of the eares. God  
knoweth not þ folyshe virgyns smothes  
gay outward / empty of good workes in-  
warde: he knoweth not them whiche sape  
with lyppes & haister maister. More ouer  
he putterth vs in remembraunce þ the vse of þ  
spuall lyfe standeth not so greatly in cere-  
monyes as in þ charite of thy neyghbour.  
Seke (saith he) iudgement or justice / socour  
him that is oppressed / gyue true iudgement  
and ryght to hym that is faterles & mo-  
therles or frendles / defende the wydowe/  
suche lyke thingz dyd he knyt to the other  
place / where he speketh of fastyng. Is not  
this rather (saythe he) that faste I haue  
chosen / loose or cancell cruell oblygacy-  
ons / vnbynde the burthens whiche make

them stowpe to the grounde that beare  
them: let them that be brused go free and  
breake a sondre all burthen: Breake [thy]  
breed to hūgry. The nedys & them whiche  
hath no place of habytacion/lede in to thy  
house. Whan thou seest a naked man clothe  
hym/and dispysse not thyne owne fleshe.  
What shall a christen man do than? Shall  
he dyspyse the comaundementes of the  
churche? Shall he set at naught þ honest  
tradycions of fore fathers? Shall he con-  
demnne godly and holy customes? Nay/if  
he be weake and as a begynner he shall  
obserue them as thingz necessary/but and  
if he be stronge and perfyte so moche the  
rather shall he obserue them/ leest with  
his knowlege he shulde hurte his brother  
whiche is yet weake/ leest he also shulde  
kyll hym for whome Christ dyed: we may  
not omytte these thynges/but of necessytye  
we must do other thynges. Corporall de-  
vices be not condempned/but sprituall are  
preferred. This visyble honouryng of god  
is not condempned/but god is not plea-  
sed sauyng with inuisible ptye & seruyce.  
God is a spryt & is moued & stirred with  
inuisible sacryfyc. It is a great shame  
for christen men not to knowe that thyng  
whiche a certayne poete beyng a gentle  
mannewe ryght well/ whiche gyuyng a pa-

The tradicione  
of our elders;

L.J.

cept of dewe seruyng god saythe: If god  
be a mynde as scripture sheweth vs / se  
that thou honour him chesely with a pure  
mynde. Let vs not dispyle the auctour be-  
yng eyther an hethen man or without de-  
gree of schole/ the sentence becometh ye a  
ryght great diuyne: and (as I very well  
haue perceyued) is lykewylde vnderstande  
of fewe/as it is redde of many. The intel-  
lectyon of the sentence verly is this/lyke  
reidysen with lyke. Thou thynkest god to  
be moued greatly with an oxe kylled and  
sacrifcied/ or with the vapoure or smoke  
of frankensence/as though he were a bo-  
dy. God is a mynde/ and verly mynde  
most pure/most subtile and perfyte/ther-  
fore ought he to be honoured most chese-  
ly with a pure mynde. Thou thynkest that  
a tapre lyghted is sacrifice/but a sacrifcye  
to god(saythe David) is a wofull or a so-  
rowfull spyrte. And though he hath dis-  
pyled the bloode of goates and calves/ yet  
wyll not he dispyle a herte contryte and  
humble. If thou do that thyng whiche is  
gyuen to the eyen of men/ moche rather  
take hede þ thyng not to be away whiche  
the eyen of god requyre. Thy body is co-  
uered with a coule or habyte/what is that  
to the purpose if thy mynde beare a secu-  
lter vesture. If thy vttre man be cloked in

Inwarde thyn-  
ges be represe-  
ted by inward  
thynges.

a cloke whyte as snowe/ let the vescementes  
of thy inner maner be white as snowe  
also agreeable to the same. Thou kepest sy-  
lence outwardē/moche more procure that  
thy mynde be quyet within. In þ visyble  
temple thou bowest downe the knees of  
thy body: that is notbyng worthy if in  
the temple of thy brest thou stande upright  
agaynst god. Thou honourest the tree of  
the crosse/moche more folowe the mistery  
of the crosse. Thou kepest the fastyng day  
and absteynest from those thyngs whiche  
defyle not a man: & why absteynest thou  
not from fytthy talkyng/which polluteth  
thyne own conscyence & other mens also.  
Meate is withdrawen from þ body/but  
why glutteth thy soule her selfe with cod-  
des of beenes/peson/ & suche lyke whiche  
are meate mete for swyne. Thou makest  
the church of stone gay with goodly orna-  
mentes/thou honourest holy places: what  
is þ to the purpose if the tēple of thy hert/  
whose walles þ prophete Ezechyell boord  
through be pphanat or polluted with the  
abhomynaciōs of Egyp. Thou kepest the  
sabbot day outwardē/ & within all things  
be vnquiet thrugh þ rage & tobling of vices  
togider. Thy body comytteþ no adultery/  
but thou art couetous: now is thy mynde  
a fornicatour. Thou syngest or prayest

Lij.

The sabbat day  
the day of rest

with thy bodily tonge/but take hede with  
in what thy mynde sayth. with thy mouth  
thou blyssest/and with thy hert thou cur-  
rest. In thy body thou arte closed within  
a strayte celle/and in thy cogytacion thou  
wadrest throughout all the worlde. Thou  
herest the worde of god with thy corporall  
eares/rather here it within. what saythe  
the prophete? Except ye here within/your  
soule shall mourne and wepe. ye & what  
redest thou in the gospell:that whan they  
se they shulde not se/ and whan they here  
they shulde not here. And agayne the pro-  
phete saythe/with your eare ye shall here  
and ye shall not perceyue: blyssed be they  
therfore whiche here the worde of god  
within. Happy are they to whome god  
speaketh within/and their soules shall be  
saued. This eare to enclyne is comanded/  
that noble doughter of the kyngē whose  
beautye and goodlynnesse is all togyther  
within in golden hemmes. Fynally what  
auayleth it if thou do not those yuell thin-  
ges outwardē/whiche with affection thou  
desyrest & coueytest inwardē. what auay-  
leth it to do good dedes outwardē/ unto  
whiche within are comytted thyngs clene  
contrary. Is it so great a thyng if thou go  
to Hierusalem in thy body/whan within  
thyne own selfe is both Sodome/Egypt/

and Babylon. It is no great thyng to <sup>Prlgrymages</sup>  
haue troden þ steppes of Christ with thy <sup>vnto holy plach</sup>  
bodyly heles/ but it is a great thyng to  
folowe the steppes of Christ in affectyon.  
If it be a very great thyng to haue tou-  
ched the sepulcre of Christe/ shall it not be  
also a very great thyng to haue expressed  
the mystery of his buryeng. Thou accusest  
þ bterest thy synnes to a preest/ whiche is <sup>Confessyon</sup>  
a man: take hede howe thou accusest & vt-  
terest them before god/ for to accuse them  
afare hym is to hate the inwardly. Thou  
byluest perchance all thy synnes and of-  
fences to be washed awaie at ones with  
alystell paper or parchement sealed with  
wete/ with a lytle money or ymages of  
wete offred/ with a lytle pylgrymage go-  
yng. Thou arte bterly disceyued & cleane  
out of the way. The wounde is receyued  
inwardly/ the medycyne therfore must ne-  
des be layde to within: thyne affectyon is  
corrupt/ thou hast loued that whiche was  
worthy of hate/ and hated þ which ought  
to haue ben beloued. Swete was to the  
sower/ and bytter was swete. I regarde  
not what thou shewe outwarde: but and  
if cleane contrary thou shalte begynne to  
hate/ to flye/ to abhorre that whiche thou  
lately louedest/ if þ ware swete to thyne  
appetyte whiche lately had the taste of

gall: of this wyle at þ last I perceue and  
take a token of helth. By agdalayne lone  
moche & many synnes were forgyuen her.  
The more thou louest Christ / þ more thou  
shalte hate vices: for þ hate of synne fol-  
weth the loue of pycie as þ shadolle fol-  
weth the body. I had leuer haue the bat-  
tunes thy vycious maners within and in-  
dede / than to desye the before a pice ten  
tymes i worde. Therfore (as I haue rea-  
soned certayne thyngs for loue of ensâple) in

In all besynes  
the sp̄rite is  
within.

the hole spectacle & syght of this vysible  
worlde / in the olde lawe / in þ newe lawe /  
in all the comandementes of the churche /  
synally in thy selfe & in all besynesse ap-  
tayning to man without forthe / is there a  
certayn flessh / & within a sp̄rit. In which  
thyngs if we shall not make a pposition  
ordre / neyther in thynges whiche are sent  
shal put very great confydence / but even as

What thynges  
follow cheryte.  
they do helpe to better thynges / and shall  
alwayes haue respect to þ sp̄rit to thing  
of cheryte: than shal we ware not heuy as  
men in sorowe & payne (as those men be)  
not feble / euer chyldren (as it is a pucte)  
not beestly and drye bones (as saythe the  
prophete) without lyfe / drousy / and for-  
getfull as men diseased of þ lethargy / not  
dull hauyng no quickeenesse / not bratblers  
and scolders / not enuyous & whysperers

o; dackbyters/ but excellent in Chryste/  
large in charyte/ stronge and stable bothe  
in prosperite and aduersyte/lokynge besyde <sup>prosperite &</sup>  
small thynges and enfor syng vp to thyn-  
ges of most profyte/full of myrthe/full al-  
so of knowlege:Whiche knowlege whoso  
ever refuseth them dothe that noble lorde  
of all knowlege refuse. For verly igno-  
taunce or lacke of experyence/ whome for  
the mosle parte acc<sup>c</sup>panyeth dulnesse of  
lernyng/ & that genuewoman whom the  
grekis call Philancia/ þ is to saye loue of  
thy selfe/only brigeth to passe (as Esayas  
sayth)that we put confydēce in thyngs of  
nothing/ & speake vanytes/þ We conceyue  
labour & bring forth iniquyte/and that we  
always be fearfull & byle bonde seruautes  
vnto the cyremones of þ iewes. Of which  
maner persons Paule spekyng saythe/ I  
beare the recorde that the zele of god they  
haue/ but not after knowlege. But what Chryste is the  
knew they not?verily þ thende of the lawe <sup>ende of the law</sup>  
is Christ/and Christ verly is a spyrte/he  
is also charyte. But Esayas more playnly  
discrybeth the myserable and vuprofytal-  
ble bondage of these men in the fleshe:  
Therefore saythe he my people be ledde in  
captiuyte bycause they had no knowlege;  
and the nobles of them perissched for hun-  
ger/ and the moultitude of them dyed  
L.iii.

away for thurst. It is no meruayle that  
the comen people be seruantz to the lawe  
and principes of this Worlde / as they  
whiche are vnlearned / neyther haue wys-  
dome more than they borow of other me-  
nes heeds: it is more to be meruayled that  
they whiche are as chefe of Christes rel-  
gyon / in the same captuypte perysshe for  
hunger / and wydder away for thurst. why  
perisshe they for hunger? Bycause they  
haue not lerned of Christ to breake barly  
loues / they only lycke rounde aboute the  
rough & sharpe codde or huske / they sucke  
out no mary or swete lycoure. And why  
wydder they so awaye for thurst? for by-  
cause they haue not lerned of Moyses to  
fette water out of the spyrituall rocke of  
stone / neyther haue drunke of the ryuers  
of the water of lyfe whiche floweth / issu-  
eth / or springeth out of the bely of Christ:  
and that was spoken verely of the spyrit /  
not of the flesche. Thou therfore my bro-  
ther / leest with sorowfull laboures thou  
meane exercyse myghtest shortly ware  
bygge in Christe and lusty / dyligently en-  
gadge with the vncleane beestes / but al-  
ways sustayned with those wyngs which  
Plato beleueth to springe euer a fresshe /

throught the heate of loue in the mynde of  
men. Lyste vp thy selfe as it were with  
certayne steppes of the ladder of Jacob/  
from the body to the spryit/ from þ visyble By the wyr-  
ges of loue we  
worlde vnto the inuyisible/ from the let-  
ter to the mystery/ from thynges sencyble  
to thynges intellygible/ frō thynges grosse  
and compounde vnto thynges syngle and  
pure. Who so euer after this maner shall  
approche and drawe nere to the lorde/ the  
lorde of his parte shall agayne approche  
and drawe nyghe to hym. And if thou for  
thy parte shalte endeuyre to aryle out of  
the darknesse and troubles of the sensuall  
powers/ he wyll come agaynste the ple- Incessable/is  
sauntly & for thy profyte/ out of his lyght to vnderstonde  
inaccesible/ and out of that noble scylēce that no man  
incogyttable: In whiche not only all rage can attayne.  
of sensuall powers/ but also simylitudes Incogyttable  
or ymagynacions of all the intellygyble that can nor be  
powers do the cease and kepe scylence. comprehended  
with mannes reason.

### The syxth rule. capi.xvij.

**A**nd for as moche as in sodayn wri-  
tyng/ one thyng calleth another to  
remēbraunce/ I wyll now adde the syxth  
rule/ whiche is in a maner of kynrede to  
them that go before: a rule for all men as  
necessary vnto helthe as it is of fewe re-

Thou must vs  
ry from the  
comen people

garded. That rule is thus / that the mynde  
of hym whiche enforseth and laboureth  
to Christ Warde / vary as moche as is pos-  
syble bothe from the dedes and also opp-  
nyons of the comen ley people / and that  
The ensample thensample of pyte be not fet of any other  
sane of Christe onely: for he is the onely  
chefe patron / the only and chefe ensample  
or fourme of lyuyng / from whom who so  
ever wrieth one ynche or nayle brede / goth  
besydes the ryght pathe and rometh out  
of the way. Wherfore Plato with grauyte  
verly as he dothe many thynges in his  
bokes of the gouernauice of a cyte or co-  
men welthe / denyeth any man to be able  
to defende vertue constantly whiche hath  
not instructed his mynde with sure & un-  
douted opinyons of filthynesse and of ho-  
nesty. But howe moche more peryllous is  
it if false opinyons of the thynges whiche  
pertayne to helthe shulde synke in to the  
depe botome of thy mynde. For that con-  
syderacion therfore he thynketh that this  
thyng shulde be cared for and loked vpon  
chesely / that the gouernours them selfe  
whome it behoueth to lacke all maner of  
vncleynesse / graue in their owne myn-  
des very good opinyons of thynges to be  
ensued & eschewed / that is to say of good  
and yuell / of byces and of vertues / and

that they haue the very assured/ all doute  
wode aparte as certayne lawes very holy  
and goodly: for what so euer thyng clea-  
veth in the mynde surely roted with sted-  
dane blyme/that euery man declareth in  
his maners and conuersacyon. Therfore  
the chese care of christen men ought to be  
applied to this poynte/that their children  
anyngh waye from the cradle/ amongest  
the very flatterynges of the norisces/why-  
les the father and mother kysse thē/ maye  
receyue and sucke vnder the handes of  
them whiche are lerned/ opynyons and  
perswasyonis mete and worthy of Christ:  
because that nothyng eyther synketh de-  
pter or cleaueth faster in the mynde than  
that whiche (as Fabyus saythe) in the  
yonge and tendre yeres is poured in. Let  
be a farre of from þ eares of lytle bodyes  
Wanton songes of loue/ whiche christen  
mensyng at whom & where soeuer they  
ryde or go/ moche more fylthy than euer  
the comen people of þ hethen men wolde  
suffre to be had in vse. Let them not here  
their mother wagle & wring her handis for  
a lytle losse of worldly goodes/nor for the  
losse of her suster let thē here her crye out  
alas that euer she was borne/ seyng that  
she is but a wretche a woman losse or cast  
awaye/lefte alone desolate and desyptute.

The bringyng  
vp of christen  
mens chyldren

Let not them here their father rebukynge  
and vþþraydynghym of cowarnesse whi-  
che hath not recþpensed iniury or wronge  
with double: neyther yet laudynge them  
whiche haue gathered togyder great ha-  
bundance of worldly substancialce/bþ what  
soeuer maner it were. The disposycion of  
man is frayle and prone to byces/he cat-  
cheth mischeuous ensample at ones:none  
otherwyse than thou catchest fyre if it be  
put to. Howe be it this selfe same thyng  
is to be done in every age/ that all the er-  
rors of the ley people myght be plucked  
out agayne from the mynde by the harde  
rootes/and in their places myght be plan-  
ted holsome opinyons/ and so myght be  
roborate þ with no byolence they coulde  
be shake or plucked a sondre/ which thing  
who soeuer hath done shall easely & with-  
out besynesse by his owne accorde folowe  
vertue/ and shall accompte them that do  
otherwyse worthy to be lamented and pi-  
tyed/ & not to be counterfayte or folowed.  
Unto this thyng pertayneth that not vn-  
discrete sayeng of Socrates (thoughe it  
were rebuked of Arystotle) that vertue  
was nothyng els but the knowlege of  
thinges to be ensued and folowed/and of  
thynges to be eschewed or fledde: not but  
that Socrates sawe þ difference bytwene

Vertue is the  
knowlege of  
thynges to be  
auoyded and  
of thinges to  
be desired and  
loued.

knowlege of honesty and the loue of the  
loue. But as Demosthenes answered pro-  
nuncacion to be the first / the seconde / and  
also the thyrd poynte of eloquēce / signy-  
eng that to be þ cheſe parte / in ſo moche  
that he thought eloquence to reſt al togy-  
ther in that thynge onely. In lykewyſe  
Socrates diſputyng with Prothagoras /  
moueth by argumentes knowlege in all  
verteue to beare ſuche roume / that byces  
can no other whence proceſe than of falſe  
opynions. For certaynly brother bothe he  
that loueth Christe / & he also that loueth  
voluptuousneſſe / many falſe honour doth  
folowe that thynge whiche is to eyther of  
them ſwete / good / and beautyfull / but the  
one ſyde through ignorance / in ſtede  
of a ſwete thynge enbraſyng a thynge out  
of measure ſowre / ſyeng as a ſowre thing  
that whiche is ſwetefiſt of all: also folowing  
that thynge for good and for lucre whiche  
is naught els but damage and losſe / and  
ſtacynge that thynge for losſe / whiche is  
cheſe gaynes or aduaūtage: and iudgyng  
that thynge to be fayre whiche is foule /  
and wenyng or trowyng that to be ſham-  
full whiche onely is gloriouſe and prayſe-  
full. In conculſyon if a man were ſurely  
and inwardly brought in byleue / and if  
alſo it were dygestered in to the ſubstaunce

Symeſpryn  
geth of falſe  
opynions.

of his mynde as meate in to the substance  
of the body/ that onely vertue were best/  
most swete/most fayre/moste honest/most  
profytable. And on the other syde fylthy-  
nesse only to be an yuell thyng/a paynfull  
tourment or punyshment/a foule thyng/  
shamefull/full of damage or losse: and dyd  
measure these thyngs not by the opinion  
of the comen people/ but by the very na-  
ture of the thynges/it coulde not be(suche  
perswasyon or byleue enduryng)e that he  
shulde stycke faste and cleave longe tyme  
in yuell thynges. For nowe longe ago the  
comen people is founde to be the moste  
myscheuous auctoure or capitayne bothe  
of lyuyng and also of iudgement: neyther  
Was the worlde euer in so good state and  
condycion/but that the moste hath plea-  
sed the moste parte. Beware leest thou  
this wyse thynke/ no man is there that  
dothe not this / myne elders before me  
haue walked in these steppes/ of this op-  
pynyon is such a man/ so great a phylo-  
sopher/ so great a diuyne. This is the cu-  
stome and maner of lyuyng of kynges/  
this wyse lyue great men/this done bothe  
bysshoppes and popes/ these veryly ben  
no comen people. Let not these great na-  
mes moue the one ynche. I measure or  
iudge not the comen or rascall sorte by the

The comen peo-  
ple is the worst  
sector or insti-  
tutor of lyuyng

roume estatē or degree but by the mynde Plato wylleth  
and stomacke. Who so euer in the famous that we sholde  
caue of Plato bounde with the bondes ymagen a certen nombre of  
of their owne affectyons wonder at the men to be bōside  
varne ymages and shadowes of thynges in stede with theyē hee  
in stede of very true thynges they be the des vpright so  
comen people. Shulde he not do prepo- that they cond  
perously or out of ordre if a man Wolde not ones stirre  
go aboute to trye not the stone by the ru- before them a  
ller or squyre but the ruler by the stone wall a cane at  
And were it not moche more unreasona- theyē backes  
ble if a man wolde go about to bowe and hysgher than  
courne not the maners of men to Christ theyē heedest  
but Christ to the kyuyng of men. Thynke without that  
it not therfore well or aright bycause that a fyre and that  
great men or bycause that the moste men all thynges  
do it but this wyse onely shall it be well sholde come to  
and ryght what so euer is done if it agre i fro bytwene  
to the rule of Christ ye and therfore ought the fyre i the  
a thyng to be suspected bycause it plea- caues mouthes  
seth the moste parte It is a small flocke that the shado  
and euer shalbe to whom is plesaunt the wes of all thys  
symplycite or playnesse the pouertye the myght appere  
vertue of Christe It is a small flocke be- vpon the wall  
ryly but a blyssed as vnto whome dout- before them so  
lese is due onely the kyngdome of heuen shold they se no  
Strayte is the way of vertue and of very this but shado  
fewe troden on but none other leadeth to wes so be the  
lyfe To conclude wheder doth a wise bur- ignorāt i vnler  
der fetche his ensample of the most comen ned peple bound  
with the bonds  
that they never  
se the trouths  
with eyes of  
reason  
The flocke of  
good men is  
but small

and vsed or of the best werke. Paynters  
set afore them none but the best tables or  
patrons of ymagerye. Our ensample is  
Christ/in whom onely be all rules of blys-  
sed lyuing/ him may we cōtersayte with  
out excepcion. But in good and vertuous  
men it shall be mete that thou call to en-  
sample euery thyng/ so farre forthe as it

The come peo  
ple of chrysten  
men be moost  
corrupte.  
shall agre with þ fyrst ensample of Christ.  
As touchyng the comen sorte of christen  
men thynke thus þ they were never more  
corrupte/ no not amongest the gentyles/  
as appertayning to the opynions of their  
maners. More ouer as touchyng their  
saythe what opinyous they hane aduyse  
them. This surely is doutlesse and to be  
abydden by/ fayth without maners wor-  
thy of faythe preuayleth nothyng/ in so  
muche also that it groweth to a heape of

The maner of  
the worlde  
now a dayes.

