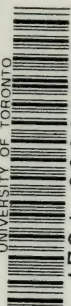


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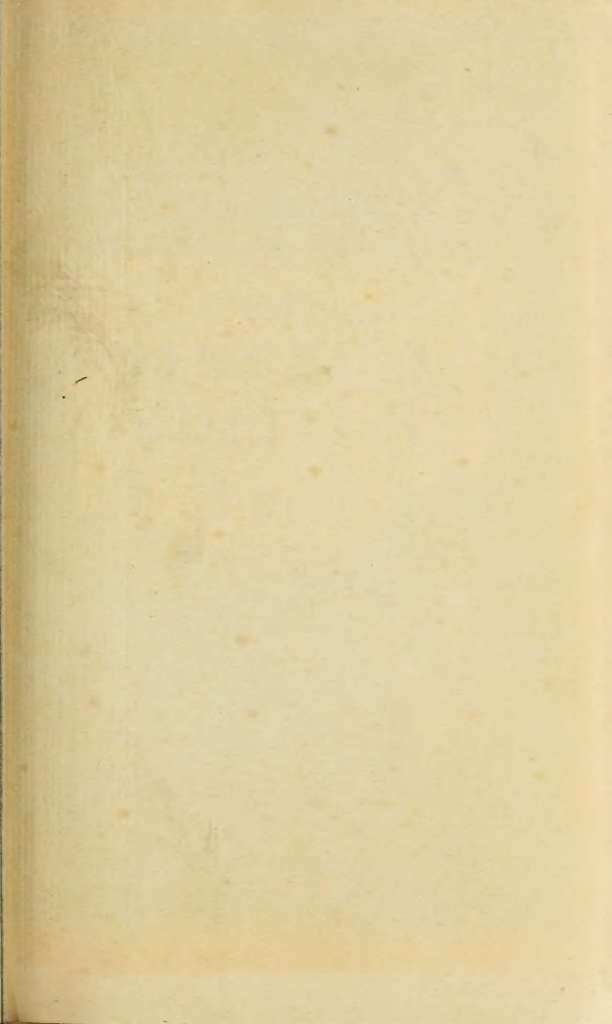


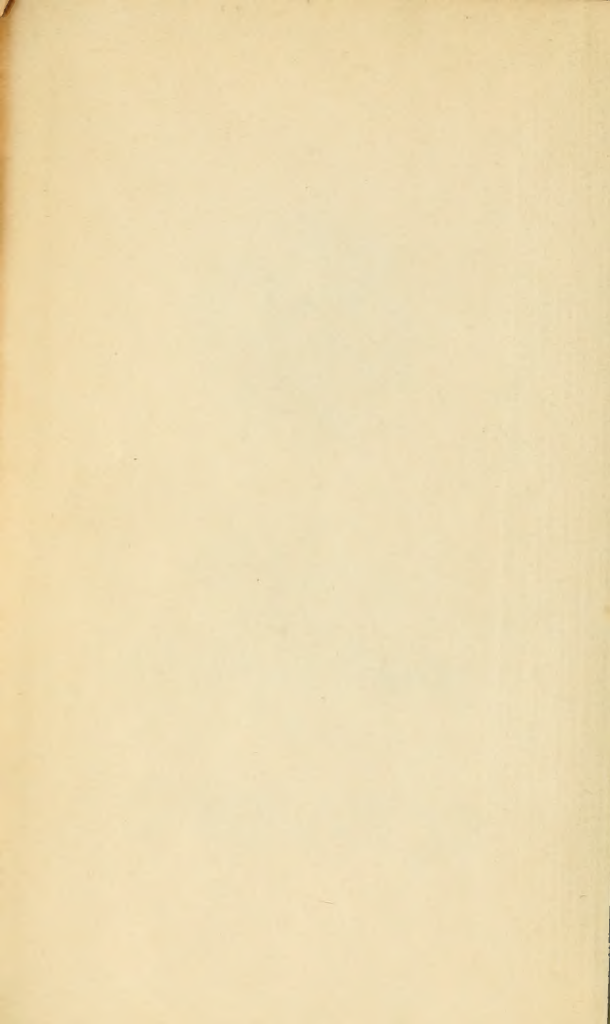
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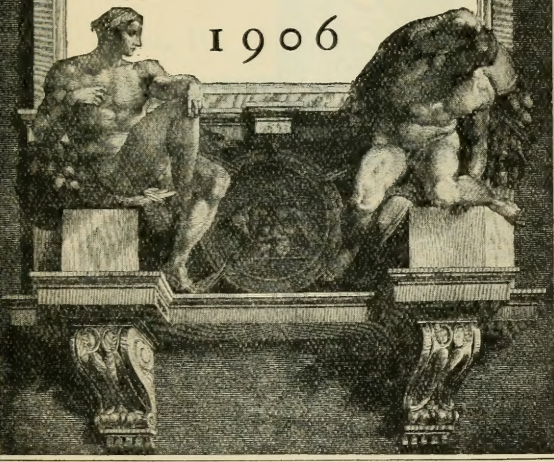






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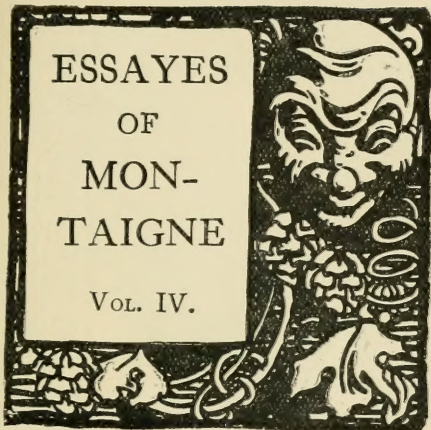


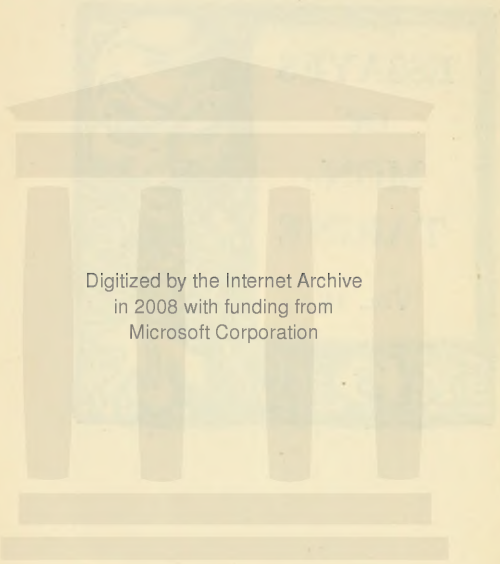
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ESSAYES
OF
MON-
TAIGNE

VOL. IV.





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MICHEL SEIGNEUR DE MONTAIGNE
...



THE ESSAYES OF
MONTAIGNE

VOL. FOUR

TRANSLATED BY
JOHN FLORIO

1603

LONDON: GIBBINGS & COMPANY

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THE ESSAYES OF MICHAEL
LORD OF MONTAIGNE.

—◆—
The Second Booke.

THE TWELFTH CHAPTER—*continued.*

An Apologie of Raymond Sebond.

IT seemeth verily that nature for the comfort of our miserable and wretched condition hath allotted us no other portion but presumption. It is therefore (as Epictetus saith) that man hath nothing that is properly his owne but the use of his opinions. Our hereditarie portion is nothing but smoke and wind. The Gods (as saith Philosophie) have health in true essence, and sicknesse in concept. Man, cleane contrarie, possesseth goods in imagination, and evils essentially. We have had reason

to make the powers of our imagination to be of force: for all our facilities are but in conceipt, and as it were in a dreame. Heare but this poore and miserable creature vaunt himselfe. There is nothing (saith Cicero) so delightfull and pleasant as the knowledge of letters; of letters, I say, by whose meanes the infinitie of things, the incomprehensible greatnesse of nature, the heavens, the earth, and all the seas of this vast universe, are made knowne unto us. They have taught us religion, moderation, stownesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darknesse, to make her see and distinguish of all things, the high as well as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supply us with all such things as may make us live happily and well, and instruct us how to passe our time without sorrow or offence. Seemeth not this goodly orator to speake of the Almightyes and everliving Gods condition? And touching effects, a thousand poore seelie women in a countrie towne have lived and live a life

much more reposed, more peaceable, and more constant than ever he did.

——— *Deus ille fuit Deus, inclyte Memmi,
Qui princeps vitæ rationem invenit eam, quæ
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per ortem,
Fluctibus è tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,
In tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit.*

LUCR. 1
v. 8.

Good sir, it was God, God it was, first found
That course of man's life, which now is renown'd
By name of wisdom ; who by art reposed,
Our life in so cleare light, calme so composed,
From so great darknesse, so great waves opposed.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be : yet but a sleight accident brought this wisemans understanding to a far worse condition than that of a simple shepherd : notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdom. Of like impudence is the promise of Democritus his Booke, "I will now speake of all things : " And that fond title which Aristotle gives us of mortall gods, and that rash judgement of Chrysippus that Dion was as vertuous as God : And my Seneca saith he acknowledgeth that God hath given him life, but how to live well that he hath of himselfe. Like unto this

other: *In virtute vere gloriamur, quod non contingeret, si id donum à Deo non à nobis haberemus*: "We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of ourselves." This also is Senecaes, that the wise man hath a fortitude like unto Gods; but in humanity weaknesse wherein he excelleth him. There is nothing more common than to meet with such passages of temeritie: There is not any of us that will be so much offended to see himselfe compared to God as he will deeme himselfe wrong to be depressed in the ranke of other creatures. So much are we more jealous of our owne interest than of our Creators. But we must tread this foolish vanitie under foot, and boldly shake off and lively reject those fond-ridiculous foundations whereon these false opinions are built. So long as man shall be perswaded to have meanes or power of himselfe, so long will he denie and never acknowledge what he oweth unto his Master: he shall alwaies (as the common saying is) make shift with his owne: He must be stripped unto his shirt. Let us

Cic. Nat.
Deor. 1.
iii.

consider some notable example of the effect of Philosophie. Possidonius having long time been grieved with a painfull-lingring disease, which with the smarting paine made him to wring his hands and gnash his teeth, thought to scorne grieffe with exclayming and crying out against it: "Doe what thou list, yet will I never say that thou art evill or paine." He feeleth the same passions that my lackey doth, but he boasteth himselfe that at least he conteineth his tongue under the lawes of his sect. *Re succumbere non oportebat verbis gloriantem*: "It was not for him to yeeld in deeds, who had so braved it in words." Arcesilas lying sicke of the gowt, Carneades comming to visit him, and seeing him to frowne, supposing he had been angrie, was going away again, but he called him back, and shewing him his feet and breast, said unto him, "There is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garb:" for he feeleth himselfe grieved with sicknesse and would faine be rid of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakned thereby, the other

Cic.
Tusc. Qu.
l. ii. c.
25.

stands upon his stifnesse (as I feare) more verball than essentiall. And Dionysius Heracleotes being tormented with a violent smarting in his eies, was at last perswaded to quit these Stoicke resolutions.

