MACHIAVELS DISCOURSES.
upon the first Decade
of T. Livius translated
out of the Italian,
With some marginall animadversions noting and
 taxing his errors.

By E. D.

LONDON
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Britaine at the white Horse,
and at the Rainbow near
the Inner Temple.
1636.
TO THE MOST
Noble and Illustrious, James Duke of Lenox, Earl of March, Baron of Setrington, Darnley, Ternan, and Methuen, Lord great Chamberlain and Admiral of Scotland, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and one of his Majesties most honourable Privy Council in both Kingdoms.

Offer here to your Graces patronage my best endeavours, discovering at large their imperfections, in what I can.
The Epistle

can claime mine in this worke. For which however I may have incur'd the blame of some, as unable to doe the Author, I have undertaken, his full right, but rather by my rude stile wronging his original lustre, yet perhaps, with others more moderat, I may find favour and good acceptance, as well for my choice of the Author, whose worth will somewhat heare me out, as because I have contributed hereunto what I ought, which can

Dedicatorie.

can bee no more then what I could. Mine Author was a Florentine, whose nationall attribute among the Italians is subtily, and whose particular eminence in cunning hath styd the most cunning, as his Secretaries, Machiavillians. Nor hath this workman taken in hand a worke unproper for his skill, being the discovery of the first foundations, and analyzing of the very grounds, upon which the Romane Commonwealthe was built, and afterwards rose to such glo.

A 4
The Epistle

try and power, that neither before nor after all the ages of the world ever afforded the like example.

This booke I conceived, I might not unfitly present your Grace with; as unto whose service I owe myself and what I can, and whom as well for meerenesse of bloud, as affection and favour, his Sacred Majestie may most probably imploy in this our ship of state neare the helme; to the end it may in some part serve for your experience, as a good sea card, whereby you may become able and expert, as well in the entrances and passages into all creekes and harbours of quiet, as in the discovery and avoidance of all rocks and shelues; for as at sea it is always seene, that in a stormy and tempestuous time, the master dares not trust the rudder in the hand of others, then such, as are the best approved and experienced Mariners, so in all States we
The Epistle

we finde, that however in time of peace and quiet, aliyance, bloud, and favour have a maine stroke in matter of preferments and employments too, yet when the times grow perplex'd with perills and difficulties, true worth and experience are sought after, and then of value. No climate is so benigne, as to afford a perpetuall calme, and therefore your Grace may doe well to enable your selfe for the service of your Prince and

Dedictory.

and Country, that being cald for into the steerage in turbulent times, not favour onely may give you a place there, but use find you necessary, wherunto if I could contribute a poore mite, I had done enough.

Notwithstanding however my Author in what he hath done well, hath farre excelleth others, yet is he not without his blemishes and errors too; which, as well as I was able to discover them, I have markt, and thereunto
to added some observations taxing (as I thinke) all his notorious errors in this booke. Wherin I may have committed faults too, which you may be pleased to passe over, as no strange thing, but accept rather the duty of

Your Graces

humblest servant

Edward Dacres.
chap. xi.

of the romans religion.

though romulus were romes first founder, and he was so wise, knowledge from him her bain and bringing up; notwithstanding the heavens judging, that romulus his laws were not sufficient for his empire, put it into the romanes sages minds to elect numa pompylius to succeed romulus, that what they had unfinished, the other might supply. who, finding a very fierce people, and being desirous to reduce them into civil order, gave it for conscience by peaceable ways, applied himself. if to religion, as a thing wholly necessary to preserve civility, and daing it in such a sort, that for many ages, there was not such a fear of god as in that commonwealth. which facilitated much any enterprise whatsoever the senate, or those brave roman conigures did undertake. and whatfore shall discourse of the innumerable actions of the people of rome jointly, and of many of the romans by themselves in severall, shall perceive that those citizens feared more to brake an oath, than the lawes; as they made more account of the power of god, than of man; as it appears manifestly, by the examples of scipio and manlius torquatus: for after that anniball had given the romans an overthrow at canna, many citizens assembled together and being alighted, resolved to quit the country and goe into sicily: which scipio understanding, went and found them out, and with his sword drawn in his hand, compelled them to swear, they would never forsake their native countrie. lucius manlius, that was afterwards called torquatus, was accusd by marcus pomponius tribune of the people, and before the judgement day came, titus went to find marcus, and threatening to kill him, if he swore not to take the accusation off from his father, bound him by his oath: and he, though by fear compelled to swear, yet took the accusation off: and to those citizens, whom neither the love to their country, nor the lawes thereof could reigne in italy, were kept by force of an oath, they were constrained to take: and that tribune laid aside the hatred he bore to the father, the injury he receivd of the sonne, and his owne reputation, to keep the oath he took: which proceeded of nothing else, but the religion numa brought in among them. and it is manifest, if a man consider well the roman histories,
Machiavel's Discourses.