Horace the  
poete.

dampnacyon. Serche the hystories of an-  
tyquite/ to them compare þ maners that  
be nowe adayes. Whan was vertue and  
trewe honesty more dispysed? Whan was  
so had in price richesse gotten not regarded  
whēce? In what Worlde at any tyme was  
trewer þ sayeng of Horacius: verly that  
lady money gyueth a wyfe with dowery/  
credence/ frendshyppe / noblenesse/ noble  
kynne and also beautye. And agayne this  
sayeng of the same Horace/noblenes and

vertue except a man haue good withall/  
is vylet than a rus she or a strawe. who re=  
deth not in good ernest that byting mocke  
of the same poete: Oh cytezyns cytezyns/  
fyrst seke money/ after seke vertue. whan  
was tydt or exesse more immoderat than  
nowe? whan was adultery and all other  
kyndis of vngaste lyuyng eyther more ap=br/>pet in the syght of euery man/or more vn  
punished/or els lesse had in shame/rebuke  
or abhomynacion? whyle princes fauoure  
their owne byces/in other men suffryng  
them vnpunysshed/& euery man accompa=br/>neth that moste comly and beautyfull to  
be done what soever is vsed and take vp  
amonge courtiers. To whom semeth not  
pouertye extreme yuell/ and vttermosse  
shame and rebuke? In tym paste against  
kepers of queenes/fylthy nygardes/glo=br/>tyous or gorgyous persons/louers and re=garders of money were caste in the tethe  
with rebukful & slaudrious scoffyngs/ and  
iesynges/ye with authoryte. And also in  
comedyes/tragydes/& other comed playes  
of the gentyles a great clappyng of han=br/>des and a showte was made for ioy of the  
ley people/whan byces were craftyly and  
properly rebuked & checked: at the whiche  
same byc<sup>s</sup> now a dayes beyng yuell pray=br/>sed there is made a showte & clappyng of

The lyberte  
of olde tyme;

M.J.

when the imba  
sadors of kyng  
philyp had of  
freed to phosyō  
grete gyftes &  
had exhortid  
him to receyue  
them sayenge  
thoughe you  
may spare the  
well ynough  
yet shall they  
be necessari for  
your chylde  
to whōe it shal  
be harde to op  
teyne to come  
to suchē honor  
as you are in/  
phosyō awerd  
If my children  
shal be like me  
this same pos-  
sessiō shal fynd  
the which hath  
brought me to  
se grete honour  
If they sholde  
be unlike me/3  
wyll not that  
they ryot be  
norysshed and  
augmentid at  
my coste.

handes for ioye euē of þ nobles & esates  
of christen men. The athenes in their  
men house apoynted for dysgylinges & con-  
terludes / coulde not forbear ne suffre a le-  
ster in playeng a certayne tragedie of Eu-  
ripides / to syng þ wordes of a certayne co-  
uetous man whiche pfferred money onely  
before all other cōmoditytes & pleasure of  
mans lyfe: and they wolde playnly hauē  
clapped out of the play / ye & violently cast  
out of the house the player with al þ fable  
except the poete by and by arysing vp had  
desired them to tary a lytle and beholde in  
what poynte that so great a wonderer at  
money shulde come. Howe many ensam-  
ples be there in the hystories of gentyles  
of them whiche of the comen welthe well  
gouerned & mynistred / brought nothyng  
in to their poore housholde but an honest  
opinyon or reputacion: whiche set more  
by fidelyte than mony / by chastyte thā by  
lyfe / whom neyther pspertyte coulde make  
proude / wilde & wanton / neyther aduersite  
coulde ouercome and make heuy herted/  
whiche regarded honest ieoperdies & dan-  
gers before voluptuousnesse & pleasures/  
whiche cōtentid only with þ consciens of  
pure life / desyred neyther honours neither  
rychesse / nor any other cōmoditytes of for-  
tune. And to ouerhyp & make no rehersall

of the holynesse of Phocion / of pouerty of fabricius was  
Fabricius more excellēt than riches: of the stronge & coragyous mynde of Camyllus / a noble man of Rome whome  
of h̄ straute & indifferēt iustyce of Brutus / no man coude make to posses  
of the chastyre of Pythagoras / of the tēpe rychesse or ry-  
tānce of Socrates / of the sōude & constant ceyue gyfes or  
vertue of Lato: & a thousāde most goodly to vse crafte or  
beames of al sortes of vertues whiche are fraude against  
red euery where in thy stories of þ lacede- his enemies in  
mōnes / of þ perces / of the athenes / & of the tyme of mora-  
romaynes to our great shame verily. Ho- tail warre.  
ly Aurelius Augustyne as he of hym selfe  
wytnelseth in þ cōmentaryes of his owne Camyll<sup>o</sup> was  
cōfessions / longe tyme before he put christ so constaunt of  
on hym dispysed money / couted honours mynde that no  
for naught / Was not moued with glory / tortune coude  
praye / or fame / & to voluptuousnesse kept moue hym nor  
the bridel so straute that he than a yonge no iuriy coude  
man was content with one lytle wenche / make hym vn-  
to whom he kept also promesse & fayth of kynde to the co-  
maryage. Such ensamples amonge cour- men welshe.  
tyers / amonge men of the churche: I wyll Brute slew his  
also saye amongst religyous persones own sonnes by  
shal not a man lyghtly fynde: or els if any cause they com-  
suche shall be / by and by he shall be por- spyred agaynst  
ted / wondred / or mocked at as it were an the coen welth  
asse amonge apes / he shall be called with pythagoras  
one boyce of al mē a dotyng foole / a grosse was the auctor  
heed / an ypocrite in nothing expert / male- of chast lyving  
cōly mad / & shal not be iuged to be a man. Socrates sayd  
A.ij.

The contynēce **S**o we chrissten men honour the doctrine  
of saynte Au<sup>r</sup> of Christ: so contrefayte we it that every  
where now adayes nothing is accompted  
more folysche/more vyle/more to be sha-  
med of thā to be a christē mā in dede/ with  
all the mynde & herte: as though þ eyther  
Christe in bayne had ben conuersant in  
erthe/or that christēdom were some other  
thyng nowe than in tyme past/or as it in-  
dyfferently p̄tayned not to al men. I wyll  
therfore that thou frome these men varp

**T**o be a very  
christē man is  
accompted eue-  
ry where a ve-  
ry vyle thyng  
With al thy mynde/ and esteeme the valure  
of euery thing by the cōmunyon or felow-  
shyp of Christ onely. Who thynketh it not  
euery where to be an excellent thyng/and  
to be nombred amonge þ chefe of all good  
thynges/ if a man discende of a worshyp-  
full stocke and of honourable ancestours/

**T**he vaurte of  
noble men.  
Whiche thyng they call noblenesse. Let it  
not moue the one whyt whan thou herest  
the wylle men of this Worlde/men of sad-  
nesse endued with great authorite/ so er-  
nestly disputyng of the degrees of their ge-  
nelogyes or lynage/hauyng their forheed  
and upper browes drawen togyder with  
very gret grauyte/ as it were a mater of a  
meruaylous diffyculte/ye & with great en-  
forcement bringyng forthe playne trysses.  
Nor let it moue the whan thou seest other  
so hygh mynded for þ noble actes of their

geantfathers or great geantfathers/ that  
thynde other in comparyson of them selfe  
scarle to be men:but thou laughyng at the  
errour of these men after þ maner of De-  
mocrytus halte compte( as trewe it is in laughed at  
dede)that the onely & moste perfyte noble- what soever  
nesse is to be regenerate in Christ/ & to be thynde was do  
grafted and planted in the body of him/to ne in the lyfe of  
be one body and one spyrit with god. Let mortallmen: it  
other men be kyngs sonnes:to the let it be semyd to hi so  
greatest honour that can be that thou art  
called/and arte so in dede/þ sonne of god. The cheefest  
Let them stande in their owne conceytes/ noblenesse is  
bycause they are daily conuersaunt in great to be the sonne  
princes courtes: chose thou rather to be of god.  
with Dauid vyle abiect in þ house of god.  
Take hede what maner felowes Christe  
choiseth/feble persons/fooles/vile as tou-  
chynge this worlde. In Adam we all are  
borne of lowe degré. In Christ we are all  
one thyng neyther hygh ne lowe of degré  
one more thā another. Very noblenesse is  
to dispysse this bayne noblenesse: very no-  
blenesse is to be seruāt to Christ. Thynke  
þē to be thyne ancestours whose vertues  
thou bothe louest and cōtrefaytest. Also  
harke what the true estymer of noblenesse  
said in the gospell agaynst the iewes whi-  
che boasted hemselfe to be of the generaci-  
on of Abrahām: a man verly not excellent

you may se he:  
re how Paule  
estemeth noble  
blodde.

only/not ryche only / not the conquerour  
of kyngs onely/but also for his diuyne vert  
tues lauded of god hym selfe. who wolde  
not thynke this to be a noble thyng & woz  
thy wherof a man might reioyce? Herke  
yet what they herde: ye are (said Christ) of  
your father the dyuell / & the dedes of your  
father ye do. And here also Paule how he  
estymeth gentle bloode/ acordynge to his  
maisters rule: Not al they (sayth he) whi-  
che be of cyrcumcisyon of Israell be israeli-  
tes/ neyther all they that be of the sede of  
Abraham be the sonnes of Abraham. It is  
a lwo degre and shamefull to serue fylthy-  
nesse/and to haue no kynred with Christ.  
Whiche knowlegeth kynred with no man  
but with suche as fulfylleth þ wyll of his  
father in heuen. He is with moche shame  
a bastarde whiche hath the dyuell to his  
father/ and veryly who so euer dothe the  
dedes of the dyuell hath the dyuell to his  
father/ except Christe lyed: but the truthe  
can not lye. The hyghest degree that can  
be is to be the sonne and heire of god/the  
brother and coheyre with Christe: what  
their badges and cognisaunces meane let  
them take hede. The badges of Christ be  
comen to all men/ & the most honourable  
whiche be þ crosse/ the crowne of thorne/  
the nayles/ the spere/ the signes or tokens.

The badges of  
true nobenes.

whiche Paule reloyseth to beare in his  
bodye. Of noblenesse therfore thou seest  
howe moche otherwyse I wolde haue the  
to iudge and thynke than the ley people  
ymagynne. Who calleth not hym blyssed/  
ryche & happy amonge the comen people Ryche men be  
whiche hath heaped togyther at home a <sup>not blessed.</sup>  
great deale of golde? But judge thou hym  
to be blyssed ynough he ye that he onely is  
blyssed whiche posselleth Christ/very fely-  
cye & of all thynges the best. Judge him  
happy whiche hath bought þ noble and  
precyous margaryte of pure mynde with  
the losse eyther of al his goodes or his bo-  
dy also/ whiche hath founde the treasour  
of wylisme precyouser than all ryches/  
whiche to be made ryche hath bought of  
Christ þ is mosie ryche golde purifyed and  
pued with fyre. what thyngs thā be these  
whiche the comen people wondreth at/as  
golde/pcious stones/lyuelode : in a wrōge what is ryches  
name they be ryches/ in þ true name they  
be very thornes/ which choke þ fede of the  
woorde of god/ according to þ parable of the  
gospell. They be packes or fardels with  
whiche who soever be ladē neyther can fo-  
low poore Christ by strayte waye neyther  
enter by þ lowe dore into the kingdom of  
heuen. Thynke not thyselfe better by one  
heere if thou shuldest passe i riches eyther

Mydas & Cre-  
sus were two  
ryche kynges.

There is no  
domage in the  
losse of ryches.

Ayax in his  
madnes han-  
ged vp two gre-  
te swyne suppo-  
syng the one  
to haue bene  
Agamenō the  
other vlyxres  
his two mor-  
tall enemyes  
thā with moch  
laughte he ra

Mydas or Cresus / but thynke thyselfe  
more boūde/more tangled/more ladē. He  
hath habūdantly ynough that can bitter-  
ly dispysse suche thynges. He is prouyded  
for suffyciently to whom Christ promysed  
nothing shulde be lackyng. He shal not be  
an hungred to whose mouthe manna of  
the worde of god semeth plesant. He shall  
not be naked whiche hath put Christ upon  
hym. Thinke this only to be a losse as oft  
as any thyng of godlynnesse is mynished/  
& any thing of vyses is encreased. Thinke  
it a great lucre or aduauntage whan thy  
mynde through encrease of vertue is ware  
better. Thynke thou lackest nothyng as  
longe as thou possessest hym in whom is  
al thyng. But what is this whiche wret-  
ches call pleasure? surely it is nothing leſſe  
than þ it is called. What is it than? pure  
madnesse it is / and playnly (as grekes be  
wont to say) the laughter of Ayax / sweete  
poyson/plesaunt mischefe. Trewe & onely  
pleasure is the inwarde ioy of a pure con-  
science. The moste noble & deynest dyslhe  
that can be is the study of holy scripture.  
The most delectable songes be þ psalmes  
endyted of the holy ghost. The most plea-  
sant felowshyp is þ comunyon of al sayn-  
tes. The hyest deynetes of all is þ fruycion  
and enjoyeng of the very truthe. Pourge

note thy eyen/pourge thy eates/pourge ged against the  
thy mouthe/ & Christ shall begyn to wate castynge many  
swete & plesant to the whiche fasted ones iuryes in  
samerly: ye if milesij sibarite if all incontyn theyr teeth/but  
ment cyttours & epicuryens shortly if the com to his wyf  
universyte of ymagyners and deuyseres of tes agayne he  
plesures shulde heape togyder al their kylled hym self  
teryngh subtylites & deynty dylshes/in com- for shame and  
panyson of him only they shal seeme to pro- sorow/ so bicaus  
woke þ to spue. That is not by & by swete foloweth myself  
whiche is sauety/but that which is sau- chese/it maye  
ry to a hole man:if water haue the taste of be well called  
wyne to hym whiche burneth in a hote fe the laughter.  
ner no man wyll call that a plesure but a Melosij Siber  
disease. Thou art disceyued if thou byleue te were people  
not þ the very teetes be moche more plea- whiche I rued  
sant to devout and holy men than be to drylcately  
wicked men laughyng/ mockynges/ ge- Epycure put  
lynges or scotynges: if thou also byleue felycite in vo-  
not fasting to be sweter to þ one thā to the whiche sauou- luptuousnes.  
other plouers/quayles/felantes/ptriches reth to a hole  
pyke/troute/po:pas/ or the fresshe struge. That is swete  
And the moderate bordes of thone apoynt  
ed with herbes & frutes to be moch more  
delycate than the costly & disdaynful feest  
of thoþer. Fynally the true plesure is for  
the loue of Christe not to be ones moued  
with false apparaunt pleasures. Beholde  
nowe howe moche the worlde abuseth the  
names of loue and hate. Whan a folyshe

Folyshe loue.

yonge man is clere out of his wytte and  
madde for a wenches sake/that the comen  
people calleth loue/and yet is there no be  
tyer hate in the worlde. Trewe loue euen  
with his owne losse desyreteth to se vnto a-  
nother mans profite. Whervnto loketh he  
sauie vnto his owne pleasure/therfore he  
loueth not her but hymselfe:yet loueth he  
not hym selfe verily/for no man can loue  
another except he loue hym selfe fyrst/ye s  
except he loue hym selfe aryght. No man  
can hate any man atall except he first hate  
hym selfe. Neuerthelesse somtyme to loue  
well is to hate well/and to hate well is  
to loue well. Who soever therfore for his  
lytle pleasure(as he supposest it)layeth a  
wayte & gothe aboute to begyle a mayden  
with flaterynge and gyftes/with fayre pro-  
messes/to plucke from her the best thynge  
she hath/that is to wete her perfytnesse/  
her chastyte/her symplycite/her innocencie/  
her good mynde/& her good name/Whe-  
ther semeth this man to hate or to loue?  
Certaynely there is no hate more cruell  
than is this hate/whan the folyssh father  
and mother fauour the byces of their chyl-  
dren:the comen sayeng is/ howe tenderly  
loue they their chyldren. But I praye the  
howe crewelly hate they their chyldren  
whiche (whyle they folowe their owne

Tendernes to:  
wardes theyr  
chyldren.

affetyons) regarde not at all the welthe  
of their chyldren. What other wyssheth to  
vs our mooste hatefull enemye the dyuell/  
than that we here synnyng vnpunysshed  
wulde fall in to eternall punysshment.  
They cal him an easy mayster and a mer-  
eyfull prince/ whiche at certayne greudous  
offenses eyther wynke or fauoure them/  
that the more vnpunysshed men sinne/the  
more boldely & at large they might synne.  
But what other thynge thretneth god by  
his prophete to them whome he iudgeth  
vnworthy of his mercy: I wyl not (sayth  
he) bysyte their doughters whan they cō-  
myt fornicacyon/ nor their doughters in-  
lawe whan they comytte adultery. Unto  
Dauid what promysed he. I wyl (saythe  
he) with a rodde loke vpō their inquites/  
and with whypes their synnes / but I  
wyl not take my mercy from them. Thou  
seest howe all thynges are renewed in  
Christe/ and howe the names of thynges  
are chaunged. who souuer loue hym selfe  
otherwise thā well/hateth himselfe deed-  
ly. who soeuere be yuell mercyfull towarde  
him selfe is a tyrant mooste cruell. To care  
well is not to regarde. To hurte well is  
to do good. To distroye well is to sauē.  
Thou shalte care well for thy selfe if thou  
shalte dispysse the desyres of the flesche/

if in good maner thou shalt rage agayn  
byces/ thou shalte do to the man a good  
tourne. If thou shalt kyll the synner thou  
shalte saue the man. If thou shalt destroy  
that man hath made/ thou shalte restore  
that god hath made. Come of nowe and  
let vs go further: what thynketh the er-  
roure of the people power/ wyckednesse/  
manhode/ & cowardnesse to be? Call they  
not hym myghty whiche can lyghtly hurt  
whom hym lyft: though it be a very ody-  
ous power to be able to hurte/ for in that  
are they resembled to noysome wormes  
and scorpions/ and to to the dyuell hym  
selfe/ þ is to wete in doyng harme. Onely  
god is myghty in dede/ whiche neyther  
can hurte if he wolde/ neyther yet wolde  
if he coulde/ for his nature is to do good.  
But this myghty felowe howe dothe he  
I beseche the hurte a man? He shall take  
away thy money? he shal beate thy body?  
he shall robbe the of thy lyfe? If he do it  
to hym that serueth god well/ he hath  
done a good dede in stede of an yuell: but  
and if he haue done it to an yuell man/ the  
one hath mynystered an occasyon veryly/  
but the other hath hurte hym selfe: for no  
man is hurte but of hym selfe. No man  
gothe aboute to hurte another except the  
same man hathe moche more greuously

hurte hym selfe aforehande. Thou enfor-  
set to hurte me in my money or goodes.  
Howe hast thou through the losse of cha-  
rte hurte thy selfe most greuously. Thou  
canste nat fasten a wounde in me/ but if  
thou haue receyued a wounde moche more  
greuous. Thou canste not take from me  
the lyfe of my body/ onelesse thou haue  
slayn thyne own soule before. But Paule  
whiche to doo wronge was a man very  
weake and feble/ to suffre wronge mosie  
valyaunt and stronge/ reioyseth that he  
coulde do all thyngē in Christe. They call  
him every wher manly and bolde whiche  
beyng fyerce and of impotent mynde/ for  
the leest displeasure that can be ragedh se-  
beth/ or boyleth in wrathe/ and acquiteth  
a shrewde worde with a shrewde worde/ a  
checke with a checke/ one yuel turne with  
another. On the other syde who so euer  
whan he hath receyued wronge maketh  
nothing a do/ but dissymuleth as no suche  
thing were done/ him thy call a cowarde/  
a dasstatde hertlesse mete for nothyngē: ye  
but what is more contrary to þ greatnesse  
of the mynde than with a lytell worde to  
be put asyde from the quyet and constacy  
of the spryte/ and to be so vnable to set at  
naught another mans folyschnesse / that  
thou shuldest thinke thyselfe to be no man

A bolde man  
and a stronge  
man dede.

True prayse.

except thou shuldest ouercome one shrewe  
tourne with another. But howe moche  
more manfull is it with an excellent and  
large mynde to be able to dispysse al maner  
inuryes / and more ouer for an yuell dede  
to recompence a good? I wolde not call  
hym a bolde man whiche durste feoparde  
on his enemy / whiche scale castell or towyn  
walles / whiche (his lyfe not regarded) put  
teth hym selfe in all maner ieoperdyes / a  
thing comen almost to al warryours / but  
who so euer coulde ouercome his owne  
mynde / who so euer coulde wyll the good  
whiche dothe hym harme / prayse for them  
whiche curse him. To this man is due the  
propre name of a bolde and stronge man  
and of excellent mynde. Lette vs also dis-  
cussse another thyng / what the worlde cal-  
leth prayse / rebuke / and shame. Thou art  
praysed / for what cause and of whom? if  
for fylthy thynges and of fylthy persons /  
this verly is a falle praysse and a trewere  
buke. Thou art disprayed / thou art mo-  
ked or laughed at / for what cause and of  
whom? for godlynnesse & innocency / & that  
of yuell men: this is not a rebuke / no ther  
is no trewer prayse. Be it þ all the worlde  
repreue / refuse / & disallowe it / yet can it not  
be but glorious & of great prayse þ Christ  
approueth. And though what soeuer is in

the worlde agre/consent / & alowe/cryeng  
with a shoute þ is a noble dede/ yet can it  
not be but shamfull that displeaseth god.  
They call wylisme euery where to gette  
good stoutly/ whan it is gotten to mayn-  
tayne it lustely/ & to prouyde longe before  
for þ tyme to come: for so we here the saye  
everywher & in good ernest of the whiche  
in shorte tyme gate substaunce somwhat  
habundantly/ he is a thrifty man/ ware  
and wise/circumspect & prouydent. Thus  
saythe the worlde whiche is bothe a lyer  
hym selfe and also his father. But what  
saythe veryte: foole saythe he/ I wyll  
set agayne this nyght thy soule from the.  
He had fyllid his barnes with corne/ he  
had stufed his store houses with prouy-  
syon of all bytayles/ and had layde vp at  
home haboundantly of money ynough:  
he thought nothyng was to be doone  
more. Thus had he doone/ not bycause  
he intended as a nedye keper to sytte a-  
brode on his rychesse heaped togyther/as  
the poetes sayne the dragon to haue kept  
the golden flece (whiche thing men do al-  
most everywhere) but he entended to haue  
spente soously/ & yet dothe þ gospell call  
this mā a foole. For what is more folissh/  
what is more grosse ymagination or more  
wondresse than to gape at the shadowes/

whyle we gape and lose the very thinges / a thing whiche  
at shadowes we lose the very thynges / as dogge of ysope: and in the maners of chris-  
tian men is it not more to be laughed at,  
we be wonte to laughe at in the famous  
the dogge of ysope whiche  
whil he gaped or rather to be wept at. He may be comp-  
at the shadow ted a rude and vndererte merchaunt that  
lost his bone in knewe not this sayeng of Therence: To  
the water.

refuse money at a seasone is somtyme a  
great aduaantage / or who so euer wold  
receyue a lytle aduaantage in hande whan  
he knewe great losse shulde folowe. How  
moche more folyschnesse and vnaduysed-  
nesse is it to make puyssion with so great  
care for this presente lyfe whiche is but a  
shadow / euery hour redy to fayle: namely  
whā god (if we byleue þ gospel) wyl mi-  
nyster althing necessary for this lyfe / if we  
haue confydence in hym / & for the lyfe to  
come to make no prouysion at all whiche  
we must lede away full of myserie & wret-  
chydnesse / if puyssion be not made nowe a  
forhāde with great dyligēce. Here another  
errour / they cal him perelesse polityke & in  
all thyngs expert / whiche herknyng for all  
maner tydylnges knoweth what is done  
throughout all the worlde / what is the  
To herken for chaunce of merchaundysse / what the kyng  
tydylnges out of Englannde entendeth / what newe thyng  
of all contryses is doone at Rome / what is chaunseed in  
is rebuked. Fraunce / howe the danes & the sytes lyue /