Be it supposed that Learning and Knowledge should worke those effects they speake of, that is, to blunt and abate the sharpnesse of those accidents or mischances that follow and attend us; doth she any more than what ignorance effecteth much more evidently and simply? The Philosopher Pyrrho being at sea, and by reason of a violent storme in great danger to be cast away, presented nothing unto those that were with him in the ship to imitate but the securitie of an Hog which was aboard, who, nothing at all dismaied, seemed to behold and outstare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives us over to the examples of a Wrestler or a Muletier, in whom we ordinarily perceive much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of grief, and other conveniences, and more undaunted constancie, than ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man

withall, unlesse he were born and of himselfe through some naturall habitude prepared unto it. What is the cause the tender members of a childe or limbs of a horse are much more easie and with lesse paine cut and incised than ours, if it be not ignorance? How many, only through the power of imagination, have falne into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily see diverse that will cause themselves to be let blood, purged, and dieted, because they would be cured of diseases they never felt but in conceit; when essentiall and true maladies faile us, then Science and Knowledge lend us hers: This colour or complexion (said she) presageth some rheumatike defluxion will ensue you: This soultrung-hot season menaceth you with some febricant commotion; this cutting of the vitall line of your left hand warneth you of some notable and approaching indisposition. And at last she will roundly addresse herselfe unto perfect health; saying this youthly vigour and suddain joy cannot possibly stay in one place, her blood and strength must be abated, for feare it turne

you to some mischief. Compare but the life of a man subject to these like imaginations, unto that of a day-labouring swaine, who followes his naturall appetites, who measureth all things onely by the present sense, and hath neither learning nor prognostications, who feeleth no disease but when he hath it: whereas the other hath often the stone imaginarily before he have it in his reins: as if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse when it shall come, he doth in his fancie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meet with it. What I speake of Physicke, the same may generally be applied and drawne to all manner of learning. Thence came this ancient opinion of those Philosophers who placed chiefe felicitie in the knowledge of our judgements weaknesse. My ignorance affords me as much cause of hope as of feare: and having no other regiment for my health than that of other men's examples, and of the events I see elsewhere in like occasions whereof I find some of all sorts: and relie upon the comparisons that are

most favourable unto me. I embrace health with open armes, free, plaine, and full, and prepare my appetite to enjoy it, by how much more it is now less ordinarie and more rare unto me: so far is it from me that I, with the bitterness of some new and forced kind of life, trouble her rest and molest her ease. Beasts do manifestly declare unto us how many infirmities our mindes agitation brings us. That which is told us of those that inhabit Bresill, who die onely through age, which some impute to the clearnesse and calmnesse of their aire, I rather ascribe to the calmnesse and clearnesse of their mindes, void and free from all passions, cares, toiling, and unpleasant labours, as a people that passe their life in a wonderfull kind of simplicitie and ignorance, without letters or lawes, and without Kings or any Religion. Whence comes it (as we daily see by experience) that the rudest and grossest clownes are more tough, strong, and more desired in amorous executions; and that the love of a Muletier is often more accepted than that of a

perfumed quaint courtier? But because in the latter the agitation of his mind doth so distract, trouble, and wearie the force of his bodie, as it also troubleth and wearieth it selfe, who doth belie, or more commonly cast the same down even into madnesse, but her own promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and, to conclude, her proper force? Whence proceeds the subtilest follie but from the subtilest wisdome? As from the extremest friendships proceed the extremest enmities, and from the soundest healths the mortallest diseases, so from the rarest and quickest agitations of our mindes ensue the most distempered and outragious frenzies. There wants but half a pegs turne to passe from the one to the other. In mad mens actions we see how fitlie follie suteth and meets with the strongest operations of our minde. Who knowes not how unperceivable the neighbourhood between follie with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is, and the effects of a supreme and extraordinarie vertue. Plato affirmeth that melancholy mindes are more excellent and disci-

pliable ; so are they none more inclinable unto follie. Diverse spirits are seen to be overthrowne by their owne force and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted under the ayre of true ancient poesie, lately gotten by his owne agitation and selfe-gladnesse, above all other Italian Poets that have been of a long time? Hath not he wherewith to be beholding unto this his killing vivacitie? unto this clearnesse that hath so blinded him? unto his exact and far-reaching apprehension of reasons which hath made him voide of reason? unto the curious and laborious pursute of Sciences, that have brought him unto sottishnesse? unto this rare aptitude to the exercises of the minde, which hath made him without minde or exercise? I rather spited than pitied him when I saw him at Ferrara, in so piteous a plight, that he survived himselfe ; misacknowledging both himselfe and his labours, which unwitting to him, and even to his face, have been published both uncorrected and maimed. Will you

TOR-
QUATO
TASSO.

have a man healthy, will you have him regular, and in constant and safe condition? overwhelme him in the darke pit of idlenesse and dulnesse. We must be besotted ere we can become wise, and dazled before we can be led. And if a man shall tell me that the commoditie to have the appetite cold to griefes and wallowish to evils, drawes this incommoditie after it, it is also consequently the same that makes us lesse sharpe and greedie to the enjoying of good and of pleasures: It is true but the miserie of our condition beareth that we have not so much to enjoy as to shun, and that extreme voluptuousnesse doth not so much pinch us as a light smart: *Segnius homines bona quam mala sentiunt*: "Men have a duller feeling of a good turne than of an ill;" we have not so sensible a feeling of perfect health as we have of the least sicknesse.

———*pungit*

From a
Latin
poem by
Estienne
de la
Boétie.

*In cute vix summa violatum plagula corpus,
Quando valere nihil quemquam movet. Hoc juvat
unum,
Quod me non torquet latus aut pes; cætera quisquam
Vix queat aut sanum sese aut sentire valentem.*

TIT. LIV.
l xxx.c.
21.

A light stroke that doth scarce the top-skin
wound,
Greeves the gall'd bodie, when in health to be,
Doth scarce move any ; onely ease is found,
That neither side nor foot tormenteth me :
Scarce any in the rest can feel he's sound.

Our being in health is but the privation
of being ill. See therefore where the sect of
Philosophie that hath most preferred sen-
sualitie, hath also placed the same but to
indolencie or unfeeling of paine. To have
no infirmitie at all is the chiefest possession
of health that man can hope for (as Ennius
said) :

Nimum boni est, cui nihil est mali.

He hath but too much good,
Whom no ill hath withstood.

For the same tickling and pricking which
a man doth feel in some pleasures, and
seemes beyond simple health and indolencie,
this active and moving sensualitie, or as I
may terme it, itching and tickling pleasure,
aymes but to be free from paine, as her
chiefest scope. The lust-full longing which
allures us to the acquaintance of women

seekes but to expell that paine which an earnest and burning desire doth possesse us with, and desireth but to allay it thereby to come to rest and be exempted from this fever; and so of others. I say therefore, that if simplicitie directeth us to have no evill, it also addresseth us according to our condition to a most happy estate. Yet ought it not be imagined so dull and heavie that it be altogether senselesse. And Crantor had great reason to withstand the unsensiblenesse of Epicurus, if it were so deeply rooted that the approaching and birth of evils might gainsay it. I commend not that unsensiblenesse which is neither possible nor to be desired. I am well pleased not to be sicke, but if I be, I will know that I am so; and if I be cauterized or cut, I will feel it. Verily, he that should root out the knowledge of evill should therewithall extirp the knowledge of voluptuousnesse, and at last bring man to nothing. *Istud nihil dolere, non sine magna mercede contingit immanitatis in animo, stuporis in corpore*: "This verse point, not to be offended

Cic.
Tuse Qu
l. iii.

or grieved with any thing, befalls not freely to a man without either inhumanitie in his minde or senselesnesse in his bodie." Sicknesse is not amiss unto man, comming in her turne ; nor is he alwaies to shun pain, nor ever to follow sensualitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance that Science itselfe throwes us into her armes when she findes herselfe busie to make us strong against the assaults of evils : she is forced to come to this composition ; to yeeld us the bridle, and give us leave to shrowd our selves in her lap, and submit ourselves unto her favour, to shelter us against the assaults and injuries of fortune. For what meaneth she else when she perswades us to withdraw our thought from the evils that possesse us, and entertaine them with foregon pleasures, and stead us as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of forepast felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, for to oppose it against that which vexeth us ? *Levationes ægritudinum in avocatione à cogitanda molestia, et revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit.*

CIC.
Tusc. Qu.
l. iii.

“Eases of grief she repositeth either in calling from the thought of offence, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures.” Unless it be that where force fails her, she will use policie and shew a tricke of nimblenesse and turne away, where the vigor both of her bodie and armes shall faile her. For not onely to a strict Philosopher, but simply to any settled man, when he by experience feeleth the burning alteration of a hot fever, what currant payment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargaine.

Che ricordarsi il ben doppia la noia.

For to thinke of our joy
Redoubles our annoy.

Of that condition is this other counsell, which Philosophie giveth onely to keepe forepast felicities in memorie, and thence blot out such griefes as we have felt: as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell of which we have much lesse regard:

CIC. *Fin.*
l. ii. ;
EURIP.

Suavis est laborum præteritorum memoria.

Of labours overpast,
Remembrance hath sweet taste.

What? shall Philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands to fight against Fortune; which should harden my courage, to suppress and lay at my feet all humane adversities, will she so faint as to make me like a fearfull cunnie creepe into some lurking-hole, and like a craven to tremble and yeeld? For memorie representeth unto us, not what we chuse, but what pleaseth her. Nay, there is nothing so deeply imprinteth anything in our remembrance as the desire to forget the same: it is a good way to commend to the keeping, and imprint anything in our minde, to solicit her to lose the same. And that is false. *Est situm in nobis, ut et adversa quasi perpetua oblivione obruamus, et secunda jucunde et suaviter meminerimus:* Cic. *Fin Bon.* l. i
 “This is engrafted in us, or at least in our power, that we both burie in perpetuall oblivion things past against us, and record with pleasure and delight what soever was for us.”

And this is true, *Memini etiam quæ nolo; oblivisci non possum quæ volo:* EPIC. in Cic. *De Fin.* l. ii.

ber even those things I would not ; and can not forget what I would." And whose counsell is this ? his, *Qui se unus sapientem profiteri sit ausus* : " Who only durst professe himsef a wise man."

EPIC. in
CIC. *De*
Fin. l. ii.

*Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, et omnes
Præstrinxit stellas, exortus uti ætherius Sol.*

LUCR. l.
iii. 1086 ;
EPICUR.

Who from all mankind bare for wit the prize,
And dim'd the stars as when skies Sunne doth
rise.

To emptie and diminish the memorie, is it not the readie and onely way to ignorance ?

SEN.
Oed. act
iii. sc. 1.

Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est.

Of ills a remedie by chance,
And verie dull is ignorance.

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous appearances from the vulgar sort, where lively and strong reason is not of force sufficient : alwaies provided they bring us content and comfort. Where they can not cure a sore they are pleased to stupifie and hide the same. I am perswaded they will not denie me this, that if they could possibly add any

order or constancie to a mans life, that it might thereby be still maintained in pleasure and tranquillitie, by or through any weaknesse or infirmitie of judgement, but they would accept it.

———*potare, et spargere flores*

Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsultus haberi.

I will begin to strew flowers, and drinke free,
And suffer witlesse, thriftlesse, held to bee.

HOR. l.i.
Epist.
iii. 14.

There should many Philosophers be found of Lycas his opinion: This man in all other things being very temperate and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedly with his familie, wanting of no dutie or office both towards his own household and strangers, verie carefully preserving himselfe from all hurtfull things: notwithstanding through some alteration of his senses or spirits, he was so possessed with this fantastick conceipt or obstinate humour that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theatres, where he still saw all manner of spectacles, pastimes, sports, and the best Comedies of the world. But being at last by the skill of Physitians cured

of this maladie, and his offending humour purged, he could hardly be held from putting them in suite, to the end they might restore him to the former pleasures and contents of his imagination.

———*pol me occidistis amici,*

Non servastis, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,

Et demptus per vim menti gratissimus error.

HOR. l. i.
Epist.
ii. 138.

You have not sav'd me, friends, but slaine me quite,

(Quoth he) from whom so reft is my delight,

And errorr purg'd, which best did please my spright.