The first book.

...of how much avayle their Religion was for the commanding of armies, to reconcile the common people, to preserve good men, and to shame the few. So that, if we were to dispute, to whether Prince Rome were more oblig'd Romulus or Numa; I believe Numa would be prefer'd; for where Religion is, military discipline is easily brought in; and where they are already walk'd in, and have no Religion, this hardly follow'd. And it is plain, that Romulus, to order the Senate, and frame certain other civil and military ordinances, had no need of the authority of a God, which to Numa was necessity; who, seem'd to have familiar conversation with a Nymph, who instructed him with wholesome and continually to advice the people, and all sprung from this, because he desiring to settle new order and accustomed in that City doubted that his owne authority was not of full force. And truly never was there any maker of extraordinary laws in nation, that had not his recourse to God, for otherwise the laws had not bin accepted. For many several good men are knowne by a wise man, which have not such evident reasons in themselves, that he by perswasion can quickly make others conceive them. Therefore the wise men, that would free themselves of this difficulty, have recourse to God: so did Licurges, so Solon, so many others whose delight was the same with theirs. Thereupon the people of Rome admiring his goodness and wisdom, yield'd to all his purposes. But it is true, because those times were then full of Religion, and those men rude and gross, on whom he spent his labours, this much facilitated his designs, being thereby able to mould them into any new form. And without exception, if any one in these days, would frame a Republicke, he should have found it easier to deal with rude manners, who had never knowne any civility, than with those, who had bin accustomed to live in Cities, where the government is corrupted: and a carver will carvel cut a faire figura out of a rough marble, than out of one that hath beene bungled by another, therefore having well considered all, I conclude, that the Religion introduced by Numa, was one of the principal occasions of those cities happiness; that caus'd good orders, good orders brought good fortune, and from their good fortunes grew all the happy occasions of their enterprises, and as the observance of divine worship occasions the greatness of a Commonwealth; so the contempt of it destroys it. For whereas the fear of God is wanting, it needs be this: either that King...
dome goes to ruin, or that it be supported by the awe it stands in of the Prince, who may supply the defects of Religion: and because Princes are but short lived, that Kingdom must needs have an end quickly, according to the virtue thereof sayles: for where it comes, that governments, which depend upon the virtue of one man, abide by a while, because that virtue ends with his life: and it is seldom that it is renew'd by succession, as well that the Poet Dante,

Rade volte discese per i rami
L'umanaprobitate
Questa vuole,
Questa, che loda, perche da lui si obtiene.

Vertus continuates, the dome by defect,
And this to thrive, their spring the pottes not,
And that is gifted, term'd, and by his fate,

Therefore the safety of a commonwealth or kingdom consists not wholly in a Prince, that governs wisely what he lives, but in one that so ordains that he dying, it can preserve its felicity: And although it be easier to work upon and untaught people, to a new course and frame, yet argues it not therefore an impossibility, to prevail with men that have liv'd in a civil government, and presume somewhat to understand them.

CHAP. XII.

What importance it is to hold a worthy esteem of Religion, and that Italy, for having fail'd therein, by means of the Church of Rome, hath gone to wrack.

These Princes or those Republics, which would keene themselves from ruine, are above all other things
things, to preserve the ceremonies of their Religion incorrupt, and make it always venerable. For these things no greater signe of a countries going to destruction, than to see it the ceremonies of divine worship and things that advantage it, howsoever they think them false, and the

For every Religion hath the foundation and the causes of its being upon some principal things, and because this life of the Gentiles Religion hath been built upon the answers of the oracle, and upon the sect of the conjurors and soothsayers: all the other ceremonies, sacrifices, and rites depended on these. Because they easily believe'd, that God was still creat'd even in that God, that could foretell the future good or evil, could also send, and men augment these. From hence came the tempes, the sacrifices and supplications, and all the ceremonys in their veneration: for the Oracle of Delos, the temple of Jupiter Ammon, and other famous miracles held the world in devotion and admiration. As they afterwards began to speak in impertinent manner, and that quantity at first, was discover'd among the people, men began to be incredulous, and apt to disturb all good orders. Therefore the Princes of a Republi: or Kingdom should maintain the grounds of the Religion they hold; and this being done, they shall easily keepe things of commonwealth religious, and consequently vertuous and united. They might also the favour & increase all those things that advantage it, howsoever they think them false, and the