What maters great prynces haue in counsele: to make an ende shortly / who euer can babble with all kyndes of men of all maner busynes / hym they say to be wylle. But what can be farther from the thought of a wise man / or nere to þ nature of a foole than to serche for those thynges which be done aferre of & pteyne to the nothyng at al / & not so moch as ones veryly to thinke on those thyngs whiche are done in thyne owne brest & perteyne to the onely. Thou tellest me of the trouble & busynes of england / tell me rather what trouble maketh in thy brest / wrath / envy / bodily lust / ambycyon / how nygh these be brought in to subiection / what hope is of victory / how moche of this hoost is put to flyght / how reason is decked or appoynted. In these thyngs yf thou shalt be watching & haue a quycke eare & also an eye / yf thou shalte smell / yf thou shalt be circūspecte / I wyll call the polytyke & peerles: & that thynge whiche the world is wont to cast agayn us / I wyll horle agayne at hym: he is not wise at al / which is not wise for his owne pfyte. After this maner yf thou shalt examine all the cares of mortall men / theyr ioyes hopes feares studyes / theyr myndes or iudgemētes / thou shalt fynde all thyng full of errore whyle they call good euyl / &

euyll good/whyle they make swete soure  
and soure swete:make light darknes/and  
darknes lyght. And this sort of men is the  
more parte by a great deale. Notwithsta-  
dying thou must euen at ones bothe desye  
them and set no store of them / leest thou  
woldest be mynded to be lyke them: and  
also pite them so that thou woldest fayne  
haue them lyke vnto the. And to vse the  
wordes of saynt Augustyn:than is it mete  
bothe to wepe for them whiche are wort-  
hy to be laughed at / & to laugh at them  
which are worthy to be wepte for. Be not  
in euyll thyngs cōfirmable to this woldē  
but be reformed in the newe wyte / that  
thou mayst approue not tho thyngs whi-  
che men wonder at/but what is the wyll  
of god / whiche is good/well pleasyngē &  
pſyte. Thou art very nygh leopardy & no  
doute falleſt ſodeynly from the true waye  
þf thou ſhalte begyn to loke aboute the  
what þ moſte parte of men do/& to herken  
what they thynke or ymagyn : but ſuffre  
thou whiche art the chylde of lyfe and of  
lyght also that deed men bury theyr deed  
bodies:& let the blynde capteyns of blynde  
men go away togyder in to the dyche: ſe  
thou ones moue not the eyes of thy herte  
any whether from the fyſt patron & cheſe  
ensample of Chryſte. Thou ſhalte not go

out of the waye / yf thou folowe the guyng  
of verite. Thou shalte not humble  
in darknes / yf thou walke after lyght / the  
lyght shynynge before the : yf thou shalte  
separate coloured good thinges / frō good  
thyngs in dede: and euyll thynges in dede  
from apparaunt euyll thynges thou shalt  
abhorre and not counterfeyte the blyndnes  
of the comune people ragynge & chafyng  
them selfe after the maner of the ebbynge  
and flowing of the see at the mosse bayne  
illusyons and worldly thynges / with cer-  
teyn cortesyes of affections of wrathe/en-  
uye/loue/hate/hope/feare/joye/sorowe/  
ragynge more unquietly than any Eurip<sup>9</sup>.  
The Bragmanyes / Lynikes / Stoikes be  
wonte to defende theyr pryncypies stysly  
with tothe & nayle: & euē the hole worlde  
repugnyng / all men cryenge & barkynge  
agaynst them / yet holde they stysly that  
thyng wherinto they ones haue gyuen  
faire credence. Be thou bolde lykewyse to  
fasten surely in thy mynde the decrees of  
thy secte. Be bolde without mystrust / and  
with all that thou canst make to folowe  
the mynde of thyne authour / departyng  
from all contrary oppynions & sectes.

Eurippus is a  
certayne place  
in the see wher  
the flood chaū-  
geth seuen ty-  
mes in a day &  
as ofte a night  
so that no shyp  
cā sayle agaist  
the streme.

Bragmanyes  
were people of  
a certayne Ile  
in Indea with  
whom al this  
were comune &  
they lyued per  
fuly despisyngh  
riches possessio-  
ns & all world-  
ly thynges.

Cunikes be the  
folowers of dy-  
ogenes the phi-  
losopher which  
chorlishly chec-  
keth the ryces  
of men.

Here folowen oppynions mete  
for a chysten man. Capl.xv.  
¶.ii.

**L**et this excellent lernyng and para-  
doxes of the true chrysten fayth be  
sure and stedfast with the/that no christen  
man may thynke that he is borne for him  
selfe: neyther ought to haue the mynde to  
lyue to himselfe;but what so euer he hath  
what so euer he is/ that all togyther lette  
hym ascribe not to hym self/but vnto god  
the authour therof/ & of whome it came/  
all his goodes let hym thynke to be com-  
mune to all men. The charite of a christen  
man knoweth no properte : let hym loue  
good men in Chryst / euyll men for Chry-  
stes sake / whiche so loued vs fyrlt whan  
we were yet his ennemyes/that he besto-  
wed hymselfe on vs all togyder for our re-  
dempcyon : let hym embrace the one by-  
cause they be good: the other neuertheles  
to make them good:he shall hate no man  
at all/no more verly than a faithful phi-  
sician hateth a sycke man : let hym be an  
ennemy onely vnto vices: the greater the  
disease is/ the greater cure wyll pure cha-  
rite put thereto : he is an adulter / he hath  
comytted sacrilege/he is a turke:let a chi-  
sten man defye the adulter / not the man:  
let hym despyle the comyutter of sacrilege/  
not the man : let hym kyll the turke/not  
the man : let hym fynde the meanes that  
the euyll man perysche suche as he hathe

A chrysten man  
is not borne  
for hym selfe  
eyther to fo-  
lowe his owne  
pleasure.

we must defye  
& abhorre the  
vices/but not  
the man.

made hym selfe to be / but let the man be  
saued whom god made: let hym wyll well  
wysse well / and do well to all men bn-  
fapnedly: neyther hurte them whiche ha-  
ue deserued it / but do good to them whi-  
che haue not deserued it : let hym be glad  
of all mens cōmoditytees as well as of his  
owne / & also be sorry for all mens harmes  
none otherwyse than for his owne. For  
verly this is that whiche thistle com-  
maudeth: to wepe with them that wepe/  
to ioye with them that ioyen/ yea let hym  
rather take an other mans harme greou-  
ser thā his owne: & of his brothers welthe  
be gladder than of his owne. It is not a  
christē mans parte to thynke on this wise  
what haue I to do with this felowe / I  
knowe not whether he be blacke or white  
he is unknowen to me/he is a straunger to  
me / he never dyd ought for me / he hathe  
hurt me somtyme/but dyd me never good  
Thynke none of these thinges: remembre  
onely for what deseruyng can those thyn-  
ges whiche Chryſt hath done/for þ which  
wolde his kyndnes done to the sholde be  
recompensed / not in hym selfe/ but in thy  
neyghbour. Onely se of what thynges he  
hath nede / & what thou art able to do for  
hym. Thynke this thyng onely/he is my  
brother in our lordē coheyre in Chryſte / a

membre of the same body / redemed with  
one blode/a felowe in þ comune sayth/call-  
ed vnto þ very same grace & felicite of the  
lyfe to come/euen as the apostle sayd one  
body and one spreyt as ye be called in one  
hope of your callyng one lorde & one faith  
one baptisme/one god/ & father of al whi-  
che is aboue all & euerywhere/ & in all vs/  
how can he be a straunger to whome thou  
art coupled with so manyfolde bondes of  
vnite? Among the gentyles let those circu-  
staunces of rethoricyens be of no lytel va-  
lure & weyght/eyther vnto benvolence or  
vnto maliuolēce/he is a citezi of þ same ci-  
te/he is of aliaūce/he is my cosin/he is my  
familiar frende/he is my fathers frende/he  
hath wel deserued/he is kynde/borne of an  
honest stock/riche or otherwise. In Christ  
all these thynges eyther be nothyng/or af-  
ter the mynde of Paule be al one/ & the ve-  
ry selfe same thyng: let this be euer present  
before thyne eyes/ & let this suffyse the/ he  
is my fleshe/ he is my brother in Chrysste.  
What soever is bestowed vpon any membre  
reboūdeth it not to all þ body/ & frō thens  
in to the heed? we al be membres echē one  
of an other/membres cleuyng togyder make  
a body. The heed of þ body is Jesu Christ  
the heed of Christ is god. It is done to the  
it is done to euery one/it is done to Christ

it is done to god : what so euer is done to  
any one membre which so euer it be / whe-  
ther it be well done or euyll : Alle these  
thynges are one / God / Chryst / the body /  
and the membres / that sayinge hathe no  
place cōuenyently amounge chysten men /  
lyke with lyke. And the other sayinge dy-  
uersite is mother of hate : for unto what  
purpose perteynen wordes of discencyon  
wher so great vnite is / it sauoureth not  
of chysten fayth that cōmunity a courtier  
to a towne dweller : one of the countree  
to an inhabyter of the cite : a man of hygh  
degree / to an other of lowe degree : an of-  
ficer / to hym that is offycelesse : the ryche  
to the poore : a man of honour / to a byle  
psone : the myghty to the weyke : the ita-  
lyen to the germane : the frenshe man to  
the englysshman : the englysshe to þ scotte :  
the gramaryen to the dyuyne : the logycy-  
ner to the gramaryen : the phisician to the  
man of lawe : the lerned to the vnlerned :  
the eloquent to hym that is not facounde  
and lacketh vtteraunce : the syngle to the  
marayed : the yonge to the olde : the clarke  
to the laye man : the preest to the monke :  
the Carmelytes to the Jacobytes : & that  
(leest I reherse all dyuersytees) in a very  
tryfle unlyke to unlyke / is somewhat par-  
cial & vnkynde : where is charite whiche lo-

Charyte is not ueth euē his ennemy : whā the surname  
in them which chaunged / whan the colour of the vesture  
hate an other man bycause a lytel altered / whā the gyrdle or the shoo  
his vesture or garmente is a and lyke fantasies of men make me hated  
lytell altered unto the ? why rather leauē we not these  
and chaunged. childys / he tryfles / & accustomē to haue be-  
fore our eyes that whiche pteyneth to the  
very thyng : wherof Paule warneth vs in  
many placys / that al we in Chryſt our heed  
be membres of one body / endued with life  
by one spiryte (yf so be we lyue in hym) so  
that we sholde neyther enuy the happyer  
membres / & sholde gladly socour & ayde the  
weyke membres : that we myght pceyue þ  
we our selfe haue receyued a good turne /  
whan we haue done any benefyce to our  
neyghbour : & that we our selfe be hurte /  
whan hurte is done to our brother / & that  
we myght understande how no mā ought  
to study pryuateley for hymselfe / but euery  
man for his owne parte sholde bestowe in  
cōmune that thing whiche he hath recey-  
ued of god / that all thyngs myght redūde  
& reboūde thyder agayne / frō whens they  
spronge / that is to wyte / frō þ heed. This  
verly is the thyng whiche Paule wyp-  
teth to the Corynthes / saying. As þ body  
is one & hath many membres / & all the mem-  
bres of the body though they be many / yet  
be they but one body. Euen so lykewise is

Let every mā  
bestowe in co-  
men what so-  
ever he recep-  
wed of god.

Chyff/for in one spiryt we be all baptised  
to make one body / whether we be iewes  
or gentyles/whether we be bonde or free/  
and all we haue dronke of one spiryte (for  
the body sayth Paule) is not one membre  
but many: yf the fote shall say / I am not þ  
hand / I am not of the body: is he therfore  
not of the body? yf the eare shall say / I am  
not the eye / I am not of þ body: is he ther-  
fore not of the body? yf all the body sholde  
be the eye / where is than the hearyng: yf  
all the body were þ hearyng / where than  
shold be the smellyng. But now god hath  
put the membres euery one of them in the  
body / as it pleased hym: for yf all were but  
one membre / where were þ body : but now  
verly ben there many membres / yet but  
one body. The eye can not say to the hand  
I haue no neede of thy helpe/or agayn the  
heed to the fete/ye be not to me necessary:  
but those mēbres of the body whiche seme  
to be þ weyker are moche more necessary:  
& to those whiche we thynke to be the bi-  
ler membres of the body we gyue more ha-  
boundaunt honour: & those whiche be our  
vn honest mēbres haue more haboundaunt  
honesty/ for our honest mēbres haue neede  
of nothyng. But god hath tempered & or-  
dred the body/ gyuyng plenteous honour  
to that parte whiche lacked/because there

Every membre  
hath his occu-  
pacyon necessa-  
rye to the pro-  
fite of the soule

Shold be no diuisioun/debate or stryfe in the  
body/but that the mēbres sholde care one  
for an other indifferently. But it is ye body  
che are the body of Chryſt & mēbres one  
dependyng of an other. He wrytereth lyke  
thyngs to the Romayns/saying in one bo-  
dy we haue many mēbres/ & all mēbres  
haue not one offyce. Euen so we beynge  
many are but one body in Chryſt: but syn-  
gularly we be mēbres eche one of another  
hauning gyftes dyuers after the grace whi-  
che is giuen to vs. And agayn to þ Ephes.  
Workyng verite (saith he) in charite/let vs  
in al maner thyngs grove in hym whiche  
is the heed/þ is to wyte Chryſt in whome  
all the body cōpacite & knyt by every toynt  
wherby one parte mynstreth to another  
accordyng to the operacion & vertue whi-  
che spryngeth of the heed & capacite of eve-  
ry membre/in receyuynge maketh the en-  
crease of the body for the edifyeng of hym  
self in charite. And in another place he bid-  
deth euery man to beare one anothers bur-  
den/because we be mēbres one of another.  
Loke than whether they pteyn unto this  
body whome thou hearest spekyng every-  
where after this maner / it is my good/ it  
came to me by inheritance/I posseſſe it by  
cyght & not by fraude/why shall not I vſe  
it and abuse it after myne owne mynde/

Whyp sholde I gyue them of it any deale at  
all to whome I owe nothyng / I spyll / I  
waste / I destroye / that whiche peryssheth  
is myne owne / it maketh no mater to o-  
ther men. Thy membre complayneth and  
gremmeth for hunger / and thou spewest vp  
partryges. Thy naked brother shuereth  
for colde / & with the so great plenty of ray-  
met is corrupte with mothes & long lyeng  
One nyghtes dicing hath lost the a thou-  
sand peces of golde / whyle in the meane  
season some wretched wenche (nede com-  
pellynge her) hath set forth her chasite to  
sell / & is become a cōmune harlot / & thus  
peryssheth þ soule for whome Christ hath  
bestowed his lyf. Thou sayst agayn: what  
is that to me / I entreate þ whiche is myne  
owne after myne owne fascion: & after all  
this with this so corrupte mynde thynkest  
thou thy selfe to be a chystē man / whiche  
art not ones a man verly? Thou hearest  
in the presence of a greate multytude the  
good name or fame of this or þ man to be  
hurt / thou holdest thy peace / or paduēture  
reioyseth & art well cōtent with þ backby-  
ter. Thou sayst I wolde haue reproued hi  
þf those thinges whiche were spoken had  
þteyned to me / but I haue nothyng ado  
with hym whiche was there sclaudered.  
Than to conclude / thou hast nothyng

ado with the body / yf thou haue no thyng  
ado with the membre / neyther hast thou  
ought ado with the heed / verly yf þ body  
no thyng ap teyne to the. A man say they  
now a dayes) with violence may defende &  
put abacke violece: what the Emperours  
lawes pnyt I passe not theron. This I  
meruaile how these boyces came in to the  
maners of chysten men / I hurt hym / but  
I was puoked / I had leuer hurt than be  
hurt. Be it mans lawes punishe not that  
which they haue pnytted. But what wyl  
the Emperour Chryste do / yf thou begyle  
his lawe whiche is wryten in Mathewe.  
I comande you (sayth Chryst there) not  
ones to withstande harme: but yf a man shall  
gyue the a blowe on the ryght cheke / offre  
to him also þ other. And who so euer wyll  
stryue with the in the lawe / & take frō the  
thy cote / yelde vp to hym also thy cloke or  
matell. And who so euer shall compell the  
to go with him one myle / go with hi two  
mo other. Loue your enemys / & do good  
to them whiche hate you / & pray for them  
which psecute you & pyke maters agaynst  
you / that ye may be þ sones of your father  
which is in heuen / which maketh þ sonne  
to ryse vpon good & euyll / & sendeth rayne  
vpon iust and iniust. Thou answerest / he  
spake not this to me / he spake it to his a<sup>2</sup>

Desyre not  
vengeaunce.

postles / he spake it to pſyte pſons . Herdeſt thou not how he ſayd that ye may be the ſones of your father : yf thou care not to be the ſone of god / that lawe pteineth not to the . Neuertheleſſe he is not good verly whiche wolde not be pſyte . Harke also an other thyngē : yf thou desyre no rewarde / the comāndemēt belongeth not to the : for it foloweth . If ye loue them whiche loue you / what rewarde ſhall ye haue : as who ſhuld ſay none : for verly / to do theſe thin-  
ges ( þ is to ſaye / to loue them that loueth the ) is not vertue : but not to do it / is an euyll thyngē : there is dette of neyther syde where is iuſt recōpence made of bothe ſy-  
des . Here Paule bothe a great wyſe man & connyngē & an interpretour also of Chriſtis lawe . Bleſſe ( ſayth he ) them þ pſecute you / bleſſe them & curse them in no wyſe / rendryngē to no man euyll for euyll / yf it may be almoche as in you is / hauyng reſt & peace with all men / not defendyng your ſelſe my beſt beloued bretherne / but gyue place & withstande ye not wrathe : for it is written . Vengeaūce ſhal be reſerued to me & I wyll quyte them ſayth our lorde . But yf thyne ennemy ſhall be hungry / gyue to hym meate : yf he be athurſt / gyue to hym drynke : for yf thou do thiſ / thou ſhalt hepe coles of fyre upon hiſ hced / that is to ſay /

This is ſpoke  
to all chyſten  
men .

To a chrysten  
man/ it is bet-  
ter to suffre than  
to doo.

The decree of  
chrysten men.

. thou shalt make hym to loue fetuētly. Be  
not ouercome of euyll/but ouercome euyl  
in goodnes. What shall than folowe sayſ  
thou/ yf I ſhal with my ſoftnes nouryſſhe  
vp the knappyſhnes or malyce & frowarde  
audacite of an other man/ & in ſuffeyng an  
olde iniury prouoke a newe? If thou can  
without thyne owne euyll eyther auoyde  
or put by euyll/ no man forbyddeth the to  
do it: but yf not/ loke thou ſay not it is bet-  
ter to do thā to ſuffre. Amend thyne erne  
my yf thou can/ eyther ladynge hym with  
benefites/or ouercomyng him with meke-  
nes: yf that helpe not/ it is better that the  
one periyſſhe thā bothe: it is better yf thou  
ware ryche with the lucre & aduaūtage of  
pacyence than that whyle eyther to other  
rendreth euyll/ bothe be made euyll. Let  
this therfore be a decree amonge chryſten  
men/ to compare with all men in loue/ in  
mekenes & in benefytes/or doynge good:  
but in ſtryuyng hate or backbytyng/in re-  
bukes & iniury/ to gyue place euē to them  
that be of lowest degré/ & that with good  
wyll. But he is unworthy to whome a  
good turne ſholde be done/or an euyll for  
gyuen/ yet is it mete for the to do it/ and  
Chryſt is worthy for whose ſake it is done  
I wyll neyther (ſaye they) hurte any man  
neyther ſuffre my ſelf to be hurt: yet whan

you art hurt/se thou forgyue the trespass  
with all thy herte / prouydynge alwayes  
that nothyng be whiche any man sholde  
comynte or forgyue vnto the. Be as ware  
diligent in auoydynge that none offence  
w trespass procede from the / as thou art  
easy and redy to remytte an other mans. Offences must  
The greater man thou art / so moche the be forgyuen.  
more submytte thy selfe/that thou in cha-  
rite aplly thy self to al men. If thou come  
of a noble stock/maners worthy of Chryſt A gentylman  
shall not dishonour / but honour þ noble-  
nes of thy byrth. If thou be conyng & wel A conyng man  
lerned / so moche the more soberly suffre &  
amende the ignorance of þ unlerned. The  
more is comynted & lent to þ/the more art  
thou bounde to thy brother. Thou art ry-  
the/ remembre thou art the dispeler/not the  
lorde:take heede circūspectly how thou en-  
treatest the comune good. Byleuest thou  
that þprete or ipropriacyon was þhybyte þouerte is not  
& voluntary pouerte enioyned to monkes enioyned to  
only? Thou art deceyued/ bothe þteyne monkes only.  
indifferently to all chyſten men. The lawe  
punisbeth þ yf thou take away any thing  
of an other mans:it punisbeth not if thou  
withdrawe thyne owne frō thy nedys bro-  
ther:but Chryſt wyl punysh both. yf thou  
be an ofſicer/let not the honour make the  
more fyerce / but let the charge make the

more diligent & fuller of care. I beare not  
(sayst thou) no offyce of the chyrche/I am  
not a shepheard or a bysshop. Let vs graunt  
you that/ but also art thou not a chyisten  
man/consyder thou of whens thou art/ys  
thou be not of þ chyrche. So gretly Chryſt  
is comen in to contēmpte to the Worlde/  
that they thynke it a goodly and excellēt  
thyng to haue nothyng to do with hym:  
& that so moche the more euery man sholde  
be despysed the more coupled he were to  
hym. Hearest thou not dayly of the lay p-  
sones in theyr fury the names of a clarke/  
of a preest/of a monke/to be cast in our tē-  
thes/in stede of a sharpe and cruell rebuke  
saying thou clarke/thou preest/thou mon-  
ke/that thou art:& þ is done/utterly with  
none other mynde/with none other boyce  
or pñouncynge/than ys they sholde cast in  
our tēthes incest or sacrilege. I verily mer-  
uayle why they also cast not in our tēthes  
baptyn/why also obiect they not agaynst  
vs with the sarazyns the name of Chryſt  
as an obprobrious thyng. If they sayd an  
euyl clarke/an unworþy preest/or an un-  
relijous monke/in þ they myght be suf-  
fred as men which note the maners of the  
psones/& not despyle the pfessyon of ver-  
tue. But who so euer counteth prayse in  
them self the deflouryng of virgyns/good

Incest is to me  
dell with theyr  
owne kynde

Sacrilege is  
to violate per-  
sones sacred to  
god/or to rob  
churches.

taken awaie in warre/money eyther won  
or lost at dyce or other chaunce/ and haue  
nothing to lay against another man more  
spytfull or obprobrious or more to be a-  
shamed of/than the names of a monke or  
a preest. Certaynly it is easy to conjecture  
what these/ in name onely christen men  
iudge of Christ. There is not one lorde of  
the bysshops and another of the tempo-  
rall offykers/but bothe be vnder one/ and  
to the same bothe muste gyue accomptes:  
If thou loke any other wherre saue unto  
hym onely/ eyther whan thou receyuest  
thoffyce or whan thou mynistrest it/ it ma-  
keth no mater though the Worlde call the A symonyake  
not a symonyake/he surely wyl punylshe  
the as a symonyake. If thou labour and  
make meanes to obtayne a comen offyce/  
not to profite in comen/but to prouyde for  
thyne owne welthe priuatly/ and to ad-  
uenge thy selfe of them to whome thou  
owest a grudge/thy office is bribery or ro-  
bery afore god. Thou hūtest after theues  
not that he shulde receyue his owne that  
is robbed/but leest it shulde not be with  
the whiche is with þ theues. How moche  
difference I pray theis there bytweene the  
theues & the/ excepte peraduenture þ they  
be the robbers of merchāutes/ & thou the  
robber of robbours. In conclusyon except

D.J.