Of a raving like unto that of Thrasilaus, sonne unto Pythodorus, who verily beleev'd that all the ships that went out from the haven of Pyræus, yea and all such as came into it, did only travell about his businesse, rejoycing when any of them had made a fortunate voyage, and welcommed them with great gladnesse: His brother Crito, having caused him to be cured and restored to his better senses, he much bewailed and grieved of the condition wherein he had formerly lived in such joy, and so void of all

care and griefe. It is that which that ancient Greeke verse saith : That not to be so advised brings many commodities with it :

Εν τῷ φρονεῖν γὰρ μηδὲν, ἡδίστος βίος.

The sweetest life I wis,
In knowing nothing is.

SOPH
Ala.
Flag

And as Ecclesiastes witnesseth : “ In much wisdom is much sorrow. And who getteth knowledge purchaseth sorrow and griefe.” Even that which Philosophy doth in generall tearmes allow, this last remedy which she ordaineth for all manner of necessities ; that is, to make an end of that life which we cannot endure. *Placet? pare: Non placet? quacunque vis exi. Pungit dolor? vel fodiatur sane: si nudus es, da jugulum: sin tectus armis vulcaniis, id est, fortitudine, resiste:* “ Doth it like you? obey: doth it not like you? get out as you will: doth griefe pricke you? and let it pierce you too: if you be naked, yeeld your throat: but if you be covered with the armour of Vulcan, that is, with fortitude, resist.” And that saying used of the Græcians in

CIC.
I use.
Qu.
l. ii.

their banquets, which they apply unto it,
Aut bibat, aut abeat: "Either let him
 carouse, or carry him out of the house:"
 which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoine,
 who very easily doth change the letter B
 into V, than that of Cicero:

*Vivere si recte nescis, discede peritis:
 Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti:
 Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius æquo
 Rideat, et pulset lascivia decentius ætas:*

HOR. l.
 ii. *Epist.*
 ii. ult.

Live well you cannot, them that can, give place;
 Well have you sported, eaten well, drunk well:
 'Tis time you part; lest wanton youth with grace
 Laugh at, and knock you that with swilling swell:

what is it but a confession of his insufficiency,
 and a sending one backe not only to
 ignorance, there to be shrowded, but unto
 stupidity it selfe, unto unsensibleness and
 not being?

———*Democritum postquam matura vetustas
 Admonuit memorem, motus languescere mentis:
 Sponte sua letho caput obvius obtulit ipse.*

LUCR. l.
 iii. 1083.

When ripe age put Democritus in minde
 That his mindes motions fainted, he to finde
 His death went willing, and his life resign'd.

It is that which Anthisthenes said, that a

man must provide himselfe either of wit to understand or of a halter to hang himselfe: And that which Chrysippus alleaged upon the speech of the Poet Tyrtæus,

De la vertu, ou de mort approcher.

Or vertue to approach,

Or else let death inroch.

PLUT. in
Solon's
Life.
AMYOT'S
Trans.

And Crates said that love was cured with hunger, if not by time; and in him that liked not these two meanes, by the halter. That Sextius, to whom Seneca and Plutarke give so much commendation, having given over all things else and betaken himselfe to the study of Philosophy, seeing the progress of his studies so tedious and slow, purposed to cast himself into the Sea; Ranne unto death for want of knowledge: Reade here what the law saith upon this subject. If peradventure any great inconvenience happen, which cannot be remedied, the haven is not farre-off, and by swimming may a man save himselfe out of his body, as out of a leaking boat: for it is feare to die, and not desire to live, which keepes a foole joynd

to his body. As life through simplicity becommeth more pleasant, so (as I erewhile began to say) becommeth it more innocent and better. The simple and the ignorant (saith St. Paul) raise themselves up to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, with all the knowledge we have, plunge ourselves downe to the pit of hell. I rely neither upon Valentian (a professed enemy to knowledge and learning), nor upon Licinius (both Roman Emperours), who named them the venime and plague of all politike estates: Nor on Mahomet, who, as I have heard, doth utterly interdict all manner of learning to his subjects. But the example of that great Lyeurgus and his authority, ought to beare chiefe sway, and the reverence of that divine Lacedemonian policy, so great, so admirable, and so long time flourishing in all vertue and felicity without any institution or excercise at all of letters. Those who returne from that new world which of late hath been discovered by the Spaniards, can witnesse unto us how those nations, being without Magis-

trates or law, live much more regularly and formally than we, who have amongst us more officers and lawes than men of other professions or actions.

*Di citatorie piene e de libelli,
D'essamine, e di carte, di procure
Hanno le mani e il seno, e gran fastelli
Di chiose, di consigli e di letture,
Per cui le facultà de' poverelli
Non sono mai ne le città sicure,
Hanno dietro e dinanzi e d'ambi i lati,
Notai, procuratori, e avvocati.*

Their hands and bosoms with writs and citations,
With papers, libels, proxies, full they beare,
And bundels great of strict examinations,
Of glosses, counsels, readings here and there.
Whereby in townes poore men of occupations
Possesse not their small goods secure from feare,
Before, behind, on each side Advocates,
Proctors, and Notaries hold up debates.

ARION
TO, cant
xiv.
stan. 84

It was that which a Roman Senator said, that "their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike, and their stomacke perfumed with a good conscience:" and contrary, the men of his time outwardly smelt of nothing but sweet odours, but inwardly they stunke of all vices: which, in mine

opinion, is as much to say they had much knowledge and sufficiency, but great want of honesty. Incivility, ignorance, simplicity, and rudenesse are commonly joyned with innocency. Curiosity, subtilty, and knowledge are ever followed with malice: Humility, feare, obedience, and honesty (which are the principall instruments for the preservation of humane society) require a single docile soule and which presumeth little of her selfe: Christians have a peculiar knowledge how curiosity is in a man a naturall and originall infirmity. The care to increase in wisdome and knowledge was the first overthrow of man-kinde: it is the way whereby man hath headlong cast himselfe downe into eternall damnation. Pride is his losse and corruption: it is pride that misleadeth him from common waies; that makes him to embrace all new fangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a straggling troupe and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erroneus sect, and a teacher of falsehood, than a disciple in the schoole of truth, and suffer himselfe to be led and

directed by the hand of others in the ready beaten highway. It is haply that which the ancient Greeke proverb implieth, ἡ δεισιδαιμονία, καθάπερ πατρί, τῷ τυφῷ πειθεται: "Superstition obaieth pride as a father." Oh overweaning, how much doest thou hinder us? Socrates being advertised that the God of wisdom had attributed the name of wise unto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searching and rousing up himselfe, and ransacking the very secrets of his heart, found no foundation or ground for this divine sentence. He knew some that were as just, as temperate, as valiant and as wise as he, and more eloquent, more faire and more profitable to their country. In fine he resolved that he was distinguished from others, and reputed wise, onely because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdom a singular sottishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicitie his greatest wisdom. The sacred writ pronounceth them to be miserable in this world that esteeme

themselves. "Dust and ashes," saith he, "what is there in thee thou shouldest so much glory of?" And in another place God hath made man like unto a shadowe, of which who shall judge when, the light being gone, it shall vanish away? Man is a thing of nothing. So far are our faculties from conceiving that high Deitie, that of our Creators works, those beare his marke best, and are most his owne, which we understand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleve, when they chance to meet with any incredible thing, that it is so much the more according unto reason, by how much more it is against humane reason. If it were according unto reason, it were no more a wonder; and were it to be matched, it were no more singular. *Melius scitur Deus nesciendo*, "God is better known by our not knowing him," saith S. Augustine: and Tacitus, *Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quam scire*: "It is a course of more holinesse and reverence to hold beleefe than to have knowledge of Gods actions." And Plato deemes it to be a vice

ST. AUG.

TACI-
TUS,
Mor.
German.

of impiety over-curiously to enquire after God, after the world, and after the first causes of things. *Atque illum quidem parentem hujus universitatis invenire, difficile; et quum jam inveneris, indicare in vulgus, nefas:* “Both it is difficult to finde out the father of this universe, and when you have found him, it is unlawfull to reveale him to the vulgar,” saith Cicero. We easily pronounce puissance, truth, and justice; they be words importing some great matter, but that thing we neither see nor conceive. We say that God feareth, that God will be angry, and that God loveth.

CIC. *de*
Univer.
Fragm.

Immortalia mortali sermone notantes.

Who with tearmes of mortality
Note things of immortality.

LUCR. l
v. 122.

They be all agitations and motions, which according to our forme can have no place in God, nor we imagine them according to his. It onely belongs to God to know himselfe and interpret his owne workes; and in our tongues he doth it improperly, to descend and come downe to us, that are

and lie groveling on the ground. How can wisdom (which is the choice betweene good and evill) besee me him, seeing no evill doth touch him? How reason and intelligence, which we use to come from obscure to apparent things, seeing there is no obscure thing in God? Justice, which distributeth unto every man what belongs unto him, created for the society and conversation of man, how is she in God? How temperance, which is the moderation of corporall sensualities, which have no place at all in his God-head? Fortitude patiently to endure sorrowes, and labours and dangers, appertaineth little unto him, these three things no way approaching him, having no accesse unto him. And therefore Aristotle holds him to be equally exempted from vertue and from vice. *Neque gratia, neque ira teneri potest, quod quæ talia essent, imbecilla essent omnia:* "Nor can he be possessed with favor and anger; for all that is so is but weake." The participation which we have of the knowledge of truth, what soever she is, it is not by our

Cic. Nat.
Deor. l. i.

owne strength we have gotten it ; God hath sufficiently taught it us that he hath made choice of the simple, common, and ignorant to teach us his wonderfull secrets. Our faith hath not been purchased by us : it is a gift proceeding from the liberality of others. It is not by our discourse or understanding that we have received our religion, it is by a forreine authority and commandement. The weaknesse of our judgement helps us more than our strength to compasse the same, and our blindnesse more than our cleare-sighted eies. It is more by the meanes of our ignorance than of our skill that we are wise in heavenly knowledge. It is no marvell if our naturall and terrestriall meanes cannot conceive the supernaturall or apprehend the celestial knowledge. Let us adde nothing of our own unto it but obedience and subjection : for (as it is written) “I will confound the wisdom of the wise, and destroy the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made the

1 COR. i.
19-21.

wisdome of this world foolishnesse? For seeing the world by wisdome knew not God, in the wisdome of God, it hath pleased him, by the vanity of preaching, to save them that beleeve." Yet must I see at last whether it be in mans power to finde what he seekes for: and if this long search, wherein he hath continued so many ages, hath enriched him with any new strength or solid truth: I am perswaded, if he speake in conscience, he will confesse that all the benefit he hath gotten by so tedious a pursuit hath been that he hath learned to know his owne weaknesse. That ignorance which in us was naturall, we have with long study confirmed and averred. It hath happened unto those that are truly learned, as it hapneth unto eares of corne, which as long as they are empty, grow and raise their head aloft, upright and stout; but if they once become full and bigge with ripe corne, they begin to humble and droope downward. So men having tried and sounded all, and in all this chaos and huge heape of learning and provision of so

infinite different things, found nothing that is substantiall, firme, and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late knowen their naturall condition. It is that which Velleius upbraids Cotta and Cicero withall, that they have learnt of Philo to have learned nothing. Pherecydes, one of the seven wise men, writing to Thales even as he was yeelding up the ghost, "I have," saith he, "appoynted my friends, as soon as I shal be layed in my grave, to bring thee all my writings. If they please thee and the other sages, publish them; if not, conceale them. They containe no certaintie, nor doe they any whit satisfie mee. My profession is not to know the truth nor to attaine it. I rather open than discover things." The wisest that ever was, being demanded what he knew, answered, he knew that he knew nothing. He verified what some say, that the greatest part of what we know is the least part of what we know not; that is, that that which we thinke to know is but a parcel, yea, and a small particle, of our ignorance. "We

know things in a dreame," saith Plato, "and we are ignorant of them in truth." *Omnes pene veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus, imbecilles animos, brevia curricula vitæ:* "Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be knowen, nothing perceived, nothing understood: that our senses are narrow, our mindes are weake, and the race of our life is short." Cicero himselfe, who ought all he had unto learning, Valerius saith, that in his age he began to disesteeme letters: and whilst he practised them, it was without bond to any speciall body, following what seemed probable unto him, now in the one and now in the other sect; ever holding himselfe under the Academies doubtfulnessse. *Dicendum est, sed ita ut nihil affirmem; quæram omnia, dubitans plerumque, et mihi diffidens:* "Speake I must, but so as I avouch nothing, question all things, for the most part in doubt and distrust of my selfe." I should have too much adoe if I would consider man after his owne fashion, and in

CIC.
Acad.
Qu. 1. i.

CIC.
Divin.
l. i.

grose : which I might doe by his owne rule, who is wont to judge of truth, not by the weight or value of voices, but by the number. But leave we the common people,

Qui vigilans stertit.