LXXXII Ammiratus takes him, saying it was rather the opinion of a cunning & crafty man, then of one that had either any religion or morality in him, whose plaine and simple conditions, ought to be free from all fraud and falsehood, and however the Romans were deceiv'd hereby, which cannot be deny'd, yet without doubt they never did this, thinking to deceive themselves or with intention to deceive others. Thus Ammi... And indeed it favours of Atheisme, bringing the mistress to serve the hand...
of Juno, and comming to her image ask'd her, whither go to Rome? some thought, the yare ought to commodate the selves to men, another thought, she said yes. For those men being very religious (which Lucius shewed, for their entry into the Temple was without tumult) all devout and full of reverence, imagined they heard that answer, which peradventure they presuppos'd before hand would be made them; this opinion & belief was altogether favour'd & augmented by Camillus and the other principall men of the citie. Which Religion if it were maintain'd among the Princes of the Christian Republ: according as by the institution there of it was ordain'd, Christian States and Republ: would farre more in unity, and enjoy much happier fare, then now they do: for anything give us so to shew a consideration of the declining of it, as to see, that those people that are nearest neighboures to the Church of Rome, head our Religion, are the most irreligious, and whosoever would well consider the original grounds thereof, and looke upon the present use how much this suffers from those, without question would judge the ruine or scourge thereof were neare at hand. And because some are of opinion, that the welfare of Italy depends upon the Church of Rome, yet the contrary might rather be proved, considering those that in the very Church of Rome observe the precepts they ought, but rather adulterate the holy and catholike ordinances which were wont to be kept. Moreover this comes to passe, because the Church hath always held, and still holds this country divided: and truly never was any Province either united or happy, unless it were wholly reduc'd to the obedience of one Commonwealth or Prince, as it befell France and Spaine. And the cause that Italy is not in the same terms, nor hath not one Republ: or one Prince to govern it, is only the Church: for having inhabited there and held the temporal government, it hath never bin so potent, nor of such prowess, that it could get the interest of Italy into its hands, and become
come Lords thereof. And on the other side, it was never so weaken, that by fear of losing the temporal dominion, it could not call in a powerful force to defend it against him, that was grown too powerful in Italy; as abundantly it hath been seen by sundry experiences, when by means of Charles the Great, it drove out the Lombards, who had, as it were, the absolute power of all Italy; and when in our days it took the Venetians' power from them by the Frenchmen's aid, and afterwards chased away the French by help of the Swiss. Therefore, the Church being not powerful to subdue all Italy by itself, nor yet suffering any other matter, hath, in the cause, that it could never be brought to have but one head; but hath always been under more Princes and Lords whom upon any growth of such a disposition, and so much weakness, that Italy hath been made prey not only of powerful Barbarians but of any the next affaylant. For which we other Italians are beholding to the Church and none else. And who could say, all would readily see the truth by certain experience, it were needfull be were it not of such power, as to send the Court of Rome, with the authority it hath in Italy, to dwell in the Swisser country who at this day are the only people that live, for their religion and military discipline, as their ancestors did: and should I find that in a short time the ill orders and abuses of that court would breed more disorder in that country, than accident else could, that should ever grow there.

Chap. XIII.

In what manner the Romans away'd themselves of their Religion, in ordering the city, in undertaking their designs, and in stopping of tumults.