A pretynote  
for shreves &  
other offykers.

thou beare thyne offyce with this mynde/  
that thou be redy / & that with the losse /  
wyll not say of thy goodes / but of thy lyfe  
to defende that whiche is ryght / Christe  
wyll not approue thy administracyon /  
wyll adde also another thyng of þ mynde  
or iudgemēt of Plato: No man is worthy  
of an offyce whiche is gladly in an offyce.  
If thou be a prince / beware leest these pe-  
rylous wytches the boyces of flaterers do  
enchaunt or bewytche the. Thou arte a  
lorde ouer the lawes thou arte fre / what  
soeuer thou doest is honest / to the is lau-  
full what soeuer thou lyst. Those thinges  
pertayne not to the whiche are preached  
dayly of preestes to the comen people: ye  
but thynke thou rather whiche is trewe /  
that there is one mayster ouer all men /  
and he is Christe Jesus / to whome thou  
oughtest to be as lyke as is possyble / to  
whom thou oughtest to confyrme thyselfe  
in all thynges / as vnto hym certaynely  
whose authorite or roume thou bearest.  
No man ought to folowe his doctryne  
more straptely than thou / of whome he  
wyl aske accomptes more straptly than of  
other. Thynke not streyghtwaye that to  
be ryght that thou wylte / but onely wyll  
thou whiche is ryght. What so euer maye  
be fylthy to any man in the worlde / se that

he is worthy  
to be an officer  
whiche is in  
offyce agaynst  
his wyll.

Christ is lorde  
bothe of laye  
men & also of  
preestes.

thou thynke not that an honest thyngē to  
the/ but se thou in no wyse permittē to  
thy selfe any thyngē whiche is vsed to be  
forgyuen and pardoned amonge the co-  
men sorte. That whiche in other men is  
but a small trespass / thynke in thy selfe  
to be a great outrage or excesse. Lette not  
thy rychesse greater than the comen peo-  
ples bringe vnto the honoure/reuerence/  
and dignyte/ fauoure/ and authorite: but  
lette thy maners better than the comen  
peoples biterly deserue them. Suffre not  
the comen people to wonder at those  
thynges in the/ wherwith are prouoked  
and entisid the very same mischeuous de-  
des whiche thou punysshēst dayly. Take  
away this wondryng & prayse of rychesse/  
& where be theues/ where be oppressours  
of the comen welthe/ where be cōmytters  
of sacrylege/ where be errāt theues & rob-  
bers or reuers: take away wondryng at vo-  
luptuousnes/ & wher be rauysshers of wo-  
men/ where be adulters. As often as thou  
wylt apere so what acordyng after thy de-  
gre amōge thy frendes & subiectes or them  
over whom thou bearest offyce/roume or  
authorite/ set not opē thy ryches & treasure  
to þ eyen of folysche persons. Whan thou  
wylt semē somwhat welthy/ shewe not in  
host the ryottous example of expence and

Desyre but  
that whiche  
is ryght.

The honesty  
of good ma-  
ners.

D:ij:

voluptuousnesse. First of al let them lerne  
in the to dispyle such thynges/ let them  
lerne to honoure vertue to haue measure  
in pryce/to reioyce in temperaunce/to gyue  
honour to sobre lowlynnesse or mekenesse.  
Let none of those thynges be sene in thy  
maners and conuersacyon/ whiche thyne  
authorite punysbeth in the maners and  
conuersacyon of the people. Thou shalte  
banysche yuell dedes in the beste wyle/ if  
men shall not se rychesse and voluptuous-  
nesse/the mater and grounde of yuell dedes  
to be magnyfied in the. Thou shalte not  
dispyle in cōparysyon of thy selfe any man/  
no not the bylest of the lowest degree/ for  
comen and indyfferent is the price wher-  
with ye bothe were redemed. Let not the  
noyse of ambpcion/neyther fiersnesse/ n ey-  
ther wepons/noz men of the garde defēde  
the from cōtempt but purenesse of lyuyng  
graunte/ maners vncorrupte and sounde  
from al maner byces of the comen people.  
Nothyng forbyddeth (in bearynge rule) to  
kepe þ chefe roume/ & yet in charyteto dis-  
cerne no roume. Thynke bearig of roume  
or rule to be this/ not to excell & go before  
other men in habundānce of rychesse/ but  
to profyte al men as moche as is possyble.  
Tourne not to thyne owne profyte thyn-  
ges whiche are comen/ but bestowe those

The rule of  
chrysten  
princes.

thynges whiche be thyne owne / & thyne  
owne selfe all togyther vpon the comen  
welthe. The comen people oweþ very  
many thynges to the / but thou oweſt all  
thynges to them. Though thyne eares be  
compelled to ſuffre names of ambycion /  
as moſte myghty / moſte christened / holy-  
neſſe / & maiellty / yet let thy mynde not be a  
knowen of the / but referre al theſe things  
vnto Christ to whom only they agre. Let  
the cryme of treſon agaynſt thyne own p-  
ſon (whiche other with great wordz make  
an haynous offeſce) be counted of þ a very  
tryſle. He byolateth the maiellty of a priuice The maielle  
of a priuice.  
in dede / whiche in the princes name dothe  
any thynge cruelly / byolētly / miſcheuously  
contrary to ryght. Let no mannes injury  
move the leſſe than þ whiche pertayneth  
to the priuatly: remembre thou arte a pu-  
blyke person / and that thou oughtest not  
to thynke but of comen maters. If thou  
haue any corage with the and redynesse of  
wytte / conſydre with thy ſelfe not howe  
great a man thou arte / but howe great a  
charge thou bearest on thy backe: and the  
more in ieoperdy thou arte ſo moche the  
leſſe fauour thyſelfe / fetchyng enſample of  
mynistryng thyne offyce not of thy prede- The manner &  
forme of beryn  
ge rule must be  
ſet of chyste.  
ceſſours or els of flaterers / but of Christe:  
for what is moze vnireasonable than that

a christen prince shulde set before hym for  
an ensample Hanyball/ great Alexandre/  
Cesar/or Pompey/in þ whiche same per-  
sons whan he can not attayne some cer-  
taine vertues/he shall counterfayte those  
thynges mooste chefely whiche onely were  
to be refused and auoyded. Let it not forth  
withall be taken for an ensample if Cesar  
haue done any thyng lauded in histories/  
but if he haue done any thyng whiche va-  
ryeth not from the doctryne of our lord  
Iesu Christ/or be suche that though it be  
not worthy to be contrefayted yet may it  
be applyed to the study or exercys of ver-  
tue. Let not an hole empyre be of so great  
valure to the that thou woldest wetyngly  
ones bowe from the ryght: put of that  
rather than thou shuldest put of Christ.  
Doute not Christ hath to make the amen-  
des for thempyre refused/ ferre better than  
the empyre. Nothing is so comly/so excel-  
lent/so glorious unto kynges as to drawe  
as nygh as is possyble unto the simylitude  
of the hyest kyng Iesu/whiche as he was  
the greatest so was he also the best. But  
that he was the greatest that dislymuled  
he and hydde secrete here in erthe: that he  
was the best/that had he leuer we shulde  
perceyue and fele / bycause he had leauer  
we shulde contrefayte that. He denped

what is comly  
for prynces.

Christ is the  
greatest/he is  
also the best.

his kyngdome to be of this woorde / whan  
he was lord of heuen and erthe also. But  
the princes of the gentyles vse domynion  
vpon them. A christen man exercyseth no  
power ouer his but charyte / & he whiche  
is the chefest thynketh hymselfe to be my=  
nister vnto all men / not mayster or lorde.  
Wherfore I meruayle þ more a great dele  
howe these ambycyous names of power  
and domynion were brought in / euē vñ  
to the very popes and bysshops / and that  
our diuynes be not ashamed no lesse vñ= The clergy is  
discreetly than ambyciously to be called e= touched of am  
verywhere our maysters / whā Christ for= bycyō & vayne  
bade his discyiples that they shulde not suf= tytles of  
fre to be called eyther lordes or maysters:  
for we must remēbre that one is in heuen  
both lorde & mayster Christ Jesus / whiche  
is also heed vnto vs al. Apostle / a sheparde  
a bysshop / be names of offyce or seruyce / The names  
not of domynion & rule: A pope / an abbot  
be names of loue / not of power. But why  
entre I in to þ great see of the cōmune er= of offyce,  
rours? vnto what soever kynde of men he  
shal turne himselfe / a very spūall mā shall  
se many thingz whiche he may laugh at / &  
mo whiche he ought to wepe at / he shall  
se very many opynyons to farre corrupte  
and varyeng from the doctrine of Christie  
bothe farre & wyde: of the whiche a great

D. viii.

parte springeth there hence/that we haue  
brought euен into christendom a certayne  
worlde/ and that whiche is redde of the  
worlde amonge the olde diuynes/ men of  
small lernyng nowe adayes referre to the  
whiche be not monkes. The worlde in the  
gospell with the apostels/with saynt Au-  
gystyne/Ambrose/and Hierome be called  
infydelis straungers from the faythe/ the  
enemyes of the crosse of Christe. Blasfe-  
mers of god/they that are suche care for to  
morow and for the tyme to come/for who  
soever mistrusteth Christe neyther bylue  
on hym: they be they whiche fyght and  
stryue for richesse/for rule/for worldly ple-  
sure as men whiche blynded with delyces  
of sencyble thynges/set their myndes and  
hole affectyons vpon apparēt good thynges/  
in stede of very good thynges. This  
worlde hath not knowen Christ the very  
and trewe lyght. This Worlde is altogyp-  
ther set on myschefe/ loueth hym selfe/ ly-  
ueth to hym selfe/ studyeth for hym selfe  
and for his owne pleasure/ & all for lacke  
he hath not put upon hym Christ whiche  
is very & true charyte. From this Worlde  
separated Christe not his apostels onely/  
but all men who soever and as many as  
he iudged worthy of him. After what ma-  
ner than and fassyon I praye you do we

myngle with christedom this worlde euer  
where in holy scripture condempned?  
and with the bayne name of the Worlde  
faouour, flatter, and mayntayne our owne  
vices. By any doctours and teachers aug-  
ment this pestylence, whiche corruptyng  
the wordes of god (as Paule saythe) wre-  
sten and fassyonen his holy scripture ac-  
cording to þ maners of euery tyme, whan  
it were more conuenient that the maners  
shulde be adressed & amended by the rule of  
his scripture. And no myscheuouser kynde  
of flatteryng verly is there, than whan  
with the wordes of the gospell and of the  
þphates we flatter þ diseases of the mynde  
and cure thē not. A prince hereth al power <sup>all power</sup>  
is of god: forthwith (as þ proverbe sayth) <sup>is of god.</sup>  
his comberyseth. Why hath the scripture  
made the hygh or swellyng in mynde ra-  
ther than circumspecte & carefull. Thynd-  
kest thou that god hath comyted to the  
an empyre to be gouerned, and thyndest  
thou not that the same wyl requyre of the  
a straite rekenyng of the ordinge therof?  
The couetous man hereth it to be forbyd <sup>Thou shalt</sup>  
vnto christen men to haue two cotes at <sup>not haue two</sup>  
ones. The diuyne interpreteth the seconde <sup>cotes.</sup>  
cote to be what soever shulde be superflu-  
ous & more than ynough for the necessyte  
of nature, & shulde apertayne to the disease

A new ordre  
of charyte.

of couetousnesse: that is very well (say the  
the grosse felowe) for I yet lacke very ma-  
ny thynges. The naturall wyle man and  
colde from charyte hereth this to be þ or-  
dre of charyte/ that thou shuldest regarde  
and set more of thyne own money than of  
another mans/ of thyne owne lyfe than of  
another mans/ of thyne own fame thā of  
another mans. I wyll therfore saythe he  
gyue nothyng leest peraduenture I shulde  
lacke myselfe. I wyll not defende another  
mannes good fame or good name/ leest  
myne owne be spotted therby. I wyll for-  
sake my brother in ieopardye/ leest I my  
selfe shulde fall in peryll also. To speake  
shortly I wyll lyue altogytter to my selfe  
that no incommodityte come to me for any  
other mans cause. We haue also lerned if  
holy men haue done any thyngē not to be  
counterfayted or folowed/ þ onely to take  
of them & drawe in to the ensample of ly-  
uyng. Adulterers & murders flateren and  
clawen them selues with the example of  
Dauyd. Suche as gapeth after worldly  
tyches lay against vs for their excuse riche  
Abrahām. Princes whiche counte it but a  
spore or pastyme everywhere to corrupte  
and defyle virgyns/ nombre & reken vp to  
cloke their vyce the queenes cōcubynes of  
Salomon. They whose bely is their god/

Iayeth for their excuse the dronkennesse of  
Noe. Incestes whiche pollute their owne  
kynswomen cloke & couer their fylthynes  
with the sample of Loth whiche lay with  
his owne dougters. Why tourne we our  
eyen from Christ to these men? I dare be  
bolde to say that it ought not to be coun-  
terfayted and folowed no not so moche  
as in þ prophetes or Christes apostels be-  
ryly if any thyng swarue or wrie from the  
doctrine of Christe. But if it delyte men  
so greatly to countrefayte holy synners/  
I do not agaynst saye them so that they  
countrefayte them hole and al togither.  
Thou hast folowed Dauyd in adulterye/  
moche more folowe hym in repentaunce.  
Thou hast countrefayted Mary Magda-  
layne a synner/ countrefrayt her also louyng  
moche/ countrefayte her wepyng/ countre-  
fayte her castynge her selfe downe at þ the  
fete of Jesu. Thou hast psecuted þ churche  
of god as Paule dyd/ thou hast forsworne  
thy selfe as Peter dyd: Se lykewyse that  
thou stretche forthe thy necke for þ faythe  
and relygyon of Christe after the ensam-  
ple of Paule/ and that thou feare not the  
crosse no more than Peter. For this cause  
god suffreth euene great and ryght excel-  
lent men also to falle in to certayne by-  
ces/ that we whan we haue fallen shulde

Nothyng  
oughte to be  
counterfeyted  
whiche varye  
from christe.

not dispayre/but with this condycion/ie  
that we as we haue ben their felowes in  
synnyng & doyng amysse/euen so wyl be  
their companyons and parteners in the a-  
mendynge of our synnes and mysoedes.  
we turne good thyngs to euill that same thyng whiche was not to be  
countrefayted and folowed/and certayne  
thynges whiche were well done of them/  
we do deprave and corrupt/after the ma-  
ner of spyders suckynge out the poysone  
onely/ if any be therin/ or els tournynge  
euен the holsome ioyce also in to poysone  
to our selues.What dothe Abrahames ex-  
sample belonge to the/whiche makest of  
thy money thy god? Bycause he was en-  
ryched with encrease of catell(god ma-  
kyng his substance and goodes prospe-  
rously to multiplye) and that in the olde  
lawe whiche was but carnall: shal it ther-  
fore be lawfull to the whiche arte a chri-  
stien man/by ryght or wronge/by hoke or  
croke/from whence soever it be/to heape  
togyther rychesse as moche as euer kyng  
Cresus had(whose exceeding great ryches  
is come into a comen prouerbe)whiche ry-  
chesse ones gotten thou myghtest eyther  
yuell spende & leudly waste/or els(whiche  
is a great deale worse)hyde & bury moste  
couetously depe in the grounde.How lytle

A coueytous  
man foloweth  
not Abraham.

Cresus.

abrahā dyd set his mynde upon hys goodes  
and ryches/ whiche came to hym habun-  
dantly by their owne acorde/euen this thig  
may be an eydēt token & profe that with-  
out delay at þe boyce of god comaundering  
him/he brought forthe his onely sonne to  
be slayne. Howe moche thinkest thou dis-  
spysed he his droues of oxen whiche dispy-  
sed euen his owne sonne? And thynkest  
thou whiche dreamest nothyng els but of  
fylthy lucre & aduaūtage/ whiche praysest  
and settest by nothyng but only money/  
whiche art redy as sone as there chaunce  
any hope of lucre/ be it never so lytle/ ey= Redy to de-  
ther to disceyue thy brother/or to set christ ceyne thy broþ  
at naught/þe there is any simylitude or like ther for mony.  
thing bytwene the & Abrahā? The simple  
and innocent wenches the doughters of  
Loth whan they behelde al þe region rounde  
aboute on euery parte brennyng & flamynge  
with fyre/ and supposed þe it whiche was  
than in syght afore their eyen had ben all  
the hole worlde/ & that no man was preser-  
ued from that so large & wastfull fyre but  
onely their selues/ lay priuely & by stelthe  
with their owne father/ not of a fylthy  
but vertuous and holy purpose/that is to  
wete/ leest none issue of mankynde shulde  
haue remayned after them/ & that whan  
this p̄cept of god(growe and multypli)

Was as yet in full bygoure and strength.  
And darest thou compare thy filthynesse & pro-  
digyous voluptuousnesse & lechery with  
the dede of these wenches? Nay I wolde  
not doute to counte thy matrymonye not  
so good as their inceste commytted with  
their father if in matrymonye thou doest  
not studye for issue but to satylsyse thyne  
owne voluptuous apetyte or lust. Dauid  
after so many excellent and noble ensam-  
ples of vertue and good lyuyng shewed/  
fell ones in to adulterye by occasyon and  
oportunity gyuen him: and shal it be law-  
full therfore to the streyght way at thy ly-  
bertye to roll/ walter/ and tomble from  
house to house in other mens beddes all  
thy lyfe lōge? Peter ones for feare of deth  
denyed his mayster Christ/ for whose sake  
afterwarde he dyed with good wyll: Shal  
it be lawfull thynkest thou than to the for  
that cause/ to forsware thy selfe for every  
tryfle? Paule synned not purposely and  
for the nones/ but fell through ignorance:  
whan he was warned and taught/ he re-  
pentid forthwith and came into the right  
waye. Thou bothe ware and wyse/ and  
seynge what thou doest/ wetyngly and  
wyllingly contynuest from youthe to age  
in byces and synnes / and yet by the ex-  
ample of Paule strokest thou thyne own

The wedlocke  
of some men is  
worse then the  
incest of lothes  
daughters.

The mysdedes  
or synnes of ho-  
ly me we passe  
farre nowe a  
dayes/ & that  
many wayes.

heed. Matheus being commaunded but  
with one word / without any taryeng/  
at ones vitterly forsoke all his offyce of  
receyvynge custome or tollage: but thou  
art so sworne and maryed to thy money  
that neyther so many ensamples of holy  
men / neyther the gospels of often herde/  
nor so many preachynges can deuorce or  
plucke the from it. The bysshoppes say Saynt Austin  
is excused he  
had but one  
at ones.  
vnto me / saynte Augustyne (as it is red)  
had two soueraygne ladyes or concubyn-  
nes: ye but he than was an hethen man/  
and we be nourished vp in christendome:  
he was yonge / and our heedes be hore for  
age. A worshypfull comparyson / bycause  
that he beyng yonge / and also an hethen  
man to auoyde the snares of matrymony/  
had a lytle wenche in stede of a wyfe / and  
yet to her whiche was not his wyfe kept  
he the pmes of wedlocke. Shal it be ther  
fore þ lesse shame for vs christe men beyng  
olde / beyng preestes / ye beyng byshops to  
be altogether spotted & fyled in euery po-  
dell one after another of bodily lust. Far-  
wele good maners whan we haue gyuen  
to vices þ names of vertues / & haue begon  
to be more wily & subtile in defedyng our  
byces than dilyget to amende them / most  
specyally whan we haue lerned to nou-  
cysche / to vnderset / and to strengthe our

frowarde opinyons/with the helpe & ayde  
of holy scripture. Thou therfore my most  
swete brother (the comē people altogyder  
set at naught with their bothe opynyns  
and dedes) purely & holly hasten the vnto  
the chisten lecche. What soeuer in this lyfe  
apereth to thy sensyble powers eyther to  
be hated or loued/ al þ for the loue of pycie  
and vertuous lyfe indyfferently dispysed/  
let Christe onely to the be suffycient/the  
onely auctor bothe of true iudgynge and  
also of blissted lyuyng. And this verly the  
Worlde thynketh to be pure folyschynesse &  
madnesse: never the lesse by this folyschyn-  
nesse it pleaseþ god to saue them whiche  
on hym byleue. And he is happely a foole  
that is wylle i Christ: & he is wofullly wise  
that is folishe in Christ. But herest thou/  
as I wolde haue þ to wary strongly fro the  
comen people/ so I wolde not þ thou she-  
wyng a poynt of currysnes/ shuldest eue-  
rywhere barke against þ opinyons & dedes  
of other men/ & with authurite cōdemne  
thè/pratle odiously against all men/fury-  
ously preche against þ liuyng of euery pson  
leest thou purchace to thy selfe two yuels  
togyther. The one þ thou shuldest fal into  
hate of all men: thoþer that whan thou  
arte hated thou shuldest do good to no  
man. But be thou all thynges to all men/

A man may not  
barke every  
where agaynst  
the dedes of  
other men.

to wrynde all men to Chryste as moche as  
may be (pite not offendid) so shape & fassion  
thy self to al men outwardly / that within  
thy purpose remayne sure / stedfast & vnmo-  
ued / without forth let gentylnes / curteys  
language / softnes / profytablenes allure &  
emprise thy brother / whom it is mete with  
layze meanes to be iduced to Chryst / & not  
to be feared with cruelnes. In conclusion  
that whiche is in thy brest is not so great-  
ly to be rozed forth with cruell wordes / as  
to be declared and vttered with honest ma-  
ners. And agayne thou oughtest not so to  
fauour the infyrmite of the comun people  
that thou durst not at a tyme strongly de-  
fende the vertice: with humanite men must  
be amended / and not deceyued.