Who snoare while they are awake.

LUCR. 1.

iii. 1091.

Mortua cui vita est, prope jam vivo atque videnti : Ib. 1089.

Whose life is dead while yet they see,
And in a manner living be.

Who feeleth not himselfe, who judgeth not himselfe, who leaves the greatest part of his naturall parts idle. I will take man even in his highest estate. Let us consider him in this small number of excellent and choice men, who having naturally beene endowed with a peculiar and exquisite wit, have also fostred and sharpened the same with care, with study and with art, and have brought and strained unto the highest pitch of wisdom it may possibly reach unto. They have fitted their soule unto all senses, and squared the same to all byases ; they have strengthened and under-propped it with all foraine helpes, that might any way fit or

stead her, and have enriched and adorned her with whatsoever they have beene able to borrow, either within or without the world for her availe : It is in them that the extreme height of humane nature doth lodge. They have reformed the world with policies and lawes. They have instructed the same with arts and sciences, as also by example of their wonderfull manners and life. I will but make accompt of such people, of their witnesse and of their experience. Let us see how far they have gone, and what holdfast they have held by. The maladies and defects which we shall finde in that college, the world may boldly allow them to be his. Whosoever seekes for any thing, commeth at last to this conclusion and saith, that either he hath found it, or that it cannot be found, or that he is still in pursuit after it. All philosophy is divided into these three kindes. Her purpose is to seeke out the truth, the knowledge and the certainty. The Peripatetike, the Epicureans, the Stoikes and others have thought they had found it. These have established the sciences that we

have, and as of certaine knowledges have treated of them ; Clitomachus, Carneades, and the Academikes have despaired the finding of it, and judged that truth could not be conceived by our meanes. The end of these is weaknesse and ignorance. The former had more followers and the worthiest sectaries. Pyrrho and other sceptikes, or epechistes, whose doctrine or manner of teaching many auncient learned men have thought to have beene drawne from Homer, from the seaven wise men, from Archilochus and Euripides, to whom they joyne Zeno, Democritus, and Xenophanes, say that they are still seeking after truth. These judge that those are infinitely deceived who imagine they have found it, and that the second degree is over boldly vaine in affirming that mans power is altogether unable to attaine unto it. For to stablish the measure of our strength to know and distinguish of the difficulty of things is a great, a notable and extreme science, which they doubt whether man be capable thereof or no.

*Nil sciri quisquis putat, id quoque nescit,
An sciri possit, quo se nil scire fatetur.*

LUCR. l.
iv. 471.

Who think's nothing is knowne, knowes not that
whereby hee
Grauntes he knowes nothing if it knowne may
bee.

That ignorance which knoweth, judgeth, and condemneth it selfe, is not an absolute ignorance: for to be so, she must altogether be ignorant of her selfe. So that the profession of the Pyrrhonians is ever to waver, to doubt, and to enquire; never to be assured of any thing, nor to take any warrant of himself. Of the three actions or faculties of the soule, that is to say, the imaginative, the concupiscible, and the consenting, they allow and conceive the two former: the last they hold and defend to be ambiguous, without inclination or approbation either of one or other side, be it never so light. Zeno in jesture painted forth his imagination upon this division of the soules faculties: the open and outstretched hand was apparence; the hand halfe-shut, and fingers somewhat bending,

consent; the fist closed, comprehension: if the fist of the left hand were closely clinched together, it signified Science. Now this situation of their judgement, straight and inflexible, receiving all objects with application or consent, leads them unto their Ataraxie, which is the condition of a quiet and settled life, exempted from the agitations which we receive by the impression of the opinion and knowledge we imagine to have of things; whence proceed feare, avarice, envie, immoderate desires, ambition, pride, superstition, love of novelties, rebellion, disobedience, obstinacie, and the greatest number of corporall evils: yea, by that meane they are exempted from the jealousie of their owne discipline, for they contend but faintly: they feare nor revenge nor contradiction in the disputations. When they say that heavy things descend downward, they would be loth to be beleaved, but desire to be contradicted, thereby to engender doubt and suspence of judgement, which is their end and drift. They put forth their propositions but to

contend with those they imagine wee hold in our conceipt. If you take theirs, then will they undertake to maintaine the contrarie: all is one to them, nor will they give a penny to chuse. If you propose that snow is blacke, they will argue on the other side that it is white. If you say it is neither one nor other, they will maintaine it to be both. If by a certaine judgement you say that you cannot tell, they will maintaine that you can tell. Nay, if by an affirmative axiome you sweare that you stand in some doubt, they will dispute that you doubt not of it, or that you cannot judge or maintaine that you are in doubt. And by this extremitie of doubt, which staggereth it selfe, they separate and divide themselves from many opinions, yea from those which divers ways have maintained both the doubt and the ignorance. Why shall it not be granted then (say they) as to Dogmatists, or Doctrine-teachers, for one to say greene and another yellow, so for them to doubt? Is there any thing can be proposed unto you, either to allow or

refuse which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous and doubtfull? And whereas others be carried either by the custome of their cuntry, or by the institution of their parents, or by chance, as by a tempest, without choyce or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of discretion, to such and such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurean Sect, to which they finde themselves more engaged, subjected, or fast tyed, as to a prize they cannot let goe: *Ad quamcunque disciplinam, velut Tempestate, delati, ad eam tanquam ad saxum adhærescunt*: “Being carried as it were by a Tempest to any kinde of doctrine, they sticke close to it as it were to a rocke.” Why shall not these likewise be permitted to maintaine their libertie and consider of things without dutie or compulsion? *Hoc liberiores et solutiores, quod integra illis est judicandi potestas*: *1b.* “They are so much the freer and at libertie, for that their power of judgement is kept entire.” Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disingaged from

CIC.
Acad.
Qu. 1. x

necessitie which brideleth others : Is it not better to remaine in suspence than to entangle himselfe in so many errours that humane fantasie hath brought forth ? Is it not better for a man to suspend his owne perswasion than to meddle with these sedicious and quarrellous divisions ? What shall I chuse ? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer : to which it seemeth neverthelesse that all Dogmatisme arriveth ; by which it is not lawfull for you to bee ignorant of that we know not. Take the best and strongest side, it shall never be so sure but you shall have occasion to defend the same, to close and combat a hundred and a hundred sides ? Is it not better to keepe out of this confusion ? You are suffered to embrace as your honour and life Aristotles opinion upon the eternitie of the soule, and to belie and contradict whatsoever Plato saith concerning that ; and shall they be interdicted to doubt of it ? If it be lawfull for Panæcius to maintaine his judgement about auspices, dreames, oracles, and prophecies, whereof the Stoikes make

no doubt at all: wherfore shall not a wise man dare that in all things which this man dareth in such as he hath learned of his masters, confirmed and established by the general consent of the schoole whereof he is a sectary and a professor? If it be a childe that judgeth, he wots not what it is; if a learned man, he is forestalled. They have reserved a great advantage for themselves in the combat, having discharged themselves of the care how to shroud themselves. They care not to be beaten, so they may strike againe: and all is fish that comes to net with them. If they overcome, your proposition halteth; if you, theirs is lame; if they faile, they verifie ignorance; if you, she is verified by you; if they prove that nothing is knowen, it is very well: if they cannot prove it, it is good alike: *Vt quum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta inveniuntur, facilius ab utraque parte assertio sustineatur*: “So as when

CIC.
Acad.
Qu. 1. x.

parts." And they suppose to find out more easily why a thing is false than true, and that which is not than that which is: and what they beleve not, than that what they beleve. Their manner of speech is, "I confirme nothing." It is no more so than thus, or neither: I conceive it not; apparances are every where alike. The law of speaking *pro* or *contra* is all one. "Nothing seemeth true that may not seeme false." Their sacramental word is *ἰπέχω*; which is as much to say as I hold and stir not. Behold the burdons of their songs and other such like. Theyr effects is a pure, entire, and absolute surceasing and suspence of judgement. They use their reason to enquire and to debate, and not to stay and choose. Whosoever shall imagine a perpetuall confession of ignorance, and a judgement upright and without staggering, to what occasion soever may chance, that man conceives the true Pyrrhonisme. I expound this fantazy as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: and the authors themselves repre-

sent it somewhat obscurely and diversly. Touching the actions of life, in that they are after the common sort, they are lent and applied to naturall inclinations, to the impulsion and constraint of passions, to the constitutiones of lawes and customes, and to the tradition of arts: *Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantummodo uti*

voluit: "For God would not have us know these things, but only use them." Cic.
Divina
l. i.

By such meanes they suffer their common actions to be directed without any conceit or judgement, which is the reason that I cannot well sort unto this discourse what is said of Pyrrho. They faine him to be stupide and unmovable, leading a kinde of wild and unsociable life, not shunning to be hit with carts, presenting himselfe unto downefals, refusing to conforme himselfe to the lawes. It is an endearing of his discipline. Hee would not make himselfe a stone or a blocke, but a living, discoursing, and reasoning man, enjoying all pleasures and naturall commodities, busying himselfe with and using all his corporall and

spirituall parts in rule and right. The fantastick and imaginary and false privileges which man hath usurped unto himselfe to sway, to appoint, and to establish, he hath absolutely renounced and quit them. Yet is there no Sect but is enforced to allow her wise Sectary, in chiefe to follow diverse things nor comprehended, nor perceived, nor allowed, if he will live. And if he take shipping, he follows his purpose, not knowing whether it shall be profitable or no: and yeeldes to this, that the ship is good, the pilote is skilfull, and that the season is fit, circumstances only probable. After which he is bound to goe and suffer himselfe to be removed by apparances, alwaies provided they have no expresse contrariety in them. Hee hath a body, he hath a soule, his senses urge him forward, his minde moveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and that he perceive he should not engage his consent, seeing some falsehood may be like unto this truth: hee ceaseth not to conduct the offices of his

life fully and commodiously. How many arts are there which professe to consist more in conjecture than in the science ; that distinguish not betweene truth and falsehood, but only follow seeming? There is both true and false (say they), and there are meanes in us to seeke it out, but not to stay it when we touch it. It is better for us to suffer the order of the world to manage us without further inquisition. A mind warranted from prejudice hath a marvelous preferment to tranquillity. Men that censure and controule their judges doe never duly submit unto them. How much more docile and tractable are simple and uncurious mindes found both towards the lawes of religion and Politike decrees, than these over-vigilant and nice wits, teachers of divine and humane causes? There is nothing in mans invention wherein is so much likelyhood, possibilitie, and profit. This representeth man bare and naked. acknowledging his naturall weaknesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disfurnished of all human knowledge, and

so much the more fitte to harbour divine understanding, disannulling his judgement, that so he may give more place unto faith. Neither misbeleeving nor establishing any doctrine or opinion repugnant unto common lawes and observances, humble, obedient, disciplinable and studious; a sworne enemy to Heresie, and by consequence exempting himselfe from all vaine and irreligious opinions, invented and brought up by false Sects. It is a white sheet prepared to take from the finger of God what form soever it shall please him to imprint therein. The more we addresse and commit our selves to God, and reject our selves, the better it is for us. Accept (saith Ecclesiastes) in good part things both in shew and taste, as from day to day they are presented unto thee, the rest is beyond thy knowledge. *Dominus novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanæ sunt*: "The Lord knowes the thoughts of men, that they are vayne." See how of three generall Sects of Philosophie, two make expresse profession of doubt and ignorance; and in the third,

Psalm
xciii. 11.

which is the Dogmatists, it is easie to be discerned that the greatest number have taken the face of assurance ; onely because they could set a better countenance on the matter. They have not so much gone about to establish any certainty in us, as to shew how farre they had waded in seeking out the truth. *Quam docti fingunt magis quam norunt*: “ Which the learned doe rather conceit than know.”