Think it not our purpose, to shew you some example, wherein the Romans serv'd themselves of their religion for the ordering of their city, and the following of their enterprises. And though many there are in Rome, yet I will content my selfe with these. The people of Rome having elected their Tribunes of Consular power, and except one, all Plebeians, and filling out that yeare, that there was silence and famine, and certaine other prodigies, the nobilitie of Rome did hold of this occasion, at the bunks new creation, to lay that
that God's were angry, because Rome had abused the Majestie of their God, and that they had no other means to appease them, than to reduce the fortune of the Tribuns to the former course. Whence it came that the people, being frighted by this superstition made in the Tribuns all the nobility. They were also in their conquests, the Sibyl's books be searce, and the power as it were to the City, that be Religion, to keep them in heart. In the first, they serv'd themselves of the armes, and their armes did serve themselves of the Religion, to keep them in heart. For that year the Alban's were wearied of the long war, and the warre, which thing, though the Tribuns had herein discover'd their subtleties of civil discord, they should endeavor the loss of their liberty that was miraculously saved, and the hope which thing, though the Tribuns had herein discover'd their subtleties of civil discord, they should endeavor the loss of their liberty that was miraculously saved, and the hope that yeare the Vejentes Citie should break in. Herdonius with a great number were sent, with the water of the Alban's, all the thousand men, having made the soldiers endure the tedious service by night of the Capitol, for the warre and the siege, persuading them they might be fear'd, that if the A-[the hope they had to take the town], or else the Romins were contented to continue the enemy, they might have taken it, the Tribuns not being in that siege. And so the accustoming the city by Torquatus, Civ. having feigned, and not true, one story of the Tribunship of the Ne-
dangers in which the city stood, in the unseasonableness of their death and thereby brought the people to move, they would not for the Consuls command. Whereupon they being return'd to obedience, the Capitell by force. But the Consul Publius Valerius being in this conflict, there was forthwith another Consul made, one Titus Quinctius, who, to keep the people from the nestle, and to give no space to the againe of Terentillus his law, commanded them to go forth of Rome to him against the Polsci, saying that the oath they had taken not to abjure the Consul, they were bound to follow him, whereunto the Tribuns opposed saying, that oath was made to the Consul now slain, not to him. Yet Livius shewes that the people in all courses (as before we have discours'd) for nestle to their Religion, would obey the Consul than believe the laws ancient Religion; but they buns, saying these words in favor of the ancient Religion: Men did not make God's, as now; nor people make oaths, nor the laws to their ends. Whereby, the Tribuns do then to loose their whole dignity, to the very order else, and made use of them in their Consular assembly, in the drawing of their enterprises, in drawing forth their armies into the field, in all the occasion of theirs of importance civil or military. Nor ever would they have undertaken any expedition,
till first they had perswaded the soldiers, the Gods had promis'd them a victory. And among the other orders of the Pollari, they had some in their armies, they call'd Pollari, whenever they intended to have the Pollari to make their battles with the enemy, they went to fight with good array, and not pecking, they forbade the divinations anything but something was to be done, these divinations were averse, yet were not sear'd from it: but they went on with such terms and conditions, the Confulurn, that it appeas'd, it was to come to his owne wisdom, not with any contempt of Rome, for Papiusus the Confulurn, which was of great importance to the States, and after which they were much worn by the Sannitische, and perceiving to se the victory was far awaie, he commands the Pollari to make their conjunctures, that the enemies not pecking, and the Southsayer seeing the forwardness of the army to fight, and the opinion thereof, and all the soldiers had of that victory, that he might not take occasion of well doing from the
The Samnites, for the extrem remedy to their broken state, have recourse to Religion.

The Samnites, having bin sundry times routed by the Romans and at last overthrown in Tuscany, their armies and their Captains slain, and their confederates overcome, who were the Tuscan, French, and

who were the Tuscan, French, and

Vmbrians: They could not subdue, neither by their own, nor their friends forces, yet they would not quit the war, not regarding though they bad but ill success in the defence of their liberty, but had rather be overcome, then forbear to trie if they could get the victory. Whereupon they put it to the last proofe: And because they knew the obstinacy of the soldiers minds would help the victory well forward, and to induce them hertoe, there was no better meanes then Religion, they advis'd to renew an old sacrifice of theirs by the helpe of Ovium Patrius their Priest: which they order'd in this manner: the solemn sacrifice being made and amidst the flaine beasts, and the altars on fire having caus'd the chief of the army to swear never to forsake the fight, they call'd the soldiers one by one, and in the midst of those altars enclosed by many Centurions with their swords drawne, first they made them swear, they should not disclose any thing they either heard or saw; afterwards with words of execration, and verbes full of horror made them vow and promise to the Gods, to be ready in whatsoever their Generall should command, never to abandon the fight, and kill whomsoever they saw fly, which if they failed in, might it light upon their family and
and kindred, And some of them being amaz'd, and refusing to swear, were presently slain by their Centurions, so that the rest that followed them, frighted by the fierceness of the spectacle, swore all. And to augment the magnificence of their meeting being six thousand men, half of them were clad with white cloths, with plumes and feathers upon their helmets, and thus array'd they encamp'd themselves at Aquilonia. Against these came Papirius, who in his speech to incourage his soldiers said, Surely their plumes could make no wounds, nor their painted and golden shields defend the blowes of the Roman Pikes. And to take away the doubt his soldiars had of their enemies because of the oath taken, said, it was rather a discouragement to them than otherwise; for they were afraid of their owne people, the Gods, and their enemies. And when they came to the fight, the Samnites were overthrown, for the Roman vertue, and the fear conceived by reason of their former losses, overcame what error obstinacy they could have resolv'd on by force of their Religion or oath taken.

Yet it is plain, how they thought they could have no other refuge, nor try other remedy, that could give them hope to recover their lost vertue, Which fullyg.

well us'd, can give. And though happily this part would be fit rather to have place among the extrinsecall matters, yet depending upon one of the most important ordinances of the Roman Republicke I thought better to insert it in this place, that I might not be driven to interrupt my discourse, and have need to returne hereunto many times.

CHAP. Xvi.

People accustomed to live under a Prince, if by any accident they become free, have much ado to maintain their liberty.

HOW hard it is, for a people, as us'd to live in subjection to a Prince, afterwards to maintain their liberty, if by any accident they get it, as Rome did upon the Tarquins banishment, very many examples shew us, which we read in the memorials of ancient histories. And not without good reason: for the people is nothing different from a brute beast, which (though fierce of nature and wilde) hath bin bred always in a den and under command,