**C**The seventh rule. Caplo.xvi.

**M**Ore ouer yf through infancye & feble-  
nes of mynde we can not as yet at-  
tayne to these spiritual thyngs / we ought  
neuerthelesse to study not the sluggylshes  
one deale / yf at the leest we drawe as nygh  
as is possyble. How be it the very & com-  
pendyous way to felicite is / yf at ones we  
shall turne our hole mynde to the contem-  
placyon & beholdyng of celestial thyngs / so  
frequently / that as the body bringeth with

we must styl  
be clymmyngs  
ye thought we  
dispeyre to at-  
teyn to the top

P.J.

hym his shadow/eue so the loue of Christ  
the loue of eternal thinges & honest brigeith  
with hym naturally the lothsomnes of ca-  
duke & transitory thynges & the hate of syl-  
thy thynges. For eyther other necessaryly  
foloweth the other: & the one with þ other  
eyther augmeteth or mynyssheth. As mo-  
che as thou shalt pfyte in þ loue of Christ  
so moche shalt thou hate the worlde. The  
more thou shalt loue & set by thynges in-  
uisyble/the more vyle shall ware thynges  
bayne & momentany. We must therfore do  
euен that same in the discyplyne of vertue  
whiche Fabius counseyleth to be done in  
sciences or facultees of lernyng/ that we  
at ones prece vp to the best/ whiche thyng  
yet ys through our owne faute wyll not  
cōme to passe. The nexte of all is that we  
at the leest may by certayne naturall pru-  
dence abstayne frō great vices/ & kepe our  
selfe (as moche as may be) hole & sōude to  
the benefycence of god. For as that body  
is nere unto helthe/ whiche (though it be  
wasted) is free yet & out of the daunger of  
noysome humours/ euен so is that mynde  
more capax of the benefyte of god/ whiche  
is not yet inquynate or defyled with gree-  
uous offences / though she lacke yet true  
and perkyte vertue. If we be to weyke to  
folowe the apostles / to folowe the mar-

Capax apte  
to receyue.

ys / to folowe the vrgynes / at the leest If thou canot  
waye let vs not comytie that the Ethny- counterfet ho-  
kes or hethen men sholde seme to ouer- ly sayntes / be  
torne vs in this playne or lystes. Of the to hethen men,  
whiche very many whan they neyther  
knewe god whome they shold drede / ney-  
ther bylued any hell whome they sholde  
feare : yet determinyd they that a man  
ought by all craftes to auoyde & eschewe  
fylthynesse for the thyngē it selfe. In so  
moche that many of them chose rather to  
suffre the losse of fame / losse of goodes / in  
conclasyon to suffre losse of lyfe / than to  
departe from honeste. If synne it selfe be  
suche a maner thyngē / that for no cōmo-  
dytees or incomodytees proffered to man  
it ought to be commytted. Certaynly yf  
neyther the iustyce of god feare vs / ney-  
ther his benefycence dyscourage vs and  
moue vs to the contrary / yf no hope of im-  
mortalte or feare of eternall payne call  
vs abacke / or elles yf the very naturall  
fylthynesse of synne withdrawe vs not /  
whiche coude withdrawe the myndes of  
the very gentyles. At the leest waye let a  
thousande incomodytees whiche accom-  
panye the synner in this lyfe put a chry- Ponder in thy  
sten man in feare : as infamye / losse or mynde the in-  
waste of goodes / pouertye / the contempte cōmodytees of  
and hate of good men / grefe of mynde / synne.  
p.ii.

vnquietnes & turment of conseynce most  
myserable of al/whiche though many fele  
not now presently/eyther bycause they be  
blynded with dulnesse of yowthe/or made  
droke with the voluptuousnes & pleasure  
of synne/yet shall they feale it here after:&  
playnly the later it hapneth/so moche the  
more vnhappely shall they feale it: wher-  
fore yonge men moost specyally sholde be  
warned & exhorted that they wold rather  
byleue so many authoys that the very na-  
ture & properte of synne were thus inde-  
than with myserable & wofull expyrence  
lerne it in them selfe/& that they wold not  
cōtaminat nor defyle theyr lyf before they  
knewe surely what lyfe ment.yf Chrys̄t be  
to the vyle/to whom thou art so costly/at  
the leestway for thine owne sake refrayne  
thy self fr̄o fylthy thynges. And though it  
be very perylous to tary anywhile in this  
state/as bitwene thre wayes(as it is i the  
prouerbe) neuertheles unto them whiche  
can not as yet clym up to the pure/pfyte &  
excellent vertue/it shall not be a lytel pfi-  
table to be in the ciuyle or morall vertues  
rather than to ron hedlong in to all kynde  
of vices and vnclynes. Here is not the  
restyng place & quiet hauen of felicite/but  
from hens is a shorte iourney & an easyer  
stayre up to felicite. In the meane season

Hear that is  
in cyuyl or mo-  
rall vertues.

for all that we must pray god that he wyl  
vouchsafe to plucke vs vp to bett thyngs.

**C**The eyght rule. Caplo.xviij.

**I**f the storne of temptation shal ryse  
agaynst the somwhat thycke & gre-  
uously begyn not forthwithal to be discō-  
tent with thy selfe / as though for þ cause  
god eyther cared not for the / or fauoured  
the not / or þ thou sholdest be but an easye  
christen man / or else the lesse pfyte: but ra-  
ther gyue thākes to god bycause he instru-  
cteth the as one whiche shall be his heyre  
in time to cōme/because he beteth or scour-  
geth þ as his mooste singular beloued sone  
and pueth the as his assured frende. It is  
a very great token a man to be reiect from  
the mercy of god whā he is vexed with no  
temptacyons. Let cōme to thy mynde the  
apostle Paule whiche obteyned to be ad-  
mitted or let in euuen in to the mysteries of  
the thyrd heuen/yet was he beaten of the  
āngell of sathan. Let cōme to remēbrānce  
the frende of god Job: remembre Jerom/  
Benedict/Srauncys / & with these immume-  
table other holy fathers vexed & troubled  
of very great vices:þf that which thou suf-  
frest be cōmen to so greate men/be cōmen  
to so many men as well as to the / what  
p.iiij.

Temptacyon  
is a sygne that  
god loueth vs.

cause is there wherfore thou sholdest be  
smytten out of countenaunce / sholdest be  
bashed or fall in to despayre? enforce ra-  
ther & stryue that thou mayst ouercome  
as they dyd/god shall not forsake the/but  
With temptation shal make encrease/that  
thou mayst be able to endure.

### C The nynty rule. Caplo.xviii.

we must euer  
kepe watche.

Let temptaciō  
be holde down  
at the begyn-  
nyng whyle  
it is freshe.

The chyldren  
of babylon sys  
nysyeth subge-  
styng or tēpta-  
cion to syn.

**A**s expert capteyns are wōt to cause  
whan all thinges are quiet at rest &  
at peace/that the watche neuerthelesse be  
dewly kepte: lykewyse se thou that thou  
haue alway thy mynde Watchyng & circū-  
specte agaynst the sodeyn assaute of thyne  
enemy (for he euer cōpasseth roude aboute  
seyng whome he myght deuoure) that  
thou mayst be the more redy as soone as  
he assauteth the to put hym backe man-  
fully/to confoude hym & forthwith to trede  
underfote the heed of þe pestiferous & pop-  
son serpēt:for he is neuer ouercome eyther  
more easely or more surely & p̄fytly/þā by  
that meanes. Therfore it is a very wyse  
poynt to dashe the yonge chyldren of ba-  
bylon(as soone as they be borne)agaynst  
the stone whiche is Chryst/or they growe  
stronge & greate.

### C The tenth rule. Caplo.xix.

**B**ut the tempter is put backe most of al  
By this meanes / yf thou shalt eyther  
vehemently hate / abhorre & desye / & in a ma-  
ner spyt at hym streyghtway whā so ever  
he entyceth & moueth the with any tempta-  
cyon / or else yf thou pray feruently or gete  
thy selfe to some holy occupacion / settyn  
thyne hole mynde thervnto: or yf thou ma-  
ke answere to the tempter with wordes  
sette out of holy scripture / as I haue war-  
ned the before. In whiche thyngе veryly  
it shall not pfyte meanly agaynst al kynde  
of temptacyon to haue some certayne sen-  
tences prepared and redy / specyally those  
with whiche thou hast felte thy mynde to  
be moued and sterred vehemently.

**C**h. xi. rule. Caplo. xx.

**T**wo daungers chekely folowe good  
men / one leest in temptacyon they  
spue vp theyr holde. An other leest after  
the victory in theyr consolacyon and spy-  
tyuall ioye they ware wanton and stan-  
de in theyr owne concepte / or elles please  
them selfe. Therfore that thou mayst be myddaye is  
sure not onely from the nyght feare / but pryde.  
also from the deuyll of myddaye : loke Remēbre thou  
whan thyne enemy stereth the vnto fyl- arte able to do  
thy thynges that thou beholde not thyne in Chryste.  
P. iiiij.

The nyght fea  
rei is feare leſt  
we sholde be  
ouercome.

The deuyll of  
myddaye is  
but pryde.

Remēbre thou  
arte able to do  
all thynges  
in Chryste.

owne feblenes or weyknes / but remembre  
onely that thou canst do all thynges in  
Chyſt / which said not to his apostles one  
ly / but to the alſo & to al his mebres / euē  
vnto the very lowest. Haue confidence for  
I haue ouercōme þ Worlde. Agayn whan  
ſo euer eyther after thyne ennemy is ouer  
cōme / or in doyng ſome holy worke / thou  
ſhalt ſele thy mynde inwardly to be cōfor-  
ted with certeyn preuy delectacyōs. Then  
beware diligently þ thou aſcrybe nothing  
therof vnto thyne owne merits / but thāke  
onely the free beneficence of god for all to  
gyder / & holde downe & refrayne thy ſelfe  
with the wordes of Paule / ſayinge. What  
haft thou / that thou haft not receyued ? yf  
thou haue receyued it / why reioycest thou  
as though thou haddeſt not receyued it ?  
And ſo agaynſt this double myschefe ſhall  
there be a double remedy / yf thou in the  
conflict myſtrustyng thyne owne strength  
doeſt flee for ſocour vnto thy heed Chyſt /  
puttyng the hole truſt of conquerynge in  
the benyuolence of hym onely. And yf al-  
ſo in the ſpirytuall conforde and conſola-  
cyon thou immedyatly gyue thankes to  
hym for his benefyte / humbly knowynge  
and confeſſyng thyne vnworthynes.

**G**an thou fyghtest with thyne en  
nemyes / thynke it not yngough for  
the to auoyde his stroke / or put it  
backe / excepte thou also take þ weapon frō  
hym manfullly / & laye therwith agayne at  
the owner / kyllynge hym with his owne  
sworde. That shall cōme to passe on this  
wyse. yf whā thou art puoked vnto euyll  
thou do not onely abstayne frō synne / but  
therof doest take vnto the an occasyon of  
vertue: & as poetes elegantly sayne þ Her  
cules dyd growe & was also hardened in  
courage thrugh the daungers that Juno  
put vnto hym of displeasure. Thou lyke  
wyse gyue also attendaunce that by the in-  
sigacions of thyne enemy not onely thou  
be not þ worse but rather be made moche  
better. Thou art sterred vnto bodyly lust /  
knowe thy weyknes / & also lay apart som  
what the more of lawfull plesures / & adde  
some encrease vnto chaste & holy occupa-  
cōs. Thou art prycked vnto couetousnes  
& nygges he kepyng: encrease almes dedes  
Thou art moued vnto bayne gloriþ so mo-  
che the more humble thy selfe in al thyngs  
And thus shall it be brought aboute that  
every temptacyon may be a certeyn rene-  
wing of thy holy purpose / & an encrease of  
pite & vertuous lyuyng. And veryly other  
meanes is there none at al of so great ver-

Of temptation  
take euer an oc-  
casio of vertue.

Let temptacyōs  
be euer the re-  
newing of thy  
holy purpose.

Tue & strength to baynquissh & ouerthrowe  
our enmy: for he shall be afrayde to pro-  
voke the a fresshe/leest he which reioples  
to be the begynner and chefe capyteyne of  
Wyckednes sholde mynster an occasyon  
of pite/vertue and godlynes.

The.xiiij.rule.

Caplo.xiiij.

**B**ut alway take hede that thou fyght  
with this mynde & hope/ as though  
that shold be the last fyght that euer thou  
walt haue/yl thou gete the ouer hande: for  
it may be veryly that the benignite of god  
wyll gyue & graunte this rewarde vnto thy  
vertue and noble acte: that thyne ennemy  
ones ouercome to his shame/ shall neuer  
afterward come vpon the agayn. A thyng  
whiche we rede to haue happened to dy-  
uerse holy men: neyther bileyeth Origene  
against reason / that whan chrysten men  
ouercome/ than is þ power of theyr enne-  
myes minished/whiles þ aduersary ones  
put backe manfullly/is neuer suffred to re-  
turne agayn to make a fresshe batayle. Be  
bolde therfore in the conflycte to hope for  
ppetual peace. But agayn after thou hast  
ouercome / so behauie thy selfe as though  
thou woldest go agayne to fyght strayght  
waye / for after one temptacion/we must

After one ba-  
tayle we must  
roke for an-  
other.

sake euer for all other: we may neuer de-  
parte fro our barneys & weapons: we may  
neuer forsake our stading: we may neuer  
lere of watche as longe as we warre in  
the garrison of this body. Every man must  
haue alway that sayinge of the prophete in  
his herte / I wyll kepe my standynge.

**C**The.xiiij.rule. Caplo.xxiiij.

**W**e must take very good hede that  
we despysse not any vycē as lyght  
for no enemy ouercometh oftener  
thā he which is not set of: in whiche thyng  
I pceyue not a fewe men to be greatly de-  
cepued: for they deceyue thēself whyle they  
faouour thēself in one or two vices/whiche  
every man aft his owne appetyte thinketh  
to be venial/ & al other greuously abhorre  
A great parte of thē which the comun peo-  
ple calleth pfyte & vncorrupte/greatly de-  
syeth theft/ extorsion/murder/adultery/in-  
cest: but singel fornicacyon & moderate vse  
of voluptuous plesures as a smal trespass  
they refuse not all. Some one man beyng  
vnto all other thyngs vncorrupte ynough  
is somewhat a good dynker/is in riot and  
expenses somewhat wastefull. An other is  
somewhat lyberall of his tonge. An other  
is combred with vanite/vayne glory and

Som mē fauer  
theyr own vices

The Images  
of vertue.

Dayely must  
somwhat of  
our euylls be  
take awaie / &  
of good thingz  
be added.

The bitterness  
of the fyght  
must be compa-  
red with the  
payne whiche  
foloweth the  
synne.

boſting. At the last what vice thal we lack  
yf every man after this maner shal fauour  
his owne vice? It is an euydet token that  
those men whiche fauour any vice at all  
sholde not truly posſeſſe the other vertues  
eyther nature or bryngyng vp / fynally be-  
ry custome hath graffed in the myndes of  
the very getiles. But he whiche with chy-  
sten hatred abhorreth any one vice / must  
nedes abhorre al: for he whose mynde true  
charite hath ones posſeſſed hateth indiffe-  
rently the hole host of euyll thynges / & fla-  
tereth not hymſelfe ſo moche as in venyal  
synnes / leſſi he myght fall a lytel & a lytel  
from the ſmalleſt to the greateſt: & whyle  
he is necligent in lyght thyngz myght fall  
from the chefeſt thyngz of al. And though  
thou as yet canſt not plucke vp by þ rotes  
the hole generacyon of vices: neuertheleſſ  
ſomwhat of our euyll propertees muſt be  
plucked away day by day / & ſothing addeſ  
to good maners: aft þ maner diuiniſheth  
or auignenteth þ great hepe of Heliodus.

C The xv. rule. Caplo. xxiij.

I F the labour whiche thou muſt take  
in the conſlict of temptacyon ſhall feare  
the / this ſhall be a remedy. Se thou com-

pare not the grefe of the fighȝt with the ple-  
asne of the synne: but matche me the p̄fene  
dencenes of the sygȝt with þyntenes of  
the synne hereafter which foloweth hym þ  
is ouerþe alden: & than set the p̄fent swet-  
nes of the synne which entyseth the / with  
the pleasure of the victory hereafter / & with  
the tranquillite of mynde which foloweth  
him þ sighteth lustely: & anone thou shalc  
sayue both þe quall a comparyson there  
shal be. But in this thyng they whiche be  
þer lytell circumspect are deceyued bycause  
they compare the displeasure of the sygȝt  
with the pleasure of the synne / & consider  
not what foloweth the one and the other  
þe þere foloweth hym whiche is ouer-  
come grefe bothe more paynfull a greate  
deale & also of longer contynuance than he  
shold have had in tyme of sygȝt / if he had  
þe victory. And lykewyse þere so  
þe coquettous more pleasure by  
a greate deale & of longer endurancē than  
þeas the pleasure whiche carred hym in to  
synne that þeas overcome: whiche thyng  
þe fīall lyghtly widge that bathe had the  
grefe of bothe. But noman that is chuse-  
ned ought to be so outright a comarde though he were dapyly subdued of tempta-  
cion / but that he shold ones at the leest do  
þis empayre to proue what thyng it is.

þoue fōtyme  
what it shal be  
to overcome.

to ouercome temptacyon / whiche thyng  
the ostener he shall do / the pleasaunter  
shall the victory be made vnto hym.

**C**The.xvj.rule. Caplo.xxv.

**B**ut yf at any tyme it shal fortune the  
to receyue a deedly wounde / beware  
leest by & by (thy shelde cast away and we-  
pons forsaken) thou yelde thy self to thyne  
ennemyes handes / whiche thyng I haue  
perceyued to happen vnto many / whose  
myndes naturally are somewhat feble and  
despayre not / softe without resistance / ¶ after they were  
thoughe thou  
be ouercome.  
ones ouerthowen / they seaced to wassle  
any more / but permitted & gaue themselfe  
al togyder vnto affectiōs / neuer thynkyng  
any more to recouer theyr liberty agayne.  
To to moche perilous is this weyknes of  
spiryte / which now & thā though it be not  
coupled with þ worst wyttes in þ worlde /  
yet is it wonke to brynge to þ poynt whi-  
che is worse of all / to desperacion verly.  
Agaynst this weyknes therfore thy mynde  
must be aforehande armed with this rule /  
that after we haue fallen in to synne not  
onely we sholde not despayre / but conter-  
feyte bolde men of warre / whome not sel-  
dom shame of rebuke & grefe of the wounde  
receyued not onely putteth not to flyght

but sharpeneth and refresheth agayne to  
fyght more fyersly thā they dyd before. In  
lyke case also after þ we haue ben brought  
in to deedly synne / let vs haste anone to  
cōme agayne to our selfe & to take a good  
herte to vs / & to repayre agayn þ rebuke &  
shame of the fall with newe courage & lu-  
stynes of strengthe. Thou shalt heale one  
wounde sooner thā many: thou shalt easlier  
cure a fresshe wounde than that whiche is  
now olde and putrifyed. Edforde thy selfe  
with that famous verse whiche Demoste-  
nes is said to haue vsed. A man that fleeth  
wyll yet fyght agayn. Call to remembraunce  
David the pphete / Salomō the kyng / Pe-  
ter a capteyn of the churche / Paule the a-  
posole / so great lyghtes of holynesse : in to  
what great sinnes for al þ fell they? which  
all yadventure euен for this cause god suf-  
fered to fall / leest thou whan thou haddeſt  
fallen sholdest despeyre: rysē vp agayn ther-  
fore upon thy fete but that quickly & with  
a lusty courage / & go to it a fresshe / bothe  
fyarser & also more circumſpect. It happe-  
neth somtyme that deedly offences grove  
to good men in to a heape of vertuous ly-  
uyngē / whyle they loue more feruently  
whiche erred moost shamefully.

A fal somtyme  
courageth a  
mā to wrastell  
more strongly.

The xviij. rule. Capo. xxvj.

The crosse of  
Christe.

**B**ut agaynst sondry & dyuerse assauts  
of the tempter thine ennemy sondry  
and dyuerse remedyes are very mete & co-  
uenient. Neuertheles the onely & chefe re-  
medy whiche of all remedyes is of moost  
effycacye & strength agaynst all kyndes ey-  
ther of aduersite or else temptacyon is the  
crosse of Christ. The whiche selfe same is  
bothe an ensample to them that go out of  
the waye / & a refreshyng to them that la-  
bour / & also armure or harneys to them þ  
fyght. This is a thyng to be cast agaynst  
all maner wepons & darteres of our moost  
wycked enemy. And therfore it is necessa-  
ry to be exercised diligently therin / not af-  
ter the comun maner / as some men repece  
dayly the hystory of the passion of Christ /  
or honour the ymage of the crosse / or with  
a thousande signes of it arme all theyr bo-  
dy rounde on every syde / or kepe some pece  
of that holy tree layde vp at home in theyr  
house / or at cerreyn houres so call to reme-  
braunce Christes punysshment / that they  
may haue compasyon & wepe for hym with  
natural affection / as they wolde for a man  
that is very iuste & suffreth great wronge  
vnworthily. This is not the true fruite of  
that tree: neuerthelesse let it in the meane  
season be the mylke of þ soules whiche be  
ponglynge & weyke in Christ. But clyme

The very fru-  
te of the crosse  
is mortifyenge  
of our membris  
that is to saye  
of our passyons  
and affeccions  
bodyly.

thou vp in to the date tree/ that is to saye  
the tre of vctorie/ that thou mayest take  
holde of the trewe fruytes therof. These  
be the chefe if we whiche be membres shal  
endeuoyre our selfe to be semblable vnto  
our heed in mortifyenge our affectyons/  
whiche be our membres vpon the erthes/  
whiche thyng vnto vs ought onely to be  
nothyng bytter/but also very plesant and  
seruently to be desyred/ if so be the spyrte  
of Christ lyue in vs. For wholoueth truly  
and hertly that person to whome he re-  
toyseth to be as vnlkye as may be/ and in  
lyuyng and conuersacyon cleane contrarye  
Not withstandyng that thou mayest the  
more profyte/in thy mynde recorde the mi-  
stery of the crosse. It shalbe houefull that  
every man prepare vnto him selfe a certayn  
way and godly craft of fyghtyng & therin  
diligently exercysse/that as soone as nede  
shall requyre it may be redy at hande. Such  
may þ crafte be/that in certifyeng of euery  
thyne affectyons thou mayest applye that  
parte of the crosse whiche moste specially  
thereto agreeth: for there is not atall any  
eyther temptacion eyther aduersyte whiche  
hath not his propre remedy in the crosse.  
As whan thou art tyckled with ambpcion  
of this worlde/ whan thou arte ashamed  
to be had in derision & to be set at naught;

M.J.

Affectionis sra  
this wyse crux-  
cysyed;

# Nota.

consydre thou than moste vyle membre  
howe great Christe thy heed is/ and vnto  
what bylenesse he humbled hym selfe for  
thy sake. whan the yuell of envy intrudeth  
thy mynde/ remembre howe kyndly/ howe  
louingly he bestowed himselfe everywher  
vnto our vse and profyte/ how good he is  
euен vnto the worste. whan thou art mo-  
ued with gluttony/ haue in mynde howe  
hedranke gall with eysell. whan thou art  
tempted with filthy pleasure/call to remem-  
braunce howe farre from al maner of plea-  
sure the hole lyfe of thy heed was/ & howe  
full of incomodites/bexacyon/ and grefe.  
Whan yre prouoketh the/ lette hym come  
immedyatly to thy mynde/ whiche lyke a  
lambe before the shearer helde his peace  
and opened not his mouthe. If pouertye  
wring the yuell/or couetousnesse disquyet  
the/anone let hym be rolled in thy mynde  
that is the lorde of all thynges/ & yet was  
made so poore & nedy for thy sake that he  
had not wherpon to rest his heed. And  
after the same maner if thou shalt do in al  
other temptacions also/ not onely it shall  
not be greuous to haue oppresed thyn af-  
fectyons but surely plesaunt & delectable/  
for bycause thou shalt perceyue that thou  
by this meanes art conformed and shapen  
like vnto thy heed/ and that thou doest as

It were recompence hym for his infynyte  
sorrowes whiche for thy sake he suffred vnto  
to the vttermoste.