Timæus, being to instruct Socrates of what he knowes of the Gods, of the world, and of men, purposeth to speake of it as one man to another ; and that it sufficeth, if his reasons be as probable as another mans. For exact reasons are neither in his hands, nor in any mortall man ; which one of his Sectaries hath thus imitated: *Vt potero, explicabo : nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa quæ dixero ; sed ut homunculus, probabilia conjectura sequens*: “ As I can, I will explaine them ; yet not as Apollo giving oracles, that all should bee certaine and set downe, that I say but as a meane man who followes likelihood by his

Cic.
Tusc. Qu.
l. i.

conjecture." And that upon the discourse of the contempt of death ; a naturall and popular discourse. Elsewhere he hath translated it, upon Platoes very words : *Si forte, de Deorum natura ortuque mundi disserentes, minus id quod habemus in animo consequimur, haud erit mirum. Æquum est enim meminisse, et me, qui disseram, hominem esse, et vos qui judicetis : ut, si probabilia dicentur, nihil ultra requiratis :*

Epic.
Univers.

"It will be no marvell if arguing of the nature of Gods and originall of the world, we scarcely reach to that which in our minde we comprehend ; for it is meet we remember that both I am a man who am to argue, and you who are to judge, so as you seeke no further, if I speake but things likely." Aristotle ordinarily hoardeth us up a number of other opinions and other beleefes, that so he may compare his unto it, and make us see how farre he hath gone further, and how neere he comes unto true-likelihood. For truth is not judged by authoritie, nor by others testimonie. And therefore did Epicurus religiously avoyd to aleadge any

in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him that, to know much breedes an occasion to doubt more. He is often seene seriously to shelter himselfe under so inextricable obscurities that his meaning cannot be perceived. In effect, it is a Pyrrhonisme under a resolving forme. Listen to Ciceroes protestation, who doth declare us others fantasies by his owne. *Qui requirunt, quid de quaque re ipsi sentiamus; curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est. Hæc in Philosophia ratio contra omnia disserendi, nullamque rem aperte judicandi, profecta à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata à Carneade, usque ad nostram viget ætatem. Hi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quædam aliuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certe judicandi et assentiendi nota:* “They that would know what we conceit of every thing, use more curiosity than needs. This course in Philosophy to dispute against all things, to judge expressly of nothing, derived from Socrates, renewed by Arcesilas, confirmed by Car-

CICERO Nat.
Deor. l. i.

neades, is in force till our time; we are those that aver some falsehood entermixt with every truth, and that with such likeness, as there is no set note in those things for any assuredly to give judgement or assent." Why hath not Aristotle alone, but the greatest number of Philosophers, affected difficulty, unlesse it be to make the vanity of the subject to prevaile, and to amuse the curiosity of our minde, seeking to feed it by gnawing so raw and bare a bone? Clytomachus affirmed that he could never understand by the writings of Carneades, what opinion he was of. Why hath Epicurus interdicted facility unto his Sectaries? And wherefore hath Heraclitus beene surnamed *σκοτεινός*, "a darke mysty clouded fellow"? Difficulty is a coine that wise men make use of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanity of their art, and wherewith humane foolishness is easily apaid.

*Clarus ob obscuram linguam, magis inter inanes.
Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amantque,
Inversis quæ sub verbis latitantia cernunt.*

For his darke speech much prais'd, but of th' unwise ;
For fooles doe all still more admire and prize
That under words turn'd topsie-turvie lies.

Cicero reproveth some of his friends because they were wont to bestow more time about astrology, law, logike, and geometry, than such arts could deserve ; and diverted them from the devoirs of their life, more profitable and more honest. The Cyrenaike philosophers equally contemned naturall philosophy and logicke. Zeno in the beginning of his bookes of the Commonwealth declared all the liberall sciences to be unprofitable. Chrysippus said that which Plato and Aristotle had written of logike, they had written the same in jest and for exercise sake, and could not beleve that ever they spake in good earnest of so vaine and idle a subject. Plutarke saith the same of the metaphysikes : Epicurus would have said it of rhetorike, of grammar, of poesie, of the mathematices, and (except naturall philosophy) of all other sciences : and Socrates of all, but of the art of civill manners and life. Whatsoever he was de-

manded of any man, he would ever first enquire of him to give an accompt of his life, both present and past, which he would seriously examine and judge of; deeming all other apprentiships as subsequents and of supererogation in regard of that. *Parum mihi placeant eæ literæ quæ ad virtutem doctoribus nihil profuerunt*: "That learning pleaseth me but a little, which nothing profiteth the teachers of it unto vertue." Most of the arts have thus beene contemned by knowledge it selfe, for they thought it not amisse to exercise their mindes in matters wherein was no profitable solidity. As for the rest, some have judged Plato a dogmatist, others a doubter; some a dogmatist in one thing, and some a doubter in another. Socrates, the fore-man of his Dialogues doth ever aske and propose his disputation: yet never concluding, nor ever satisfying, and saith he hath no other science but that of opposing. Their author, Homer, hath equally grounded the foundations of all sects of philosophy, thereby to shew how indifferent he was which way we went. Some say that

of Plato arose ten diverse sects. And as I thinke, never was instruction wavering and nothing avouching if his be not. Socrates was wont to say that when midwives begin once to put in practice the trade to make other women bring forth children, themselves become barren. That he, by the title of wise, which the gods had conferred upon him, had also in his man-like and mentall love shaken off the faculty of begetting: Being well pleased to afford all helpe and favor to such as were engenderers; to open their nature, to suple their passages, to ease the issue of their child-bearing, to judge thereof, to baptise the same, to foster it, to strengthen it, to swathe it, and to circumcise it, exercising and handling his instrument at the perill and fortune of others. So is it with most authors of this third kinde, as the ancients have well noted by the writings of Anaxagoras, Democritus, Parmenides, Xenophanes, and others. They have a manner of writing doubtfull both in substance and intent, rather enquiring than instructing: albeit here and there they enter-

lace their stile with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as well seene in Seneca and in Plutarke? How much doe they speake sometimes of one face and sometimes of another, for such as looke neere unto it? Those who reconcile lawyers, ought first to have reconciled them every one unto himselfe. Plato hath (in my seeming) loved this manner of philosophying dialogue wise in good earnest, that thereby he might more decently place in sundry mouthes the diversity and variation of his owne conceits. Diversly to treat of matters is as good and better as to treat them conformably; that is to say, more copiously and more profitably. Let us take example by our selves. Definite sentences make the last period of dogmaticall and resolving speech; yet see wee that those which our Parliaments present unto our people as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe unto this dignitie, especially by reason of the sufficiencie of those persons which exercise the same, taking their glory, not by the conclusion, which to

them is dayly, and is common to al judges as much as the debating of diverse and agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will admit. And the largest scope for reprehensions of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein every one of them findeth himself so entangled, either by intent to show the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensiblenesse of all matters: What meaneth this burden? In a slippery and gliding place let us suspend our beliefe. For as Euripides saith,

*Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses
Facons, nous donnent des traverses.*

Gods workes doe travers our imaginations,
And crosse our workes in divers different fashions.

Like unto that which Empedocles was wont often to scatter amongst his bookes, as moved by a divine furie and forced by truth. No, no, we feel nothing, we see nothing; all things are hid from us: there is not one that we may establish, how and what it is. But returning to this holy word, *Cogita-*

From
PLU-
TARCH
through
AMYOT'S
Trans.

Wi 2.
ix. 14.

tiones mortalium timidæ, et incertæ adinventiones nostræ, et providentiæ: “The thoughts of mortal men are feareful, our devices and foresights are uncertaine.” It must not be thought strange if men disparing of the goale have yet taken pleasure in the chase of it; studie being in itselfe a pleasing occupation, yea so pleasing that amid sensualities the Stoikes forbid also that which comes from the exercise of the minde, and require a bridle to it, and finde intemperance in over much knowledge. Democritus having at his table eaten some figges that tasted of hony, began presently in his minde to seeke out whence this unusuall sweetnes in them might proceed; and to be resolved, rose from the board, to view the place where those figges had beene gathered. His maide servant noting this alteration in her master, smilingly said unto him, that he should no more busie himselfe about it; the reason was, she had laide them in a vessell where hony had beene; whereat he seemed to be wroth in that shee had deprived him of the occasion of his intended

search, and robbed his curiositie of matter to worke upon. "Away," quoth he unto her, "thou hast much offended mee; yet will I not omit to finde out the cause, as if it were naturally so." Who perhaps would not have missed to finde some likely or true reason for a false and supposed effect. This storie of a famous and great Philosopher doth evidently represent unto us this studious passion, which so doth amuse us in pursuit of things, of whose obtaining wee despaire. Plutarke reporteth a like example of one who would not be resolved of what he doubted, because hee would not lose the pleasure hee had in seeking it: As another, that would not have his Physitian remove the thirst he felt in his ague, because he would not lose the pleasure he tooke in quenching the same with drinking. *Satius est supervacua discere, quam nihil*: "It is better to learne more than wee need than nothing at all." Even as in all feeding, pleasure is alwayes alone and single; and all we take that is pleasant is not ever nourishing and wholesome: So likewise, what our minde drawes

SEN.
Epist.
lxxxix.

from learning leaveth not to be voluptuous, although it neither nourish nor be wholesome. Note what their saying is: "The consideration of nature is a food proper for our mindes, it raiseth and puffeth us up, it makes us by the comparison of heavenly and high things to disdain base and low matters. The search of hidden and great causes is very pleasant, yea unto him that attaines nought but the reverence and feare to judge of them." These are the very words of their profession. The vaine image of this crazed curiositie is more manifestly seen in this other example, which they for honour-sake have so often in their mantles. Eudoxus wished, and praid to the Gods, that he might once view the Sunne neere at hand, to comprehend his forme, his greatnesse and his beautie; on condition he might immediately be burnt and consumed by it. Thus with the price of his owne life would he attaine a Science, whereof both use and possession shall therewith bee taken from him; and for so sudden and fleeting knowledge lose and forgoe all the knowledges he either

now hath, or ever hereafter may have. I can not easily be perswaded that Epicurus, Plato, or Pythagoras have sold us their atomes, their ideas, and their numbers for ready payment. They were over wise to establish their articles of faith upon things so uncertaine and disputable. But in this obscuritie and ignorance of the world, each of these notable men hath endeavoured to bring some kinde of shew or image of light; and have busied their mindes about inventions that might at least have a pleasing and wilie apparance, provided (notwithstanding it were false) it might be maintained against contrary oppositions: *Vnicuique ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientiæ vi:* "These things are conceited by every man as his wit serves, not as his knowledge stretches and reaches." An ancient Phylosopher being blamed for professing that Philosophie, whereof in his judgment hee made no esteeme; answered, that that was true Philosophizing. They have gone about to consider all, to ballance all, and have found that it was an occupation fitting the

naturall curiositie which is in us. Some things they have written for the behoofe of common societie, as their religions: And for this consideration was it reasonable that they would not throughly unfold common opinions, that so they might not breed trouble in the obedience of lawes and customes of their countries. Plato treateth this mysterie in a very manifest kinde of sport. For, where he writeth according to himselfe, he prescribeth nothing for certaintie: When he institutes a Law giver, he borroweth a very swaying and avouching kinde of stile: Wherein he boldly entermingleth his most fantastickall opinions; as profitable to perswade the common sort, as ridiculous to perswade himselfe: Knowing how apt wee are to receive all impressions, and chiefly the most wicked and enormous. And therefore is he very carefull in his lawes that nothing bee sung in publike but Poesies the fabulous fictions of which tend to some profitable end: being so apt to imprint all manner of illusion in mans minde, that it is injustice not to feed them rather with commodious

lies, than with lies either unprofitable or damageable. He flatly saith in his Common-wealth that for the benefit of men, it is often necessarie to deceive them. It is easie to distinguish how some Sects have rather followed truth, and some profit; by which the latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of our condition that often what offers it selfe unto our imagination for the likeliest, presents not it selfe unto it for the most beneficiall unto our life. The boldest sects, both Epicurean, Pirrhonian and new Academike, when they have cast their accompt, are compelled to stoope to the civill law. There are other subjects which they have tossed, some on the left and some on the right hand, each one labouring and striving to give it some semblance, were it right or wrong: For, having found nothing so secret, whereof they have not attempted to speak, they are many times forced to forge divers feeble and fond conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them for a ground-worke, not to establish a truth, but for an exercise of their studie. *Non tam id*

sensisse, quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materiæ difficultate videntur voluisse:
“They seem not so much to have thought as they said, as rather willing to exercise their wits in the difficulty of the matter.” And if it were not so taken, how should we cloke so great an inconstancie, varietie and vanity of opinions, which wee see to have beene produced by these excellent and admirable spirits? As for example, What greater vanitie can there be than to goe about by our proportions and conjectures to guesse at God? And to governe both him and the world according to our capacitie and lawes? And to use this small scantlin of sufficiencie, which he hath pleased to impart unto our naturall condition, at the cost and charges of divinitie? And because we cannot extend our sight so farre as his glorious throne, to have removed him downe to our corruption and miseries? Of all humane and ancient opinions concerning religion, I thinke that to have had more likelyhood and excuse, which knowledged and confessed God to be an incomprehen-

sible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things ; all goodness, all perfection ; accepting in good part the honour and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, under which usage, name and manner soever it was.

*Iupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque, Deumque,
Progenitor, genitrixque.*

Almightie love is parent said to be
Of things, of Kings, of Gods, both he and she.

This zeale hath universally beene regarded of heaven with a gentle and gracious eye. All policie have reaped some fruit by their devotion : Men and impious actions have every where had correspondent events. Heathen histories acknowledge dignitie, order, justice, prodigies, and oracles, employed for their benefit and instruction in their fabulous religion : God of his mercy daining, peradventure, to foster by his temporall blessings the budding and tender beginnings of such a brute knowledge as naturall reason gave them of him, athwart the false images of their deluding dreames : Not only false but impious and injurious are

VAL-
ERIIUS
SOR-
ANUS,
quoted
from
VARRO
by
AUGUS-
TIN, *De
Civ. Dei.*

those which man hath forged and devised by his owne invention. And of al religions Saint Paul found in credit at Athens, that which they had consecrated unto a certaine hidden and unknowne divinitie seemed to be most excusable. Pythagoras shadowed the truth somewhat neerer, judgeing that the knowledge of this first cause and *Essentium* must be undefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the extreme indeavour of our imagination toward perfection, every one amplifying the idea thereof according to his capacitie. But if Numa undertooke to conforme the devotion of his people to this project, to joyne the same to a religion meereley mentall, without any prefixt object or materiall mixture, he undertooke a matter to no use. Mans minde could never be maintained if it were still floting up and downe in this infinite deepe of shapeles conceits. They must be framed unto her to some image, according to her model. The majesty of God hath in some sort suffered itself to be circumscribed to

corporall limits: His supernaturall and celestiall Sacraments beare signes of our terrestriall condition. His adoration is exprest by offices and sensible words; for it is man that beleeveth and praieth. I omit other arguments that are employed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleieve that the sight of our Crucifixes and pictures of that pittiful torment, that the ornaments and ceremonious motions in our Churches, that the voyces accomodated and suted to our thoughts-devotions, and this stirring of our senses, doth not greatly inflame the peoples soules with a religious passion of wonderous beneficiall good. Of those to which they have given bodies, as necessity required amid this generall blindnesse, as for me, I should rather have taken part with those who worshipped the Sunne.

——— *la lumiere commune,*

*L'œil du monde: et si Dieu au chef porte des yeux,
Les rayons du Soleil sont ses yeux radieux
Qui donnent vie à tous, nous maintiennent et gardent
Et les faicts des humains en ce monde regardent:
Ce beau, ce grand Soleil, qui nous fait les saysons,
Selon qu'il entre ou sort de ses douze maysons:*

*Qui remplit l'univers de ses vertus cognues,
 Qui d'un traict de ses yeux nous dissipe les nues '
 L'espirit, l'ame du monde, ardent et flamboyant,
 En la course d'un iour tout le Ciel tournoyant,
 Plein d'immense grandeur, rond, vagabond et ferme :
 Lequel tient dessoubs luy tout le monde pour terme,
 En repos sans repos, oysif, et sans sejour,
 Fils aisné de Nature, et le Pere du iour*

The common light,
 The worlds eye : and if God beare eyes in his cheefe
 head,
 His most resplendent eyes the Sunne beames may
 be said,
 Which unto all give life, which us maintaine and guard,
 And in this world of men, the workes of men regard :
 This great, this beauteous Sunne, which us our
 seasons makes,
 As in twelve houses he ingresse or egressse takes ;
 Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this
 universe,
 With one cast of his eyes doth us all cloudes dis-
 perse :
 The spirit, and the soule of this world, flaming,
 burning,
 Round about heav'n in course of one dayes journey
 turning.
 Of endlesse greatnesse full, round, moveable and
 fast :
 Who all the world for bounds beneath himselfe hath
 pla'st :

In rest, without rest, and still more staid, without
stay,
Of Nature th' eldest Childe, and Father of the day.

Forasmuch as besides this greatnesse and
matchlesse beautie of his, it is the onely
glorious piece of this vaste worlds frame,
which we perceive to be furthest from us :
And by that meane so little knowne as they
are pardonable, they entered into admiration
and reverence of it. Thales, who was the
first to enquire and find out this matter,
esteemed God to be a spirit who made all
things of water. Anaximander thought the
Gods did dy, and were new born at diverse
seasons, and that the worlds were infinite in
number. Anaximenes deemed the ayre to
be a God, which was created immense and
always moving. Anaxagoras was the first
that held the description and manner of all
things to be directed by the power and
reason of a spirit infinit. Alcmaeon hath
ascribed divinity unto the Sunne, unto the
Moone, unto Stars, and unto the Soule.
Pythagoras hath made God a spirit dispersed
through the Nature of all things, whence

our soules are derived. Parmenides, a circle circumpassing the heavens, and by the heat of light maintaining the world. Empedocles said the foure Natures, whereof all things are made, to be Gods. Protagoras, that he had nothing to say whether they were or were not, or what they were. Democritus would sometimes say that the images and their circutations were Gods, and othertimes this Nature, which disperseth these images, and then our knowledge and intelligencce. Plato scattereth his beliefe after diverse semblances. In his Timæus he saith that the worlds father could not be named. In his Lawes that his being must not be enquired after. And else-where in the said bookes he maketh the world, the heaven, the starres, the earth, and our soules, to be Gods; and besides, admitteth those that by ancient institutions have beene received in every common-wealth. Xenophon reporteth a like difference of Socrates his discipline. Sometimes that Gods forme ought not to be inquired after; then he makes him infer that the Sunne is a God, and the Soule a

God; othertimes that there is but one, and then more. Speusippus, Nephew unto Plato, makes God to be a certaine power, governing all things, and having a soule. Aristotle saith sometimes that it is the spirit, and sometimes the world; othertimes he appoynteth another ruler over this world, and sometimes he makes God to be the heat of heaven. Xenocrates makes eight; five named amongst the planets, the sixth composed of all the fixed starres, as of his owne members; the seaventh and eighth the Sunne and the Moone. Heraclides Ponticus doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of sense, and maks him remove and transchange himselfe from one forme to another; and then saith that is both heaven and earth. Theophrastus in all his fantazies wandereth still in like irresolutions, attributing the worlds superintendency now to the intelligence, now to the heaven, and now to the starres. Strabo, that it is Nature having power to engender, to augment and to diminish, without forme or sense. Zeno, the naturall Law, command-

ing the good and prohibiting the evil; which Lawe is a breathing creature, and removeth the accustomed Gods, Iupiter, Iuno, and Vesta. Diogenes Apolloniates, that it is Age. Xenophanes makes God round, seeing, hearing not breathing, and having nothing common with humane Nature. Aristo deemeth the forme of God to bee incomprehensible, and depriveth him of senses, and wotteth not certainly whether he bee a breathing soule or something else. Cleanthes, sometimes reason, othertimes the World; now the soule of Nature, and other-while the supreme heat, enfolding and containing all. Perseus, Zeno's disciple, hath bene of opinion that they were surnamed Gods who had brought some notable good or benefit unto humane life, or had invented profitable things. Chrysippus made a confused huddle of all the foresaid sentences, and amongst a thousand formes of the Gods which he faineth, hee also accompteth those men that are immortalized. Diagoras and Theodorus flatly denied that there were anie Gods:

Epicurus makes the God, bright-shining, transparent, and perflable, placed as it were betweene two Forts, betweene two Worlds, safely sheltered from all blowes, invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which unto them are of no use.

*Ego Deum genus esse semper duxi, et dicam cœlitum,
Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.* ENN. in
CIC. *De*
Div. l.ii.

I still thought and wil say, of Gods there is a kinde;
But what our mankinde doth, I thinke they nothing
minde.

Trust to your Philosophie, boast to have hit the naile on the head; or to have found out the beane of this cake, to see this coile and hurly-burly of so many Philosophical wits. The trouble or confusion of worldly shapes and formes hath gotten this of mee, that customes and conceipts differing from mine doe not so much dislike me as instruct me; and at what time I conferre or compare them together, they doe not so much puffe me up with pride as humble me with lowlinesse. And each other choyce, except that which commeth from the expresse hand of God, seemeth to me a choyce of small

prerogative or consequence. The worlds policies are no lesse contrarie one to another in this subject than the schooles whereby we may learne that Fortune herself is no more divers, changing, and variable, than our reason, nor more blinde and inconsiderat. Things most unknowne are fittest to be deified. Wherefore to make Gods of our selves (as antiquitie hath done), it exceeds the extreme weaknesse of discourse. I would rather have followed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Ox, forso-much as their Nature and being is least knowne to us, and we may more lawfully imagine what we list of those beasts, and ascribe extraordinarie faculties unto them. But to have made Gods of our conditions, whose imperfections we should know, and to have attributed desire, choler, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love, and jealousie, our limbs and our bones, our infirmities, our pleasures, our deaths, and our sepulchres unto them, hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and egregious sottishnesse or drunkennesse of mans wit.