C The xviii. rule. capt. xxvij.

**A**nd veryly this maner of remedye/ Although it alone of all remedyes be  
most present & redy/moste sure and quicke  
in werkynge to thē whiche be meanly entred  
in the waye of lyuyng/neuer the lesse  
to the weaker sorte these thyngs also shall  
somwhat profyte: if whan affectyon mo-  
ueth vnto iniquyte/than atones they call Consyde the  
before the eyen of the mynde howe fylthy fylthynes of  
howe abhoinynable/howe mischeuous a synne i the dig-  
thyng synne is: on the other syde howe great is the dignyte of man.  
In tryfles and maters suche as skylleth not if al the  
worlde knewe/we take some delybera-  
cyon and aduysement with our selfe. In  
this mater of all maters moste weyghty  
and worthy to be pondred/before þ with  
consent as with our owne hande wryting  
we bynde our selfe to the fende/shall we  
not taken and accompte with our mynde  
of howe noble a craftes man we were  
made/in howe excellent estate we are set/  
with howe excedynge great price we are  
bought/vnto howe great felycyte we are

D.ij.

called/ and that man is that gentle & no-  
ble creature for whose sake only god hath  
forged the meruaylous buyldyng of this  
worlde/ that he is of the company of aun-  
gels/ the sonne of god/ the heire of immor-  
talyte/ a membre of Christe/ a membre of  
the churche/ that our bodyes be þ temple  
of the holy ghost/ our myndes the ymages  
and also þ secret habytacions of the deite.  
And on thother syde that synne is the most  
sylthy pestylence and consumpcion bothe  
of the mynde & of the body also/ for bothe  
of them through innocencye springeth a-  
newe into their owne naturall kynde/ and  
through cōtagyon of synne bothe putrifye  
and rotte euē in this worlde. Synne is  
that deedly poysone of the mooste filthy ser-  
pent/ the prest wāgest of the dyuell/ and of  
that seruice whiche is not most sylthy on-  
ly/ but also mooste myserable. After thou  
hast consydred this & suche lyke with thy  
selfe/ pondre wysely and take sure aduyse-  
ment and delyberacion whether it shulde  
be wysely doone or no for an apparaunt  
momentanye and poysoned lytell shorte  
pleasure of synne / to fall from so great  
dignyte in to so vyle and wretched estate/  
from whence thou cannest not rydde and  
delyuer thy selfe by thyne owne power  
and helpe.

**C**The nyntenth rule.capi.xviii.

**B**arthermore cōpare togyther those two capitaynes by themselfe mosie contrary and vnlkyke god and the dyuell/ of whiche the one thou makest thyne enemys whan thou synnest/ and the other thy lord and mayster. Throughe innocency and grace thou arte called in to þ nombre of the frendes of god/ arte electe unto the ryght tytle & inherytaunce of the sonnes of god. By synne verly thou arte made bothe the bonde seruaunt and sonne of the dyuell. The one of them is that eternall fountayne and origynall patron & trewe ensample of very and sure beauty/ of very trewe pleasure/ of most perfyte goodnesse we must haue in mynde the benefycens of god & the maly fycens or noysaunce of the devyll.

mynistryng hym selfe to all thynges. The other is father of all mischefe/ of extreme sylthynesse/ of vttermost infelycite. Remembre the benefytes and goodnesse of thone done to the/ & the yuell dedes of the other. with what goodnesse hath the one made the? with what mercy redemed the? with what lybertie & fredom endued the? with what tendernes dayly suffreth he and sustayneth the a wretched synner/ paciently abydyng & lokyng for amendment? with what ioy & gladnesse dothe he receyue the amēded/ and whan thou art come agayne

to thyselfe? Contrary to all these thynges  
with howe naturall hate and enuy longe  
ago dyd þ dyuell laye wayte to thy helth?  
Into what greuous and combrous vera-  
tion hath he cast the/ and also what other  
thyng ymagyneth he dayly but to drawe  
all makynde with hym in to eternall mis-  
chefe. All these thynges on this syde and  
that syde well and substancialy wayed  
and pondred/ thus thynke with thy selfe:  
Shal I vnmyndfull of myne origynall be-  
gynnyng from whence I came/vnmynd-  
full of so great and manyfolde benefytes/  
for so small a morsell of fayned and false  
pleasure/vnkyndely departe from so noble  
from so louynge/ from so benefciall a fa-  
ther/ and shall mancypate and make my  
selfe bonde wyllyngly vnto a most fylthy  
and a moste cruell mayster. Shall I not  
at the leest waye make good to the one  
that thyng whiche I wolde perfourme  
to a byle man/whiche had shewde kynde-  
nesse/ or done me any good? Shall I not  
flye from þ other/whiche wolde flye from  
a man that coueyted or were aboufe to  
do me hurte?

¶ The twenteth rule.  
capitulo.xxix.



¶ And verlyly the rewardes be no  
lesse vnegall than the capytaynes and gyuers of them be con-  
trary and vnlkyke. For what is  
more vnegall than eternall dethe and im-  
mortall lyfe? than without ende to enioy  
everlastynge felycite and blyssednesse/ in  
the company and felowwip of the heuen-  
ly cyteyzns/ and without ende to be tour-  
mented and punysched with extreme ben-  
geaunce/in the moste vnhappy and wret-  
ched compayne of dampned soules? And  
who soeuer douteth of this thynge he is  
not so moche as a man verly/ and ther-  
fore he is no christē man. And who soeuer  
thynketh not on this/nor hath it in reme-  
braunce/is euен madder than madnesse it  
selfe. Moreover & besydes all this/ virtue  
and wickydnesse hath in the meane season  
euен in this lyfe their frutes very moche  
vnlike/ for of þ one is reaped assured tran-  
quillyte and quyetnesse of mynde/ & that  
blyssed ioye of pure and cleane conscience/  
whiche ioye who so euer shall ones haue  
tasted/ there is nothyng in all this worlde  
so precyous nor nothyng so plesaunt/  
wherwith he wolde be gladde or desyrous  
to chaunge it. Contrarywyse there folo-  
weth the other/ þ is to say wickednesse/ a  
thousande other yuels/but most specially

The rewards  
of vertue is  
heuen.

The fruytes  
of pyte in this  
woulde.

M.iiiij.

The frute of  
synne in this  
woulde,

that mosse wretched tourment and vexation  
yon of vncleane conscyence. That is that  
hundredfolde rewarde of sp̄rituall ioye  
whiche Christ promysed in the gospell/as  
a certayne ernest or taste of eternall felicitye.  
These be those meruaylous rewardeſ that thapostle speaketh of whiche eye  
neyther ſawe nor eare hath herde/neyther  
hath ſonke in to the herte of any man/  
whiche god hath prepared for them that  
ioue hym/and verily in this lyfe/whan in  
the meane ſeafon the worme of wycked  
men dyeth not/ and they ſuffre their hell  
paynes here euēn in this worlde. Neyther  
any other thyng is that flambe in whiche  
is turmented the ryche glutton of whom  
is made mencyon in the gospell: nether  
any other thynges be thole punyſhmentes  
of them in hell of whom the poetes write  
ſo many thynges/ſaue a perpetuall grefe/  
vnquyvetneſſe or gnawynge of the mynde  
whiche accompanieth þ custome of synne.  
He þ wyll therfore let him ſet abyde the re-  
wardz of þ lyfe to cōe/ which be ſo dyuers  
& vnlike: yet i this lyfe vertue hath anered  
to her wherfore ſhe habudantly ought to  
be defyzed/ & vyce hath copled vnto hym  
for whose ſake he ought to be abhorred.

C The. xxij. rule. capi. xxx.

**M**ore ouer cōsyder howe full of grefe  
and mysery how shorte & transitory  
is this presente lyfe/ howe on every syde  
dethē lyeth in awyte agaynste vs howe  
everywherē he catcheth vs sodaynly and  
vnware. And whan no man is sure no not  
of one moment of lyfe/ howe great peryll  
it is to prolonge and contynue that kynde  
of lyfe in whiche (as it often fortuneth) if  
sodayne death shulde take the thou were  
but losse and vndone for euer.

**C**The. xxij. rule. capi. xxxi.

**B**esydes all this impenytency or ob-  
duracyon of mynde is to be feared  
of all myscheses the extreme and worste:  
namely if a man wolde pondre this one  
thyngē of so many / howe fewe there be  
whiche trewly and with all their hertes  
come to them selfe agayne/ and be cleane  
conuerted from synne/ & with due repen-  
taunce reconcyled to god agayne: specially  
of them whiche haue drawen alonge the  
lyues of iniquyte euē vnto the last ende  
of their lyfe. Slypper veryly and easylē is  
the fall or discente in to fylthynesse/ but  
to retourne backe agayne therhence/ and  
to scape vp vnto sp̄ituall lyght/ this is a  
worke/ this is a laboure. Therfore at the

The fore & the leest way thou being monished & warned  
gote discended by the chaunce of Elopes gote/before thou  
bothe in to a  
pyt to dynke/  
whā they had  
droke they cou-  
de not get oute  
agayn/ the for  
had the gote to  
stode vp against  
the wall/ & the  
fore lept vpon  
his backe & so  
vp / pmyng  
afore to pul vp  
the gote after/  
the gote desy-  
red the fore to  
fulfull his pro-  
mes & to helpe  
him vp/ he for  
answert a gote  
gote yf thou  
haddest had  
as moche wyt  
in thy hed as  
thou hast heere  
in thy verde  
thou woldest  
not haue etred  
in excepte thou  
haddest knowē  
how to come  
out.

**C**Remedyes agaynst certayne synnes  
and spacyall byces/ & first agaynst  
bodyly luste. capi.xxiij.

**H**itherto haue we verily opened and  
declared (howe soever it be doone)  
comen remedyes agaynst all kynde of by-  
ces. Nowe we shal assay to gyue also cer-  
taine spacyall and pertyculer remedyes/  
how and by what meanes thou oughtest  
withstande euery byce & synne/ and fynde  
of all howe thou mayste resyst the luste of  
the body. Than the whiche yuell there is  
none other y soner inuadeth vs/ neyther  
sharper assayleth or bereth vs/ nor exten-  
deth larger nor draweth mo unto their vt-  
ter distructyon. If at any tyme therfore  
filthy lust shal styrreth mynde/ with these  
weapons & armoure remembre forthwith  
to me: e hym/ fyrest thynke howe vncleynly/  
howe filthy/ how unworthy for any man  
what soever he be y plesure is whiche assi-  
muleth & maketh vs y be a diuyne worke/  
egall not to beests only/ but also unto syl-  
thy swyne/to gotes/to dogges/and of all  
brute beastes/ unto y most brute/ ye whiche

fardeforth casteth downe farre bnder the  
condycion & state of beestes vs whiche be wepons against  
apoynted unto þ company of angels & fe- bodily lust.  
loushyp of þ deite. Let come to thy mynde  
also howe momentany the same is / howe <sup>Aloes is a byt</sup>  
vnpure / how euer haung more aloes than <sup>ter thynge and</sup>  
of hony. And on þ cōtrary syde how noble is putt for  
a thing the soule is / howe worshypfull a <sup>bytternes.</sup>  
thing þ body of a man is / as I haue reher-  
sed in the rules aboue. What þ deuyls pe-  
uysshynesse is it thā for so lytle / so vncleynly  
tyclynge of momētany pleasures to defyle  
at one tyme bothe soule & body with vn-  
goodly maners? to pphane & pollute that  
tempel whiche Christ hath cōsecrate to him  
selfe with his bloode? Cōsydre þ also what <sup>The incōmodi</sup>  
an hepe of mischeuous incōmodytes that <sup>tes of bodyly</sup>  
flatteryng pleasant pestylēce brinketh with <sup>luste.</sup>  
him. First of al it pulleth from þ thy good  
fame / a possession faraway most precious/  
for þ rumour of no byce stynketh more ca-  
renly that þ name of lechery: it cōsumeth  
thy patrimony / it kylleth atones both the  
strength & also the beautie of þ body / it de-  
cayeth & gretly hurteth helth / it engēdreheth  
diseases innumerable & the filthy / it disfy-  
gureth þ flour of youth long before þ day /  
it hasteth or accelerateth ryued & yuell  
faoured age / it taketh away the quyck-  
nesse and strength of the wytte / it dulleth

the syght of the mynde/ and graffeth in a  
man as it were a beestly mynde/ it with-  
draweth atones from all honest studyes  
and pastymes/ and plungeth and sowseth  
a man everywhyt in the podle and myre  
be he never so excellēt/ that nowe he hath  
lust to thynke on nothyng but þ whiche  
is sluttyshe/byle/and filthy: and it taketh  
awaye the vse of reason whiche was the  
natyue perty of man/ it maketh youthe  
madde/peuysshe/and sclaudrouſ/and age  
odious/fylthy/ & wretched. Bewyse ther-  
fore and on this wyse reken with thyselfe  
name by name/ this & that pleasure came  
so vnel to passe/brought with her so moch  
losse/so moche disworshyp/dishonour and  
dishonesty/so moche tedyousnesse/labour  
and disease: and shal I nowe a foole most  
naturall deuowre þ hoke wetyngly? shall  
I agayne cōmytte that thyng wherof I  
shulde repent of freſſhe? And lykewyſe re-  
frayne thy ſelfe by the enſample of other  
men/ whiche thou haſte knownen to haue  
folowed voluptuous pleasures fylthely

Refrayne thy ſelf by the enſa- and unforuntately. On thoþher ſyde corage  
ple of other me and bolde thy ſelfe vnto chaſtyte by then-  
samples of ſo many yonge men/of ſo ma-  
ny yonge and tendre virgynes nourished  
þp delycately & in pleasures: And (the cy-  
cūſtances compared togyþer) lay agaynſt

thyselfe thy sluggyshnesse / whye thou at  
the last shulde not be able to do that thing  
whiche suche and suche / of that kynde or  
sexe / of that age / so borne / so brought vp  
were & yet be able to do? Loue as moche  
as they dyd / and thou shalte be able to do  
no lesse than they dyd. Thynke howe ho-  
nest / howe plesaunt / howe lusty and flo-  
ryshyng a thyng is purenesse of body and  
of mynde / she moste of all maketh vs ac-  
quaynted and famlyer with angels / and  
apte to receyue the holy ghost: for verly  
that noble spryte the louer of purenesse /  
so greatly fleeth backe from no vyce atall  
as from vnclynnes / he resteth & sporteth  
 hym nowhere so moche as i pure virgyns  
myndes. Set before thyne eyen howe vn-  
goodly it is / howe alogyder a mad thing  
to loue / to ware pale / to be made leane / to  
wepe / to flatter / and shamfully to submyt  
thy selfe vnto a stynkyng harlot most fyl-  
thy and rotten / to gape & synge all nyght  
at her chambre wyndowe / to be made to  
the lure & be obedyent at a becke / nor dare  
do any thing except she nod or wagge her  
heed / to suffre a folyshe woman to reigne  
ouer the / to chyde the: to lay vnyndnesse  
one agaynst þ other to fall out / to be made  
at one agayne / to gyue thy selfe wyllynge  
vnto a queene / that she myght mocke /

The vngoodly  
office of louers

kocke/mangle and spoyle the. Where is I  
beseeche the amonge all these thynges the  
name of a man? Where is thy berde? Where  
is that noble mynde created vnto moste  
beautyfull and noble thynges? Consydre  
also another thyng with thy selfe/ howe  
great a flocke of myscheues voluptuous-  
nesse (if she be let in) is wonne to bringe  
with her. Other byces peraduerture haue  
some acquayntaunce with certayne ver-  
tues/fylthy lust hath none atall/ but is a-  
nexed and alway coupled with those syn-  
nes that be greatest and most in nombre.  
Let it be but a tryfle or a lyght mater to  
folowe queenes/ yet is it a greuous thing  
not to regarde thy father and mother/ to  
set at naught thy frendes/ to consume thy  
fathers good in wast/ to plucke awaie  
from other men/ to forsware thy selfe/ to  
drinke all nyght/ to robbe/ to vse wytch-  
craft/to fyght/ to comyt murdere/ to blas-  
pheme. In to whiche al & greuouser than  
these þ lady pleasure wyl drawe the heed-  
longe/ after thou ones haste ceassed to be  
thyne owne man/ and haste put thy wret-  
ched heed vnder her gyrdle. Pondre more  
ouer howe this lyfe vanisheth awaie fa-  
ster than smoke/ lesse of substance than  
a shadowe/ and howe many snares dethe  
þy whole for vs/ layeng awaite in every

place and at all seasons. Here and at  
this poynte it shall profyte syngularly/  
to call to remembraunce and that name  
by name/ if that sodayne dethe hath ta-  
ken awaye any sometyme of thyne ac-  
quaintaunce/ of thy famyluer frendes/ or  
thy companyons/ or els of them whiche  
were yonger than thou: and mooste spe-  
cially of them whiche in tyme passed thou  
hast had felowes of sylthy pastyme. And  
lerne of another mans peryll to be more  
ware and cyrcumspecte. Remembre howe  
delycously they lyued/ but howe bytter-  
ly they departed: howe late they waxed  
wyse/ howe late they beganne to hate  
their mortyferous and deedly pleasures.  
Lette come to remembraunce the sharp-  
nesse of the extreme iudgement/ and the  
terryble lyghtenyng of that fearfull sen-  
tence never to be reuoked/ sendyng wyc-  
ked men in to eternall fyre/ and that this  
pleasure of an hour shorte and lytle/ must  
be punyshed with eternall tourmentes.  
In this place wey dylgently in a payre  
of balaunces / howe vnegall a chaunge  
it is for the mooste sylthy & very shorte de-  
lectacyon of lust/ bothe to lose in this lyfe  
the top of the mynde beyng moche sweter  
and more excellent/ and in the lyfe to come

Sodayn dethe.

The straynes  
of the extreme  
iudgement.

The ioyes of  
pure myndeis  
moche sweter  
than is the ple-  
sure of synne,

to be spoyled of iopes everlastingng. More  
ouer with so shadowlyke and lytle bayne  
pleasure to purchace sorowes neuer to be  
ended. Fynally if it seme a harde thyng to  
dispyse þ so small delectacion for Christes  
lase/remēbre what paynes he toke vpon  
hym for þ tendre loue he bare to the. And  
besyde the comen iniuryes of mans lyfe/  
howe moche of his holy bloode shedde he/  
howe shamfull/howe bytter dethe suffred  
he/ and all for the. And thou of all those  
thyngs vnmyndfull crucifyest agayne the  
sonne of god/iterating a fresh thos mad  
pleasures whiche caused & compelled thy  
heed and lorde vnto so cruell tourmentes.  
Than acordyng to þ rule aboue rehersed/  
call to mynde howe moche of benefytes he  
heaped on the/Whan as yet thou haddeſſ  
deserued nothyng atall: for the whiche al  
thoughe no ſufficient or lyke recompence  
can be made of thy parte for the leſſ/ yet  
desyreteth he agayn none other thanke but  
that thou after his example ſhuldest re-

The benefites  
of god.

Venus is the  
goddes of loue  
& ſhe is put  
for loue.

Cupydo is the  
god of loue / &  
is also put  
for loue.

frayne thy mynde from deedly and mor-  
tall pleasures/ and tourne the vnto the  
loue of infynyte goodnesſe and of infy-  
nyte pleasures and beautye. Compare  
togyther these two/Venus and two Cu-  
pydes of Plato / that is to ſaye honest  
loue and fylthy loue / holy pleasure and

bunclyng pastyme / cōpare togyder the vn-  
lyke mater of cyther other. Cōpare the na-  
tures / cōpare the cewardes: & in all tempta-  
tions / but namely whan thou art stered  
to fylthy lust / set to the before thyne eyes  
thy good aungell whiche is thy keper and  
cōtinuall beholder & wytnes of al thyngs  
thou doest or thynkest / & god euer lokyng  
on vnto whose eyes all thynges are open  
whiche syteth aboue the heuens & behol-  
deth the secrete places of the erth: & wylte  
not thou be afrayde before the aungell pre-  
sent & euен harde by the / before god / & all  
the company of heuen loking on & abhor-  
tyng to cōmytte a thyng so abhomynable  
and fylthy that it wolde shame þ to do the  
same in the p̄sence of one vyle man? This  
thyng I woldest thou sholdest thynke as  
it is in dede. And yf it were so þ thou had-  
dest eyes moche sharper of syght þā hath  
a beest called lynre / or moche clerer than  
hath þ egle / yet with these eyes in þ moste  
clerest syght þ coude be / coudest thou not  
beholde more surely that thyng whiche a  
man dothe before the than all the preuy &  
secrete partes of thy mynde be open vnto  
the syght of god and of his aungels. This  
also counte in thy mynde whan thou art  
ouercome of bodily lust / of two thynges  
the one must folowe eyther that voluptus

here is a good  
note for every  
christian man.

Lynre is a best  
of most puryst  
syght amonge  
all beestes.

Obstynacy of  
a froward min-  
de sprungeth of  
bodyly lust  
B.J.

ousnes ones fasset so shal enchant & da-  
ken thy mynde/that thou must go frō fyl-  
thines to filthines/bntyl thou clene blynd-  
ed shal be brought in sensū reprobri/that  
is to saye/in to a lewde & reproued iudge-  
ment:& so made oblygnate & sturdy in euill  
cankest not/no truly not than yeilde vp fil-  
thy pleasure whan she hath forsaken the/  
whiche thyng we se to haue happened to  
very many/that whā the body is wasted/  
whan beauty is wythered and banished/  
whan the blode is colde/whā strength fay-  
leth/& the eyes ware dym/yet stylly conty-  
nually they ytche without seassynge. And  
with greater mischefe are now fylthy spe-  
kers than before tyme/they haue ben vn-  
shameful lyuers/than which thyng what  
can be more abhominable & monstrous?  
The other is yf paduēture it shall happen  
the by the specyall fauoure of god to cōme  
agayn to thy self. Than must that Morte &  
fugityue plesure be purged with very gret  
sorowe of mynde/with myghty & stronge  
labour/with cōtinuall stremes of teares:  
how moche more wysdome therfore is it  
not to receyue at all the poyson of carnall  
pleasure/than eyther to be brought in to  
so vncurable blyndnes/or elles to recom-  
pence so lytell/and that also false pleasure  
with so great greuaunce & dolorous payne

More ouer thou mayst take many thynges  
of the circumstaunce of thyne owne  
ysone whiche myght call the backe from  
voluptuous pleasure. Thou art a preest / A preest  
remembre that thou art all togyder con-  
secrate to thinges perteynyng unto god /  
what a myscheuous dede / how vngood-  
ly / how vnmete / and how vnworthy it  
sholde be to touche the rotten and syn-  
kyng fleshe of an hore with that mouth  
wherwith thou receyuest that precyous  
body so greatly to be honoured / and  
to handell lothsome and abhomynable  
sylth with the same handes wherwithall  
(euен the aungelles mynstryng to the  
and assystryng the) thou executest that in-  
effable and incomprehensible mysterie.

How these thynges agree not to be ma-  
de one body and one spiryte with god /  
and to be made one body with an hore. If thou be

If thou be lerned / so moche the nobler lerned.  
and lyker unto god is thy mynde / and  
so moche the more vnworthy of this wa-  
me and rebuke. If thou be a gentylman / A gentylman  
yf thou be a prynce / the more aperie and

open the abhomynacyon is : the greuou-  
ser occasyon gyueth ic unto other infery-  
ours to folowe the same. If thou be ma-  
ryed / remembre what an honest thyngic A maryed man,  
is a bedde vndesyled. And spue dylgence

(as moche as ifirmitte shall suffre) that thy  
wedlocke may counterfayte the moost ho-  
ly mariage of Chryſt & his churche/whose  
ymage it beareth:that is to wite/that thy  
mariage may be clene bareyn in vncle-  
nes/& plenteous in procreacyon:for in no  
kynde of lyuyng can it be but very fylthy  
to serue & be bounde to vnclely lustes. If  
thou be a yong man/take good hede besy-  
ly that thou pollute not vnaudysedly the  
floure of thy youthe / whiche wyll never  
spryngē agayn: & that thou cast not away  
vpon a thyng moost fylthy thy best & very  
golden yeres/whiche fle away most swif-  
ly/and never returne agayn: beware also  
lest now thogh the ignorance & neclig-  
gence of youth thou comytte that thyngē  
whiche sholde grudge the here after by all  
thy hole lyfe/the conſcience of thy misdedes

Fylthy plesure  
leueth behinde  
her styngē in  
our myndes.

A woman.

A man.

An olde man

ever pſecutynge the with those his moost  
byter / moost greuous & sharpe stynges/  
whiche whā pleasure departeth she leueth  
behynde her in our myndes. If thou be a  
woman this kynde nothyngē more beco-  
meth than challice/than shame/& feare of  
dishonelle.yf thou be a man/so moche the  
more arte thou mete & worthy of greater  
thynges/& vnierte & unworthy of these so-  
lewide thingz.yf thou be olde/wylſe thou  
haddest ſome other mans eyes to beholde

thy selfe with all / that thou myghtest se  
how euyll voluptuousnes sholde become  
the / whiche in youth veryly is myscable &  
to be brydeled: but in an olde foole veryly  
wonderfull & monstrous: & also even vnto  
the very folowers of pleasure / a ieslyng &  
mockyng stocke. Among all monstres none  
is more wonderfull thā fylthy lust in age.  
Oh dotypol/oh to moche forgetful of thy  
selfe: at the leestway behold at a glasse the  
hoore heares & whyte snowe of thy heed/  
thy forehed forrowed with wryncles / & thy  
carynn face moost lyke vnto a ded corps: &  
now at the last ende whan thou art come  
even vnto the pittes brynke care for other  
thynges more agreeable vnto thy yeres: at  
the leestway þ whiche became the to haue  
done before tyme (reason mouynge the) do  
now / thy yeres putting the in remēbrānce  
or rather compellyng the. Euen now ple  
sure her selfe casteth the of saying neyther  
I now am comly vnto the / neyther yet  
thou mete or apte vnto me. Thou hast  
playde ynough / thou hast eaten ynough/  
thou hast dronk ynough / it is tyme for the  
to departe / why holdest thou yet so fast &  
art so gredy on pleasures of this lyfe / whā  
very lyfe her selfe forsaketh the. Now it is  
tyme for that my stycall concubyne Abysac  
that ones she may begin to rest in thy bo-

Agaynst the le  
chery of olde  
men & womeu.

B. iii.

Dauyd was so  
olde that he  
coudc gete no  
heate in his  
lymmes / than  
brought the 3  
raelyngs vnto  
Dauyd Abysac  
a fayre yonge  
mayde whiche  
lay with hym &  
kepte hym war  
me / he knewe  
her not / she re  
mayned a pure  
mayde. By her  
is sygnysyd  
wysdō / a thing  
moost mete for  
age: all fylthy  
nes & vndenes  
layde aparte.

Come / let her with holy rage of loue heat  
thy mynde / & with the embrasynges of her  
kepe the warme & cōfort thy colde mēbris.

**A** A Worke recapitulacyon of remedyes  
agaynst the flame of lust. Capi. xxvij.

Auoydys  
occasions.

Syrenes be  
mēre maydes.

**F**inally to make a shorte & compen-  
dious conclusyon / these be the most  
special thyngs whiche wyll make the sure  
from pleasures & entysyngs of the fleshē/  
fyrst of all circūspecte / and diligent auop-  
dynge of all occasyons / whiche precepte  
though it be mete to be obserued also in  
other thinges / bycause that he whiche lo-  
uethe perylles is worthy to perisshe therin  
yet these be moost chefely those Syrenes  
which almoost never man at all hath esca-  
ped / saue he whiche hathe kepte farre of.  
Secondly moderacyon of eatynge & drynk-  
yng and of slepe / temperaunce and absti-  
nence from pleasures / ye from suchē as be  
lawfull & permittēd: the regarde of thyne  
owne deth / & the contemplacyon of þ deth  
of Chryſt / & those thinges also wyll helpe  
yf thou shalt lyue with suchē as be chaste  
and vncorupted: yf thou shalte eschewe  
as a cerreyn pestylence the cōunycacion  
of corrupte and wanton persones: yf thou  
shalte flee ydole solytarynesse & sluggishe

golenes: if thou shalte exercyse thy mynde  
strongly in the medytacion of celestyall  
thynges / and in honest studyes. But spe-  
cally if thou shalte consecrate thy selfe  
with all thy myght vnto the inuestigac-  
yon or sechynge of mysteryes of holy  
scripture: if thou shalte praye bothe ofte  
and purly / most of all whan temptacyon  
inuadeth and assawteth the.

**C**agaynst the entysynges and prouo-  
synes vnto auaryce. Lapi. xxxiiii.

**I**f thou shalt perceyue that thou art  
eyther by nature any thyng encly-  
ned to the vice of auaryce / or stered by the  
deuyll: call to remembraunce (accordynge  
to the rules aboue rehersed) the dignite of  
thy condycyon or state / whiche for this  
thyng onely wast created / for this rede-  
med / that thou euer sholdest enioye that  
infynyte good thyng god / for god hathe  
forged all þ hole buyldynge of this worlde  
that all thynges sholde obey vnto thy vse  
and necessite. How fylthy than & of how  
strayte & narowe a mynde is it not to vse  
but so greatly to wonder at thyngs dombe  
and moost vyle: take awaie the errour of  
men / what shall golde & syluer be but reed  
erth & wþpte? Shalte thou be the discyple  
Auaryce,  
B. iiiij.

To despysse ry  
ches is a noble  
thyng.

Christ in the  
gospell of Ma-  
thewe leest his  
discypples shold  
care for meete  
drynke or clo-  
thes / bad them  
to beholde the  
lylys how they  
were clothed /  
the byrd; how  
they were fed  
saycs / yf your  
father of heue  
make prouysyd  
for so vile this;  
muche more ye  
can not lacke  
whome he lo-  
ueth so syngu-  
lary.

of poore Chryſt & called to a better posſeſſion / wonder at that as a certeyn great &  
excellent thyng whiche no philosopher of  
the gentyles dyd not ſet at nouȝt: not to  
poſſeſſe ryches / but to despysse ryches is a  
noble thyng. But the cōmuualte of chryſt  
men by name onely crye out agaynt  
me / & be glad to deceyue them ſelue moost  
craftely: very neceſſite (ſay they) cōpelleteth  
vs to gader good togyder / wherofyl there  
ſholde be none at all / than conde we not  
ones lyue verylly: yf it ſholde be thynne &  
poore / than ſholde we lyue in moche my-  
ſery without pleasure. But & yf it be ſom-  
what clene & honest / & ſomwhat plēteous  
withall / it bryngeth many cōmoditytees to  
mā. The good lyking of body is well ſeen  
vnto / prouylsyon is made for our chyldren /  
we lende & profyte our frendes / we are de-  
ſpyuered frō cōtempte & be the more ſet by:  
in cōclusion alſo a man ſhal haue þ better  
name whan he is ſomwhat welthy. Of a  
greate many thouſandes of chryſten men  
thou canſt scarce fynde one or two þ do the  
not bothe ſaye & thynke the ſame. Neuer-  
theleſſe to anſwere theſe men vnto bothe  
partes. First of al bycause they cloke their  
couetouuſnes with the name of neceſſite / I  
wyll lay agaynt them the parable reher-  
ſed in the gospell of the lytles & of þ byrdes

Iwyng from day to day, without farther  
prouision/whose ensample Chryſt exhorteth vs to counterfeyte. I wyll lay agaynst  
them that the same Chryſt wold not ones  
ſuffre ſo moche as a ſcrippe to be carped a-  
boute of his diſcyples. I wyll lay agaynst  
them þ he comandeth vs (all other things  
laidde aparte) before all thyngs to ſeke the  
kyngdome of heuen/ & promyſeth that all  
thyngs ſhal be caſt & gyuen to vs. Whan at  
any tyme had not they thyngs neceſſary to  
maynteyn lyfe withal ſufficiently/whiche  
with all their hertes haue gyuen themſelvſ  
to vertue & to the true lyf of a christē man?  
And how ſmall a thyng is that whiche na-  
ture requireth of vs? but thou meaſureſt  
neceſſite not by þ nedes of nature/but by þ  
boundes of couetouſnes. But vnto good  
men euēn that is ynough that ſcarſely co-  
tenteth nature. How be it verly I do not ſryers.  
ſo greatly ſet of theſe which forſake at one  
choppe theiṛ hole ſubſtaunce euerywhyt  
that they myght þ more shamefully begge  
of other. It is none offence to poſſeſſe mo-  
ney/but to loue & ſet ſtore by money that  
is a vice & cofyn to synne. If ryches flowe  
vnto the/vſe the offyce of a good diſpeler:  
but & þt ebbē & go away/be not conſumed  
with thought/as though thou were rob-  
bed of a greate thyng/e but rather reioyce

Nestor lyued  
thic hundred  
yeres.

Ryches amōg  
profytably thys  
obtayne the  
lowest rowme.

that thou art deluyuered of a perylous fadell. Notwithstandynge he whiche consumeth the chefe study & pastyme of his lyfe in heapping vp ryches togyder/whiche gaþeth at them as a certeyn excellēt or noble thyngē/þyghly to be desyred/and layeth them vp i store/that he may haue ynough to serue hym for longe tyme/ye though he wolde lyue euen to the age of Nestor: this man peraduenture may well be called a good marchaunt/but verly I wolde not say that he were a very good christē man/that hangeth all togyder of hymselfe/and hath dystruste of the promesses of Chyst/whose goodnes / it is easy to wyte / shall not fayle a good man puttynge his trust in hym / seynge that he so liberally bothe feedeth & clotheth the poore sparowdes. But let vs now cast a comptes of the cōmodities / whiche ryches is bylued to bryngē with hym. fyrist of al euen by the comune cōsent of þ gentleþ philosophers: amonge the good thynges whiche are called Bonna vtilia / that is to saye/good profytably thyngs/ryches hath the lowest place. And whan all other thynges (after the dysputation of Epictetus) are without man / exþpte onely vertue of the mynde: yet noþyngē is so moche without vs as money is/noþyngē bryngeth so lytell cōmodite.

For what so ever there is anywhere of  
golde / What so ever there is of precyous  
stones / yf thou alone haddeſt it every deale Ryches helpe  
in thy posſeſſyon / Shall thy mynde be ther- perh nothyng  
ſore the better by the valure of one heare? to vertue,  
Shalt thou be the wyſer? Shalt thou be the  
connynger? Shalte thou be anywhyt the  
more in good helth of body? Shall it make  
the more ſtrong and lusty? more fayre and  
beaueteous? more yonge? No trewly. But  
you wyl ſay that it purchaſeth pleaſures/  
trewhth it is: but they be deedly pleaſures/  
It geteth a man honour: but what honour  
I praye you? verly falſe honour / Whiche halpe ſomwhat  
they gyue / that prayſeth nothyng / ſet-  
teth by nothyng but onely folyshe thyn-  
ges / and of whome to be prayſed / is well  
nere to be diſprayſed. True honour is / to  
be lauded of them whiche are commen-  
dable and prayſe worthy theym ſelues.  
The hyghest honoure that can be / is to haue pleased Chryſte. True honoure is /  
the rewarde / not of ryches / but of vertue. honour is the  
rewarde of vertue / and not of  
ryches.

Syder the myserable pouerte of thy mynde  
Whiche ys the cōmune people salve / than  
Wolde they iudge the as myserable & wret-  
ched / as they now call the happy & blessed  
But good geteth frendes. I graunte / but  
yet fayned & false frendes : neyther geteth  
it frendes to the but to it selfe. And certeyn-  
ly the riche man is in this poynt of al men  
mosste unfortunate & wretched / bycause he  
can not so moche as discerne or knowe his  
true frendes & louers from other. One ha-  
teth hym priuely & secretly in hert & mynde  
Ryches geteth frendes but those  
false & fayned.  
as an harde nyggarde. An other hath envy  
at hym / bycause he passeth hym in ryches.  
An other lokynge to his owne profyte and  
auantage / flatereth hym / & holdeth vp his  
ye & his nay / & smyleth vpon hym / to the  
ende that he may scrape & gete some thing  
from hym. He that before his face is most  
louyng & kynde / wylsheth and prayeth for  
his quycke and hasty deth. There is none  
that loueth hym so hertely & entyerly / but  
that he had leuer haue hym dead than a-  
lyue. No man is so famlyar with hym /  
he wyll tell hym the trewth. But be it in  
case there were one special frende amonge  
a thousande that loued a ryche man hertely  
Without any maner of faynyng / yet can  
not the ryche man but haue in suspition &  
mystrust euery man. He iudgeth all men to

be vultures & rauenous bydes gaping for  
careyn: he thynketh all men to be flies fly-  
ng to him/ to sucke out some pflyt of him  
for theselues. What so euer cōmodite ther-  
fore ryches semeth to bryng/ it for þ most  
parte/ or else all togyder is but coloured &  
deceiptfull/ it is shadowe lyke & full of delu-  
sion/ apperyng otherwyse than it is in be-  
ry dede. But they bryng very many things  
which are euill in dede/ & taketh away ve-  
ry many of these thynges which are good  
in very dede. Therfore ys thou wylte laye  
acompres well & perfytly of that whiche  
is wonne/ & that whiche is lost: doubtles  
thou shalt fynde that they never do bryng  
so moche of cōmodices/ but þ they drawe  
with them to to moche more of incōmody-  
ties & displeasures. With how paynfull &  
sore labours are they gotten/ & with how  
great iepardies? with how gret thought  
& care be they kepte? with how gret heuy-  
nes & sorow we are they lost? for whiche cau-  
ses Chyste calleth them yea thornes/ by-  
cause they rent/ teare & plucke in sonder al  
the tranquillite & quietnes of the mynde/ wherfor Christ  
the tranquillite of mynde/ nothyng is so man-  
ches to thorws  
more swete & pleasant/ & they never quen-  
che the thurst & desyre of theselfe/ but kendleth  
& increaseth it more & more. They dryue a

compareth ry-  
ches to thornes

**I**t is hardes for  
a ryche man to  
be a good man

*as*

**A**uaryce is cal-  
led Idolatrie.

**M**ammon is  
the deuyll whi  
the tempteth  
and styrreth to  
covetousnes.

man hedlonge in to all mischefe. Neyther  
flatter thy selfe in bayne, saying nothyng  
forbyddeth but that a man at one tyme  
may be bothe ryche and good. Remembre  
what verite sayth/ that it is more easy for  
a camell to crepe thugh the eye of a nedle  
than a ryche man to entre in to the kyng-  
dome of heuen. And playnly without ex-  
cepçion true is that saying of saint Jerome  
A ryche man to be eyther vnust hym selfe  
or the heyre of an vnust man: greate ryches  
can never be eyther gotten or elles kepte  
Without synne. Remembre of how moche  
better riches they robbe the/ for he hateth  
the very taste and smell of vertue/ he ha-  
teth al honest craftes/ who so euer setteth  
his hert vpon golde. More ouer the byce of  
auaryce onely is called ydolatry of paule  
Neyther with any other vice at all Christ  
hath lesse aquaintaunce/ neyther þ selfsame  
ysone can please god and mammon also.

**C**The recapitulacyon of the remedyes  
agaynst the byce of auarice. La. xxxv.

**T**hou shalt lyghtly therfore seace to  
wonder at money ysþ thou wylt pon-  
der and wey diligently very good thinges  
with those that be false & apparant good/  
ysþ paynted & coloured commodities with  
those that be very commodityes in dede/ ysþ

thou wylt lerne with thyne eyen to  
 beholde & to loue that noble good thyng  
 which is infynyte / whiche onely whā it is  
 p̄sent / ye though all other thyngs shold be  
 lacking / haboundantly dothe satissye the  
 mynde of man / which is wyder & larger of <sup>The mynde of</sup>  
 capacite thā that it can be suffysed with al <sup>mā is of grete</sup>  
 the good thynges of this worlde. If thou <sup>capacyte / god</sup>  
 shalt ofte call agayn before thyne eyen in  
 what cōdicyon & state thou were whā the <sup>Naked we cat</sup>  
 eeth fiest receyued þ whan thou were first <sup>me and naked</sup>  
 borne: lykewyse in what state þ same shall  
 receyue þ agayn whan thou dyest. If euer  
 shall be p̄sent in thy memory that famous  
 soule of whom is made mencion in þ gospel  
 To whome it is sayd. This nyght I wyl  
 set agayn thy soule frō the: & these thyngs  
 whiche thou hast gadered togyder / whose  
 mal they than be? If thou shalt turne thy  
 mynde frō the corrupt maners of þ cōmen  
 sorte unto the pouerte of Mary Chryſtes  
 mother / unto the pouerte of the apostles /  
 of the martyrs / and moost of all of Chryſt  
 thy heed. And seete before the that feerfull  
 wordie tie / that is interpretate / Woo be to  
 you: whiche Chryſt so menasseth & threte-  
 neth unto the ryche men of this worlde.

**A**gaynst ambicyon or desyre of ho-  
 nour and authorite. Lapi. xxxvi.

honoure spryn-  
geth of vertue  
only.

It is an honest  
thyng to be  
lauded of god.

Honour gyuen  
of vnhonest  
persones.

If at any tyme ambicio shallcombe  
& bere thy mynde thugh her enchaū-  
tementes / with these remedies thou shalt  
arme thyself before hand without taryng  
(according to þ rules whiche I gaue before)  
take & holde this with toth & nayle, þ to be  
honour onely which springeth of true ver-  
tue / whiche self same neverthelesse a man  
must somtyme refuse / even as taught vs  
bothe with doctrine & ensāple our maister  
Jesus Chyst. And this to be the chefe ho-  
nour & onely honour which a chystē man  
sholde desyre and wylle for to be prayzed  
not of men / but of god / for whome he com-  
medeth (as sayth the apostle) that man is  
perfyte & worthy of honour in dede. But þ  
honour be gyuen of mā for an vngoodly &  
vnhonest thyng / & so of vngoodly þsons.  
This is not honour but great dishoneste/  
shame & rebuke. yffor any meane & indiffe-  
ret thyng / as for beauty / strength / ryches /  
kygne: yet verly shall it not be called tru-  
ly honoure / for no man deserueth honoure  
with þ thyng wherof he deserueth not to  
be prayzed. If for an honest thyng in dede  
it shal be honour: yet he whiche deserueth  
it shall nor desyre it / but verly shal be con-  
tent with þ very vertue & cōscyence of his  
good dede. Beholde therfore how folyshe  
& how worthy to be laughed at these ho-

hours be/for whose desyre the cosmen peo  
ple so greatly burne & rage. First of all of  
whom are they gyuen? Trewly of them <sup>honour gyuen</sup>  
<sup>of come people</sup> with whom is no difference bytwene ho-  
nesty & dishonesty. Wherfore are they gy-  
uen? very oft for meane thyngs / now and  
than for fylthy thyngs. To whom? to him  
whiche is unworthy. Who soever therfore  
gyueth honour eyther he doth it for feare/  
and than is he to be feared agayne / or by-  
cause thou woldest do hym a good turne/  
and than he mocketh the: or because he is  
astonysed at thynges of naught & worthy  
of no honour / & than he is to be pityed: or  
because he supposeth the to be indued with  
suche thinges as honour is gyuen of duty/  
wherin if he be disceyued / gyue diligence  
that thou mayest be that he supposest the  
to be. But & if he hyt aright / referre all the  
honour þ is offred the unto him to whom  
thou arte bounde / ye for all those thinges  
wherunto the honour is gyuen. As thou  
oughtest not ascrybe to thyne owne selfe  
the vertue / so is it unsytyng to take upon  
the the honour therof. Besydes this what  
is greater madnesse than to esteme the va-  
lure of thyselfe by thopinyons of folyshe <sup>not d</sup>  
me / in whose handz it lyeth to take away <sup>our chace</sup> your  
agayne whan so euer they lyste the very moost comely  
fame honour which they gyue / & dishonesty

S.J.

the which was euen now honested. There  
fore nothyng can be more folyshe than  
eyther to reioyce for suche honours whan  
they happē/or to be sorry or mourne whan  
they be taken away/whiche not to be true  
honours thou shalte perceyue at the leest  
way by this probacion and argument/for  
so moche as they be comen to the worste  
and leudeſt persons of all:ye they chaunce  
almost to none more plentuously than to  
them whiche of trewe honours be moſte  
**The quietnes  
of a priuate  
lyfe.**  
unworthy. Remembre how blyſſed is the  
quietneſſe of a meane lyfe bothe priuate/  
that is to ſay/ charged with no comen be-  
ſynesse/ and ſeparate & remoued out of the  
way from al noyſe/haunte/or preaſſe. On  
the other ſyde conſider howe full of prickes  
howe full of cares/of peryls/of ſorowes/  
is the lyfe of great men/& what diſſicultie  
it is not to forget thy ſelſe in proſperyte/  
howe harde it is for a man standynge in a  
lypper place not to fall/how greuous the  
fall is from an hyghe. And remembre that  
all honour is coupled with great charge/  
and howe ſtrayte the iugement of þ hygh  
iudge ſhalbe agaynst them whiche here in  
bluryng of honours/prefetere them ſelſe  
afore other men. For ſurely who ſo euer  
ſhall humble & ſubmyt hym ſelſe/hym as  
an innocēt or harmleſſe person mercy ſhal-

socour: but who soever exalteth hymselfe Let it not exalt  
as a perfyte man / þ same person excludeth thy mynde by  
from hymselfe the helpe & socour of grace. rest rule over  
cause thou bea  
Let euer the ensample of Christe thy heed other men.  
stycke faste in thy mynde. What thynges as  
touchyng to the woorlde was more vyle/  
more dispysed or lesse honoured than he?  
How forsoke he honours whā they were  
profred hym/whiche was greater than a-  
ny honoure? Howe set he no store of ho-  
nours whan he rode vpon an asse? Howe  
condempned he thē whan he was clothed  
in pall and crowned with thorne? Howe  
vnglorious or vyle a dethe chose he? But  
whom the woorlde dispysed him the fathē  
glorifyed. Let thy glory be in the crosse of  
Christ/in whom also is thy helth/welthe/  
sauynge/defence & protectyon. What good  
shal woorldly honours do to the if god cast  
the awaye and dispysse the/ and the aun-  
gels lothe/abhorre/and defye the.