*Quæ procul usque adeo divino ap numine distant,
Inque Deum numero quæ sint indigna videri.*

LUCR. l.
v. 123.

Which from Divinity so distant are,
To stand in ranke of Gods unworthy farre.

*Formæ, ætates, vestitus ornatus noti sunt :
genera, conjugia, cognationes, omniaque tra-
ducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis hu-
manæ : nam et perturbatis animis indu-
cuntur ; accipimus enim Deorum cupiditates
ægritudines, iracundias :* “ Their shapes,
their ages, their apparel, their furnitures
are known ; their kindes, their marriages,
their kindred, and all translated to the like-
nesse of man’s weaknesse : For they are also
brought in with mindes much troubled ; for
we read of the lustfulnesse, the grievings,
the angrinesse of the Gods.” As to have
ascribed Divinity, not only unto faith,
vertue, honour, concord, liberty, victory
and piety ; but also unto voluptuousnesse,
fraud, death, envy, age and misery ; yea
unto feare, unto ague, and unto evill fortune,
and such other injuries and wrongs to our
fraile and transitory life :

*Quid juvat hoc, templis nostros inducere mores?
O curvæ in terris animæ et cœlestium inanes!*

PERS.
Sat. ii.
62, 61.

What boots it, into Temples to bring manners of
our kindes?

O crooked soules on earth, and void of heavenly
mindes.

The Ægyptians, with an impudent wisdom forbade, upon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say that Serapis and Isis, their Gods, had whilome beene but men, when all knew they had beene so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger acrosse their mouth imported (as Varro saith) this misterious rule unto their priests, to conceal their mortall off-spring, which by necessary reason disannuled all their veneration. Since man desired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had beene better for him (saith Cicero) to draw those divine conditions unto himselfe, and bring them downe to earth, than to send his corruption and place his misery above in heaven; but to take him aright, he hath divers wayes, and with like vanitie of opinion, doth both the one and the other.

When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchy of their gods, and to the utmost of their skill endeavour to distinguish their alliances, their charges, and their powers; I cannot beleve they speake in good earnest. When Plato decyphreth unto us the orchard of Pluto, and the commodities or corporall paines which even after the ruine and consumption of our body waite for us, and applyeth them to the apprehension or feeling we have in this life;

Secreti celant colles, et myrtea circum

Sylva tegit, curæ non ipsa in morte relinquunt;

Them paths aside conceale, a mirtle grove
Shades them round; cares in death doe not re-
move;

when Mahomet promiseth unto his followers a paradise all tapestried, adorned with gold and precious stones, peopled with exceeding beauteous damsels, stored with wines and singular cates: I well perceive they are but scoffers which sute and apply themselves unto our foolishness, thereby to enhonny and allure us to these opinions and hopes fitting our morall appetite.

VIR.
Æn. 1.
vi. 443.

Even so are some of our men falne into like errors by promising unto themselves after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporal life accompanied with all sorts of pleasures and worldly commodities. Shall we thinke that Plato, who had so heavenly conceptions and was so well acquainted with Divinity as of most he purchased the surname of Divine, was ever of opinion that man (this seely and wretched creature man) had any one thing in him which might in any sort be applied and suted to this incomprehensible and unspeakable power? or ever imagined that our languishing hold-fasts were capable, or the vertue of our understanding of force, to participate or be partakers either of the blessednesse or eternal punishment? He ought in the behalfe of humane reason be answered: If the pleasures thou promisest us in the other life are such as I have felt here below, they have nothing in them common with infinity. If all my five naturall senses were even surcharged with joy and gladnesse, and my soule possessed with all the

contents and delights it could possibly desire no hope for (and we know what it either can wish or hope for), yet were it nothing. If there bee any thing that is mine, then is there nothing that is Divine : if it be nothing else but what may appertaine unto this our present condition, it may not be accounted of. All mortall mens contentment is mortall. The acknowledging of our parents, of our children and of our friends, if it cannot touch, move or tickle us in the other world, if we still take hold of such a pleasure, we continue in terrestrial and transitorie commodities. We can not worthily conceive of these high, mysterious, and divine promises, if wee can but in any sort conceive them, and so imagine them aright : they must be thought to be unimaginable, unspeakeable and incomprehensible, and absolutely and perfectly other than those of our miserable experience. “No eye can behold (saith Saint Paul) the hap that God prepareth for his elect, nor can it possibly enter the heart of man.” ^{1 Cor. ii.} And if to make us capable of it (as thou ^{9.}

saist, Plato, by thy purifications), our being is reformed and essence changed. it must be by so extreme and universall a change that, according to philosophicall doctrine, wee shall be no more ourselves :

*Hector erat tunc cum bello certabat, at ille
Tractus ab Æmonio non erat Hector equo.*

OVID.

Trist.

l. iii. *El.*

xi. 27.

Hector he was, when he in fight us'd force :

Hector he was not, drawne by th' enemies horse.

it shall be some other thing that shall receive these recompences.

———*quod mutatur, dissolvitur ; interit ergo :
Trajiciuntur enim partes atque ordine migrant.*

LUCR. l.

iii. 781.

What is chang'd is dissolved, therefore dies :

Translated parts in order fall and rise.

For in the Metempsychosis or transmigration of soules of Pythagoras, and the change of habitation which he imagined the soules to make, shall we thinke that the lion in whom abideth the soule of Cæsar, doth wed the passions which concerned Cæsar, or that it is hee? And if it were hee, those had some reason who, debating this opinion against Plato, object that the sonne might one day bee found

committing with his mother under the shape of a Mules body, and such like absurdities. And shall wee imagine that in the transmigrations which are made from the bodies of some creatures into others of the same kind, the new succeeding ones are not other than their predecessor s were? Of a Phenixes cinders, first (as they say) is engendered a worme and then another Phenix: who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silkwormes are seene to dye and then to wither drie, and of that body breedeth a Butter-flie, and of that a worme: were it not ridiculous to thinke the same to be the first Silkworm? what hath once lost its being is no more.

*Nec si materiam nostram collegerit ætas
Post obitum, rursumque redegerit, ut sita nunc est,
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vitæ,
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
Interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostra.*

If time should recollect, when life is past,
Our stuffe, and it replace, as now 'tis plac't,
And light of life were granted us againe,
Yet nothing would that deed to us pertaine,
When interrupted were our turne againe.

LUCR. l.
iii. 800.

And Plato, when in another place thou saist that it shall be the spirituall part of man that shall enjoy the recompences of the other life, thou tellest of things of as small likely-hood.

Scilicet avulsus radicibus ut nequit ullam

LUCR. 1.
iii. 580.

Displicere ipse oculus rem, seorsum corpore toto.

Ev'n as no eye, by th' root's pull'd out, can see
Ought in whole body severall to bee.

For by this reckoning it shall no longer be man, nor consequently us, to whom this enjoyment shall appertaine; for we are built of two principall essential parts, the separation of which is the death and consummation of our being.

Inter enim jecta est vitai pausa vageque

Ib. 903.

Deerrarunt passim motus ab sensibus omnes.

A pause of life is interpos'd; from sense
All motions straied are, far wandring thence.

We doe not say that man suffereth when the wormes gnaw his body and limbs whereby he lived, and that the earth consumeth them:

Et nihil hoc ad nos, qui coitu conjugioque

Ib. 888.

Corporis atque animæ consistimus uniter apti.

This nought concerns us, who consist of union
Of minde and body joy'n'd in meet communion.

Moreover, upon what ground of their justice can the Gods reward man and be thankfull unto him after his death, for his good and vertuous actions, since themselves addressed and bred them in him? And wherefore are they offended and revenge his vicious deeds, when themselves have created him with so defective a condition, and that but with one twinkling of their will they may hinder him from sinning? Might not Epicurus with some shew of humane reason object that unto Plato, if he did not often shrowd himselfe under this sentence, that it is impossible by mortall nature to establish any certainty of the immortall? Shee is ever straying, but especially when she medleth with divine matters. Who feeles it more evidently than we? For, although we have ascribed unto her assured and infallible principles, albeit wee enlighten her steps with the holy lampe of that truth which God hath been pleased to impart unto us, we notwithstanding see daily, how little soever she stray from the ordinary

path, and that she start or stragle out of the way traced and measured out by the Church, how soone she loseth, entangleth and confoundeth her selfe; turning, tossing and floating up and downe in this vast, troublesome and tempestuous sea of mans opinions without restraint or scope. So soone as she loseth this high and common way, shee divideth and scattereth herselfe a thousand diverse ways. Man can be no other than he is, nor imagine but according to his capacity. It is greater presumption (saith Plutarch) in them that are but men, to attempt to reason and discourse of Gods and of demi-Gods, than in a man meerly ignorant of musicke to judge of those that sing; or for a man that was never in warres to dispute of Armes and warre, presuming by some light conjecture to comprehend the effects of an art altogether beyond his skill. As I thinke, Antiquity imagined it did something for divine Majesty when shee compared the same unto man, attiring her with his faculties, and enriching her with his strange humours

and most shamefull necessities : offering her some of our cates to feed upon, and some of our dances, mummeries, and enterludes to make her merry, with our clothes to apparrell her, and our houses to lodge her, cherishing her with the sweet odors of incense, and sounds of musicke, adorning her with garlands and flowers, and to draw her to our vicious passion, to flatter her justice with an inhumane revenge, gladding her with the ruine and dissipation of things created and preserved by her. As Tiberius Sempronius, who for a sacrifice to Vulcan caused the rich spoiles and armes which he had gotten of his enemies in Sardinia to be burned : And Paulus Æmilius, those he had obtained in Macedonia, to Mars and Minerva. And Alexander comming to the Ocean of India, cast in favour of Thetis many great rich vessels of gold into the Sea, replenishing, moreover, her Altars with a butcherly slaughter, not onely of innocent beasts, but of men, as diverse Nations, and amongst the rest, ours were wont to doe.

And I thinke none hath beene exempted
from shewing the like Essayes.

——— *Sulmone creatos*

*Quatuor hic juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.*

Foure young-men borne of Sulmo, and foure more
Whom Usens bred, he living over-bore,
Whom he to his dead friend
A sacrifice might send.

The Getes deeme themselves immortall,
and their death but the beginning of a jour-
ney to their God Zamolxis. From five to
five yeares they dispatch some one among
themselves toward him, to require of him
necessarie things. This deputy of theirs is
chosen by lots ; and the manner to dispatch
him, after they have by word of mouth in-
structed him of his charge, is that amongst
those which assist his election, three hold
so many javelins upright, upon which the
others, by meere strength of armes, throw
him ; if he chance to sticke upon them in
any mortall place, and that he dye suddenly,
it is to them an assured argument of divine
favour ; but if he escape, they deeme him a

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
x. 517.

wicked and execrable man, and then chuse another. Amestris, mother unto Xerxes, being become aged, caused at one time fourteen young striplings of the noblest houses of Persia (following the religion of her countrie) to be buried all alive, thereby to gratifie some God of under earth. Even at this day the Idols of Temixitan are cemented with the bloud of young children, and love no sacrifice but of such infant and pure soules : Oh justice, greedy of the bloud of innocencie.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

LUCR. 1
i. 102.

Religion so much mischeefe could

Perswade, where it much better should.

The Carthaginians were wont to sacrifice their owne children unto Saturne, and who had none was faine to buy some : and their fathers and mothers were enforced in their proper persons, with cheerefull and pleasant countenance to assist that office. It was a strange conceit, with our owne affliction to goe about to please and appay divine goodnesse ; as the Lacedemonians, who flat-

tered and wantonized their Diana by torturing of young boyes, whom often in favour of her they caused to be whipped to death. It was a savage kinde of humor to thinke to gratifie the Architect with the subversion of his architecture: and to cancel the punishment due unto the guiltie by punishing the guiltles, and to imagine that poore Iphigenia, in the port of Aulis, should by her death and sacrifice discharge and expiate towards God, the Grecians armie of the offences which they had committed.