**C**Agaynst elacyon otherwyse called pride  
or swellyng of the mynde. capi. xxxvij.

**T**hou shalte not swell in thy mynde  
This (acordyng to the comen prouerbe knoweth  
þsed of every man) thou woldest knowe seſe,  
thyſelfe: that is what so euer great thyng/  
what soever goodly or beautifull thyng/  
S.ij.

What soever excellēt thyng is in the/ thou  
accomp̄t that to be the gyfte of god/ & not  
thy good. On the other syde/ if what soever  
is lowe or vile/ what soever is soule or fil-  
ascrybe that altogyther unto thyne owne  
selfe: if thou rememb̄e in how moche fylthe  
thou were conceyued/ in how moche borne  
howe naked/ howe nedy/ howe brutifile/  
howe wretched/ howe miserably thou art  
pest in to this lyght. If thou rememb̄e in  
to how many diseases or sicknesse on eve-  
ry syde/ unto howe many chaunses/ unto  
howe many encombraunces/ greues/ and  
troubles this wretched body is daungered.  
And agayne howe lytle a thing were able  
shortly to consume & bring to naught this  
cruell & vnrely gyaunt/ swellyng with so  
myghty a spryte. Pondre also this/ what  
maner thyngē that is wherof thou takest  
upon the: if it be a meane or an indifferent  
thyng/ it is folysnesse: if a fylthy thing/ it is  
madnesse: if an an honest thyngē/ it is  
unkyndnesse. Rememb̄e also nothyng to  
be a moze sure document or profe of statke  
folysnesse and lacke of understandyngē/  
than if a man stande greatly in his owne  
conceypte. And agayne that no kynde of folys  
is more vncurable/ if thy mynde begyn to  
arise and ware great bycause a vyle man

Perceiue wher  
of thou stōdest  
so gretely in  
thyne owne  
conceypte,

submytteth himselfe to the. Thinke howe  
moche greater and myghter god hāgeth  
ouer thyne heed/ Whiche crusheth downe  
every proude necke erecte streyght vp/ and  
bringeth every hyll unto a playne/ Whiche  
spared not/ no verily not so moche as the  
aungell whan he was fallen in to pryde.  
And these thingz also shalbe good though  
they seme somwhat as they were tryfles/  
If thou woldest compare thy selfe alwaye  
with excellenter persons. Thou lykest thy  
selfe bycause of a lytle beauty of thy body:  
compare thy selfe to the whiche in beauty  
be farre before the. A lytle cōnyng maketh  
the to set vp thy fetherz/ turne thyne eyen  
unto them in comparyson of whom thou  
mayst seme to haue lerned nothyng at all.  
Moreover if thou wylt acompt not howe  
moche of good thyngz thou hast/ but howe  
moche thou lackest: And with Paule for-  
getfull of those thingz whiche be behynde  
the woldest stretche forthe thy selfe to tho  
thynges whiche remayne afore the. Fur-  
thermore that also shal not be an vnwyse  
thyng/ if whan the wynde of pride dothe  
blowe/ by and by we turne our very yuell  
thingz into a remedy/ as it were expelling  
one poyson with another. That thyng  
shall this wise come to passe/ if whan any  
great vycie or defourmyte of body/ whan

Consydre thyn  
owne vyses &  
defourmytes.

S.iiij.

Arrogacy/pre-  
sumpcion or  
pertynacy/ is  
shated vyce.

Any notable domage eyther fortune hath  
gyuen/ or foly hath brought to vs whiche  
myght gnawe vs vehemently by the sto-  
make/ We set that before our eyen/ and by  
thensample of the pecocke we beholde our  
selfe chefely in that parte of vs in whiche  
we be most defourmed/ and so shal thy fe-  
thers fall forthwith and thy pride abate.  
Beyonde all these (besydes þ none other  
vyce is more hated vnto god) remembre  
also that arrogancye/pride/ and presump-  
cion is notably hated and had in derisyon  
euery where amonge men: whan contrary  
wyse lowlynelle & mekenesse/ bothe pur-  
chaseth the fauour of god/ and kutteth vn-  
to the the benyuolence of man. Therfore  
to speake compendyously/ two thynges  
chefly shal refrayne the from pride/ if thou  
consydre what thou art in thyselfe/ fylthy  
in thy byrthe/ a burble (suche as ryseth in  
the water) throughout all thy lyfe/ wox-  
mes meate in thy deth/ and what Christ  
was made for the.

Agaynst wrathe and desyre of  
vengeaunce. capi.xxxviii.

wrathe is a  
chydyshe  
wyng.

W han feruent sorowe of the mynde  
stryreth the vp vnto vengeance/re-  
membre wrathe to be nothyng leesse than

that whiche it falsoly couertrefayteth/ that  
is to wete fortytude or manfulnesse: for  
nothyng is so chyldysche/ so weake/no-  
thing so feble and of so vyle a mynde as to  
reioyce in vengeance. Thou woldest be  
counted a man of great stomacke/ & ther-  
fore thou sufferest not iniurye to be vna-  
uenged: but in conclusyon by this meanes  
thou vtterest thy chyldyschnesse / seynge  
thou cannest not rule thyne owne mynde  
whiche is the very property and offyce of  
a man. Howe moche malyer/ how moche  
excellenter is it to set another mans foly <sup>Regarde Irtell</sup>  
at naught than to couertrefayte it? But he foly. <sup>another mans</sup>  
hath hurte the/he is proude and fierle/ he  
scorneth the. The sylthyer he is so moche  
the more beware leest thou be made lyke  
hym. What the dyuelles madnesse is it  
that thou to auenge an other mans leud-  
nesse woldest be made the leuder thy selfe.  
If thou dispysse the rebuke/ all men shall  
perceyue þ it was done to one vnworthy  
therof: but & if thou be moued thou shalte  
make his quarell whiche dyd the wronge  
moche þ better. Furdermore take the thig  
as it is/ if any wronge be receyued/ that is  
not eased one whyt with vengeance but  
augmented. For in conclusyon what ende  
shall there be of iniuryes on bothe sydes if  
every man go forthe & procede to reuenge

his own grefe? Enemyes encrease on both  
partes/ the sorowe wareth fresshe & rawe  
agayne/ and the longer it endureth þ more  
vincurable it is: but with softnesse & with  
sufferaunce is healed nowe and than/ ye  
euен he whiche dyd the wronge/ and after  
he is comen to hymselfe agayne/ of an ene-  
mye is made a very trusty and faythfull  
frende. But the very same hurt whiche by  
vengeaūce thou coueytest to put frō the/  
reboundeth backe agayne vpon the/ and  
not without encrease of harme. And that  
also shall be a souerayne remedy agaynt  
wrathe (if accordynge to the diuysyon of  
thinges aboue rehersed) thou shuldest cō-  
syder þ one man can not hurt another on-  
lesse he wyll hym selfe/ saue in those thyn-  
ges onely whiche be outwardē goodes/  
whiche so greatly p̄tayne not vnto man:  
for the very good thynges of the mynde  
god onely is able to take awaie/ whiche  
he is not wonte to do but vnto vnynde  
persons/ & only he can gyue them/ whiche  
he hath not vsed to do vnto cruell & fury-  
ous persons. No christen man therfore is  
hurte but of hym selfe: Inury hurteth no  
man but the worker therof. These thynges  
also helpe (though they be not weyghty)  
that thou shalt not folowe the sorowe of  
thy mynde. If the cyrcumstances of rethor-

ticiens well gathered togyder thou bothe  
make lyght of thyne owne harmes / & also  
mynyfiche þ wrounge done of an other man  
comunly aft this maner. He hurt me / but  
it wyl be soone amended. More ouer he is  
a chylde / he is of thynges vnerpert / he is  
a yonge man / it is a woman / he dyd it  
through an other mans moyson or coun-  
seyle / he dyd it vnware / or whan he had  
wel dranke / it is mete that I forgyue hym.  
And on the other syde he hath hurt me gree-  
uously. Certayne but he is my father / my  
brother / my mayster / my frende / my wyfe /  
it is accordyng that this grefe sholde be  
forgyuen / eyther for the loue / or els for the  
authorite of the psone. Or els thou shalte  
set one thyng agaynst an other / & recom-  
pence þ injury with other good benefyces  
done of hym unto the. Or with thyne offen-  
ces done to hym afore season shalt accoute  
it euene / & so make quyte. This man hathe  
hurte me veryly / but other tymes how oft  
hath he done me good. It cometh of an un-  
liberal mynde to forgete þ good benefyces  
and onely to remembre a lytell wrounge or  
displeasure. Now he hath offendid me / but  
how ofte offendid of me. I wyll forgyue  
hym / that he in lykewyse by myne ensam-  
ple may pardon me / yf I an other tyme  
trespace agaynst hym. Finally it shal be a

S.v.

Forgyue thy  
detour.

remedy of moche greater vture & of stronge  
operacyon/ys in the mysdoyng of an other  
man agaynst the thou dydest thinke in thy  
selfe/what thynges/how greuous/& how  
ofte thou hast synned agaynst god / how  
many maner of wayes thou art in dette to  
hym : as moche as thou shalt remyt vnto  
thy brother whiche is in thy dette/so moche  
shall god forgyue vnto the. This waye of  
forgyvynge other mennes dettes hath he  
taught vs whiche is hym self a creditour/  
he wyll not refuse the lawe whiche he hym  
selfe made. To be absolued or losed from  
thy synnes thou rennest to Rome / saylest  
to saynt James/byest pdons moste large.  
I dispraye not verly that thyng whiche  
thou doest : but whan all is done/there is  
no redyer waye/no surer meanes wherby  
(ys thou haue offendid) thou mightest come  
to fauour agayne & be reconcyled to god/  
than ys thou whan thou art offended/ be  
reconcyled agayne vnto thy brother / for-  
gyue a lytel trespace vnto thy neyghbour  
(for it is but small what so euer one man  
trespaceth agaynst an other) that Chryste  
may forgyue the so many thousande often-  
ces. But it is harde (thou sayst) to subdue  
the mynde whan he begynneth to ware  
hote. Remembrest thou not/ how moche  
harder thynges Chryste suffered for the/

By the ensaple  
of chryste swa-  
geth mynde.

What were thou whan he for thy sake be-  
stowed his precyous lyfe? Were thou not  
his ennemy? With what softnes suffereth  
he the dayly repetyng thyne olde synnes?  
Last of all how meekly suffered he the vt-  
termost rebukes/bondes/stypes / fynally  
deth moost shamefull? Why? Why? boostest  
thou thy selfe of the heed/ysf thou care not  
to be in the body? Thou shalt not be a me-  
bre of Chryſt except thou folowe þ Steppes  
of Chryſte. But he is vnworthy to be for-  
gyuen. Euen so were not thou vnworthy  
whom god shold forgyue? In thyne owne  
selfe thou wylt haue mercy exercised / & a-  
gainſt thy brother wylt thou vſe extreme  
and cruell iuſtice? Is it ſo great a thyng yf  
thou beynge a synner thy ſelue sholdēſt for-  
gyue a ſinner/whan Chryſt prayed his fa-  
ther for them whiche crucifyed hym? Is it  
an harde thyng not to abyke thy brother  
whom thou art also comanded to loue? Is  
it an hard thing not to pay agayn an euyl  
dede/for whiche excepte thou woldest recō-  
pence a good: thou shalt not be þ towarde  
thy felowe þ Chryſt was towarde his ſer-  
uaut? Fynally yf this mā be vnworthy to  
whome for an euyll turne a good shold be  
recōpenced / yet art thou worthy to do it/  
Chryſt is worthy for whose ſake it is done  
But in ſufferynge an olde diſpleaſure I call

we must pdon  
the vnworthy.

in a newe/he wyll do injury agayne yf he  
sholde escape vnpunysshed for this:yf with  
out offence thou canst auoyde/auoyde it:if  
thou canst ease or remedy it/ease it:if thou  
canst heale a mad man/heale hym/yf not  
let hym perisshe hymself alone rather thā  
with the. This mā whiche thynketh hym  
self to haue done harme/thynke thou wox  
thy to be ptyed/and not to be punysshed.

Be angry and  
agreued with  
the v̄ce.

Saye nor do  
any thyng yf  
thou be angry

wylt thou be angry to thy cōmendacion &  
laude?be angry with þ vice/not with þ mā  
But the more thou art inclined by nature  
to this kynde of vice/so moche þ more dili-  
gently arme thy selfe longe before hande/&  
ones for altogider pryst sure in thy mynde  
this decre or purpose:that thou neither say  
nor do any thyng at any tyme while thou  
art angry:bileue not thyself whā thou art  
moued: haue suspected what so euer þ so-  
deyn mociō or rage of þ mynde distineth or  
iudgeth/ye though it be honest. Remēbre  
none other differēce to be betwene a frātik  
yson & hym þ rageth in ire thā is betwene  
a shōrt madnes that dureth but a season &  
a cōtinual pleuerāt madnes. Cal to minde  
how many thyngs in angre thou hast sayd  
or done worthy to be repēted/which now  
though in bayne thou woldest sayne were  
chaūged. Therfore whan þ wrath wareth  
hote & boyleth:yf thou cā not streightway

sane and despuer thy selfe altogyder from  
anger/ at the leest way come thus ferforth  
to thy selfe & sobrenesse that thou remem-  
bre thy selfe not to be well aduyled or in  
thy ryght mynde: To remembre this is a  
great parte of helth. On this Wyse reason  
with thy selfe/ nowe verily so am I myn-  
ded/but anone herafter I shall be of ano-  
ther mynde moche contrary/why shulde I  
in the meane season say agaynst my frende  
(whyle I am moued)that thyng whiche  
herafter whan I am pleased & my malyce  
ceassed I coulde not chaunge:why shulde I  
nowe do in my malyce or anger þ thyng  
whiche whan I am sobred & come to my  
selfe agayne I shulde greatly sorowe and  
repent. why rather shulde not reason/why  
shulde not ptyie/at the last why shulde not  
Christie optayne that of me nowe/whiche  
a lytle pause of tyme shal shortly herafter  
optayne. To no man( I suppose) hath na-  
ture gyuen so moche of blacke colour but  
at the leest way he myght so ferforthe rule  
hymselfe. But it shalbe a very good thing  
for þ thus instructed to harden thy mynde  
with reason/with cōtynuaunce & custome  
that thou couldest not be moued atall: it  
shall be a perfyte thyng/ if thou hauyng  
indignacyon only at þ vyce/ for a displea-  
sure or rebuke done to the/ shalt rendre a-

The mynde  
must be hard-  
ned against  
wrathe.

gayne a dede of charyte. To conclude,  
euен naturall temperaūce whiche ought  
to be in euery man/ requyret that thou  
shuldest not suffre affectyons to rule the  
bitterly. Not to be wrothe at all/is a thing  
moste lyke vnto god/ and therfore moste  
comly and beautyfull. To ouercome yuel  
with goodnesse/ malyce with kyndnesse/  
is to counterfayte the perfyte charyte of  
Chryst Jesu. To holde wrathe vnder and  
kepe hym backe with a brydell/is the pro-  
pertie of a wyse man. To folowe the ap-  
petyte of wrathe/ is not a poynt of a man  
verly/ but playnly of beestes/ and that  
of wylde beestes. But ys thou woldest  
knowe how moche vncomly it were to a  
man to be ouercome with wrathe / loke  
whan thou art sobre that thou marke the  
countenaunce of an angry persone/ or els  
whan thou thy selfe art angry/ go vnto a  
glaſſe. Whā thyne eyen so burne flamyng  
in fyre / whan thy chekes be pale / whan  
thy mouthe is drawen awrye/ thy lyppes  
fome/ all thy membris quake / whan thy  
voynce soundeth so malycously / neyther  
thy gestures be of one fassyon/ who wolde  
juge the to be a man? Thou perceyuest  
nowe my most swetest frende howe large  
a see is open all abrode to dispute of other  
wyces after this same maner. But we in

Beholde thy  
own countenaunce  
whan thou art  
angrye.

the myddes of our course Wyll stryke sayle  
leauynge the rest to thy discrecyon. Neys-  
ther certayne was it my mynde/ purpose/  
or intencyon (for that shulde be an infy-  
nyte worke) as I began / even so to dis-  
swade the from euery byce/ byce by byce/  
as it were with sondry declamacions/ and Declamacionis  
to bolde and courage the to the contra-  
rye vertues. This onely was my desyre Sermons.  
(whiche I thought suffycient for the) to Orations.  
shewe a certayne maner and crafte of a Prechynge;  
newe kynde of warre/ howe thou mygh-  
test arme thy selfe agaynst the yuels of the  
olde lyfe burgynge forthe agayne & spryn-  
gyng a fresshe. Therfore as we haue done  
in one or two thynges (bycause of ensam-  
ple) soo must thou thy selfe do partely in  
euery thyng/ one by one: but most of all in  
the thyngs whervnto thou shalt perceyue  
thy selfe to be styrred or instygated peculi-  
arly/ whether it be throught byce of na-  
ture / custome / or yuell bryngynge vp/ a-  
gaynst these thinges some certeyn decrees  
must be written in the table of thy mynde/  
& they must be remeued now & than / leest  
they sholde fayle or be forgoten throught  
disuse; as agaynst þ byces of backbytyng/  
fylthy spekyng/ envy/gule/& other lyke: Certen decess  
these be þ onely enemys of Christes sow- must be wittē  
dious/against whose assawte the mynde in our myndes

why he wrote  
this boke som-  
what quicklier  
and with more  
spede.

muste be armed longe aforehande with  
prayer/with noble sayengs of wyse men/  
with þ doctrine of holy scripture/with en-  
sample of deuoute & holy men/and specy-  
ally of Christe. Thoughe I doute not but  
that the redyng of holy scripture shal my-  
nister al these thyngs to the habundantly/  
neuerthelesse charyte whiche one brother  
oweth to another hath moued & exhorted  
me that at þ leest way with this sodayne  
and hasty wrytinges/I shulde further and  
helpe thy holy purpose as moche as lyeth  
in me:a thyng whiche I haue done som-  
what the rather bycause I somwhatfea-  
red leest thou shuldest fall in to that super-  
styrious kynde of religyous men/whiche  
partely awaytyng on their owne adua-  
tage/partly with great zele/but not acor-  
ding to knowlege/walke rounde aboute  
bothe by see & lande/and if anywhere they  
gette a man recoueryng from byces vnto  
vertue/hym streyght way with moste im-  
portune & leude exhortacyons/thretenyn-  
ges/and flateryngs they enfore to thruste  
into the ordre of monkes/euen as though  
without a cowle there were no christen-  
dome. Furthermore whan they haue fyl-  
led his brest with pure scripulosyte & dou-  
tes insoluble/than they bynde hym to cer-  
taine tradycions sonde by man/ & plainly

Religous  
men.

thruste the wretched person heedlonge in  
to a certayne bondage of cypremonyes lyke  
vnto the maner of the iewes / & teache him  
to tremble and feare / but not to loue. The  
orde of mōkeship is not pycie / but a kynde <sup>The ordre</sup> of monkes.  
of lyuyng to every man after the disposy-  
cion of his body & his mynde / also eyther  
profytale or vnproufytale / wher unto be-  
rily as I do not corage the / so lykewylse I  
cousayle not from it. This thyng onely I  
warne the of / that thou put pycie neyther  
in meate nor in rayment or habyte / nor in  
any visyble thyngē / but in those thynges  
whiche haue ben declared & shewed the a-  
fore: & in what soever persons thou shalte  
fynde or perceyue þ true ymage of Christē /  
with the cople thyselfe. Moreouer whan  
suche men be lacking whose conuersacion  
shulde make þ better / withdrawe thyselfe what cōpany-  
as moche as thou mayst from þ company <sup>ons a mā shold</sup>  
of man / and call the holy prophete / Christ  
and the apostels vnto cōunyacion / but  
specially make Paule of samylier acquayn-  
taunce with the. This felowe must be had  
euer in thy bosome to be redde & studyed  
bothe nyght and daye: synally & to be ler-  
ned without the booke worde by Worde /  
þpon whom we haue now a good whyle  
enforced with gret dilygence to make a cō-  
ment or a enarracyon / a bolde dede truly.

But not withstandyng we trustyng in  
the helpe of god / wyll endeuyre our selfe  
belyly leest after Origene / Ambrose / and  
Augustyne / leest after so many newe in-  
terpretours we shulde seme to haue taken  
this labour vpon vs / vtterly eyther with-  
out a cause or without fruyte : and also  
that certayne bely and vnquynt pyckqua-  
telles / whiche thynken it perfyte religyon  
to knowe nothing at all of good lernyng /  
maye understande and well perceyue that  
where as we in yowthe haue embrased  
and made moche of the pure lernyng of  
olde auctours / and also haue gotten / and  
that not without great swette & watche /  
a meane vnderstanding of bothe the ton-  
ges greke and latyn . We haue not in so  
doyng loked vnto a bayne and folyshe  
fame / or vnto the chyldyshe pastyme and  
pleasure of our mynde / but that we were  
mynded longe before to adorne and gar-  
nyshe the lordes temple with the richesse  
of other straunge nacyons and countreys  
to the vttermoste of our power . Whiche  
temple some men with their ignoraunce  
and barbarousnesse hath ouermoche dis-  
honested / that by the reason of suche ry-  
chesse excellent wyttes myght also be in-  
flamed vnto the loue of holy scripture .  
But this so great a thyng a fewe dayes

Good lernyng  
profyteth  
vnto pyte.

layde a parte/we hane taken vpon vs this  
laboure for thy sake/ that vnto the (as it  
were with a fynger)we myght shewe the  
way whiche ledeth streyght vnto Christ.  
And I beseche Jesu þ father of this holy  
purpose (as I hope)that he wolde vouch-  
safe benyngly to fauour thy holosome en-  
forcementes/ ye that he wolde in chaun-  
gyng of the encrease his grace/and make  
the perfyte/ that thou myghtest quyckly  
ware bygge & stronge in hym/and springe  
vp vnto a perfyte man. In whom also  
fare thou well brother & frende/ al-  
ways verily beloued in my hert/  
but nowe moche more than  
before bothe dere and ple-  
saunt. At the towne of  
saynte Andomers/  
the yere of Christ  
stes byzthe.

I S C I.



Here endeth this boke called  
Enchiridion or the manuell of  
the chyisten knyght made by  
Erasmus of Roterdanie in the  
whiche boke is coteyned many  
goodly lessons very necessary &  
profytale for the soules helth  
of all true christen people: Im-  
printed at London by Wynkyng  
de Worde / for Iohan Wyddell  
otherwyse Salisbury the xv.  
daye of Nouembre. And be for  
to sell at the sygne of our Lady  
of pytie next to flete bridge.

1533.

Cum priuilegio regali.