*Et casta incestè nubendi tempore in ipso
Hostia concideret mactatu mæsta parentis.*

LUCR. 1.
i. 99.

She, a chaste offering, griev'd incestuously
By fathers stroke, when she should wed, to dye.

And those two noble and generous soules of the Decii, father and sonne, to reconcile and appease the favour of the Gods towards the Romanes affaires, should headlong cast their bodies athwart the thickest throng of their enemies. *Quæ fuit tanta Deorum ini-*

CIC. *De*
Nat.
Deor. 1.
iii. 6.

quitas, ut placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent? "What injustice of the Gods was so great as they could not

be appeased unlesse such men perished?" Considering that it lies not in the offender to cause himselfe to be whipped, how and when he list, but in the judge, who accompteth nothing a right punishment except the torture he appointeth; and cannot impute that unto punishment which is in the free choice of him that suffereth. The divine vengeance presupposeth our full dissent, for his justice and our paine. And ridiculous was that humour of Polycrates, the Tyrant of Samos, who, to interrupt the course of his continuall happinesse, and to recompence it, cast the richest and most precious jewell he had into the Sea, deeming that by this purposed mishap he should satisfie the revolution and vicissitude of fortune; which, to deride his folly, caused the very same jewel, being found in a fishes belly, to returne to his hands againe. And to what purpose are the manglings and dismembrings of the Corybantes, of the Mænades, and now a dayes of the Mahumetans, who skar and gash their faces, their stomacke and their limbs, to gratifie their

prophet: seeing the offence consisteth in the will, not in the breast, nor eyes, nor in the genitories, health, shoulders, or throat? *Tantus est perturbatæ mentis et sedibus suis pulsæ furor, ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt*: "So great is the fury of a troubled minde put from the state it should be in, as the Gods must be so pacified, as even men would not be so outragious." This naturall contexture doth by her use not only respect us, but also the service of God and other mens: it is injustice to make it miscarie at our pleasure, as under what pretence soever it be to kill our selves. It seemeth to be a great cowardise and manifest treason to abuse the stupide and corrupt the servile functions of the body, to spare the diligence unto the soule how to direct them according unto reason. *Vbi iratos Deos timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regie libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, jubente Domino, manus intulit*: "Where are they afeard of Gods anger, who in such sort deserve to

AUG.
Civ. Dei,
l. vi. c.
10.

AUG.
Civ. Dei,
l. SEN

have his favour ; some have beene guelded for Princes lustfull pleasure : but no man at the Lords command hath laid hands on himselfe to be lesse than a man." Thus did they replenish their religion and stuffe it with divers bad effects.

—*sapius olim*

Religio peperit scelerosa atque impia facta.

Religion hath oft times in former times

Bred execrable facts, ungodly crimes.

LUCR. l
i. 82.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred unto divine nature, that doth not blemish and defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinite beauty, power, and goodness admit any correspondencie or similitude with a thing so base and abject as we are, without extreme interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatnesse? *Infirmum Die fortius est hominibus ; et stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus*: "The weaknesse of God is stronger than man ; and the foolishnesse of God is wiser than men." Stilpo the Philosopher, being demanded whether the Gods

1 Cor. i
25.

rejoyce at our honours and sacrifices ; you are indiscreet (said he), let us withdraw our selves apart if you speake of such matters. Notwithstanding we prescribe him limits, we lay continuall siege unto his power by our reasons. (I call our dreames and our vanities reason, with the dispensation of Philosophy, which saith that both the foole and the wicked doe rave and dote by reason, but that it is a reason of severall and particular forme.) We will subject him to the vaine and weake appearances of our understanding · him who hath made both us and our knowledge. Because nothing is made of nothing : God was not able to frame the world without matter. What? hath God delivered into our hands the keyes, and the strongest wards of his infinite puissance? Hath he obliged himselfe not to exceed the bounds of our knowledge? Suppose, oh man, that herein thou hast beene able to marke some signes of his effects. Thinkest thou he hath therein employed all he was able to doe, and that he hath placed all his formes and ideas in

this peece of worke? Thou seest but the order and policie of this little cell wherein thou art placed. The question is, whether thou seest it. His divinitie hath an infinite jurisdiction far beyond that. This peece is nothing in respect of the whole.

——— *omnia cum cælo terraque marique,
Nil sunt ad summam summaꝝ totius omnem.*

LUCR. l.
vi. 675.

All things that are, with heav'n, with sea, and land,
To th' whole summe of th' whole summe as nothing
stand.

This law thou aleagest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the universall is: tie thy selfe unto that whereto thou art subject, but tie not him: he is neither thy companion, nor thy brother, nor thy fellow citizen, nor thy copesmate. If he in any sort have communicated himselfe unto thee, it is not to debase himselfe, or stoope to thy smalnesse, nor to give thee the controulment of his power. Mans body cannot soar up into the clouds; this is for thee. The sunne uncessantly goeth his ordinary course: the bounds of the sea and of the earth cannot

be confounded : the water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmnesse : a wall without breach or flaw, impenetrable unto a solid body : man cannot preserve his life amidst the flames, he cannot corporally be both in heaven and on earth, and in a thousand places together and at once. It is for thee that he hath made these rules ; it is thou they take hold of. He hath testified unto Christians that when ever it hath pleased him he hath out gone them all. And in truth, omnipotent as he is, wherefore should he have restrained his forces unto a limited measure ? In favour of whom should he have renounced his privilege ? Thy reason hath in no one other thing more likely-hood and foundation, than in that which perswadeth thee a plurality of words.

*Terramque et solem, lunam, mare, cætera quæ sunt,
Non esse unica, sed numero magis innumeruli.*

The earth, the sunne, the moone, the sea and all
In number numberlesse, not one they call.

The famousest wits of former ages have beleeved it, yea, and some of our moderne,

as forced thereunto by the apparance of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast world's frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one.

—*cum in summa res nulla sit una,
Unica quæ gignatur, et unica solaque crescat :*
Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one,
To be bred only one, grow only one.

LUCR. l
ii. 1086.

And that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number : whereby it seemeth unlikely that God hath framed this peece of work alone without a fellow : and that the matter of this forme hath wholly beene spent in this only *Individuum*.

*Quare etiam atque etiam tales fateare necesse est,
Esse alios alibi congressus materiaï,
Qualis hic est avido complexu quem tenet Æther.* Ib. 1073.

Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,
Of matters such like meetings elsewhere raigne
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.

Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as its motions make it so likely, that Plato assureth it, and divers of ours either affirme it, or dare not impugne it ; no more than this old opinion, that the heaven, the starres,

and other members of the world, are creatures composed both of body and soule; mortall in respect of their composition, but immortall by the Creators decree. Now if there be divers worlds, as Democritus, Epicurus, and well neere all Philosophy hath thought; what know wee whether the principles and the rules of this one concerne or touch likewise the others? Haply they have another semblance and another policie. Epicurus imagineth them either like or unlike. We see an infinite difference and varietie in this world only by the distance of places. There is neither corne nor wine, no nor any of our beasts seene in that new corner of the world which our fathers have lately discovered: all things differ from ours. And in the old time, marke but in how many parts of the world they had never knowledge nor of Bacchus nor of Ceres. If any credit may be given unto Plinie or to Herodotus, there is in some places a kinde of men that have very little or no resemblance at all with ours. And there be mungrell and ambiguous shapes

betweene a humane and brutish nature. Some countries there are where men are borne headlesse, with eyes and mouths in their breasts; where all are Hermaphrodites; where they creepe on all foure; where they have but one eye in their forehead, and heads more like unto a dog than ours; where from the navill downewards they are half fish and live in the water; where women are brought a bed at five years of age, and live but eight; where their heads and the skin of their browes are so hard that no yron can pierce them, but will rather turne edge; where men never have beards. Other nations there are that never have use of fire; others whose sperme is of a blacke colour. What shall we speake of them who naturally change themselves into woolves, into coults, and then into men againe? And if it bee (as Plutark saith) that in some part of the Indiaes there are men without mouthes, and who live only by the smell of certaine sweet odours; how many of our descriptions be then false? Hee is no more risible, nor perhaps capable

of reason and societie. The direction and cause of our inward frame should for the most part be to no purpose. Moreover, how many things are there in our knowledge that oppugne these goodly rules which we have allotted and prescribed unto Nature? And we undertake to joyne God himselfe unto her. How many things doe we name miraculous and against Nature? Each man and every nation doth it according to the measure of his ignorance. How many hidden proprieties and quintessences doe we daily discover? For us to go according to Nature, is but to follow according to our understanding, as far as it can follow, and as much as we can perceive in it. Whatsoever is beyond it, is monstrous and disordered. By this accompt all shall then be monstrous to the wisest and most sufficient; for even to such humane reason hath perswaded that she had neither ground nor footing, no not so much as to warrant snow to be white: and Anaxagoras said it was blacke. Whether there be anything or nothing; whether there be knowledge or

ignorance, which Metrodorus Chius denied that any man might say; or whether we live, as Euripides seemeth to doubt and call in question; whether the life we live be a life or no, or whether that which we call death be a life:

Τὶς δ' οἶδεν εἰ ζῆν τοῦθ' ὁ πικληταὶ θανεῖν,

Τὸ ζῆν δὲ θνήσκειν ἴσται;

PLAT.
Gorg. ex
EURIP.

Who knowes if thus to live, be called death,
And if it be to dye, thus to draw breath:

And not without apparance. For wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkling in the infinit course of an eternall night, and so short an interruption of our perpetuall and naturall condition? Death possessing what ever is before and behind this moment, and also a good part of this moment. Some others affirme there is no motion, and that nothing stirreth; namely, those which follow Melissus. For if there be but one, neither can this sphericall motion serve him, nor the moving from one place to another, as Plato proveth, that there is neither generation nor corruption in nature. Protagoras

saith there is nothing in Nature but doubt : that a man may equally dispute of all things : and of that also, whether all things may equally be disputed of : Nausiphanes said, that of things which seeme to be, no one thing is no more than it is not. That nothing is certaine but uncertainty. Parmenides, that of that which seemeth there is no one thing in generall. That there is but one Zeno, that one selfe same is not : and that there is nothing. If one were, he should either be in another, or in himselfe : if he be in another, then are they two : if he be in himselfe, they are also two, the comprizing and the comprized. According to these rules or doctrines, the Nature of things is but a false or vaine shadow. I have ever thought this manner of speech in a Christian is full of indiscretion and irreverence ; God cannot dye, God cannot gaine-say himselfe, God cannot doe this or that. I cannot allow a man should so bound Gods heavenly power under the Lawes of our word. And that apparence, which in these propositions offers it selfe

unto us, ought to be represented more reverently and more religiously. Our speech hath his infirmities and defects, as all things else have. Most of the occasions of this worlds troubles are Grammaticall. Our suits and processes proceed but from the canvassing and debating the interpretation of the Lawes, and most of our warres from the want of knowledge in State-counsellors, that could not cleerely distinguish and fully expresse the Covenants and Conditions of accords betweene Prince and Prince. How many weighty strifes and important quarels hath the doubt of this one sillable, *hoc*, brought forth in the world? Examine the plainest sentence that Logike it selfe can present unto us. If you say, it is faire weather, and in so saying, say true; it is faire weather then. Is not this a certaine forme of speech? Yet will it deceive us: That it is so; let us follow the example: If you say, I lye, and in that you should say true, you lye then. The Art, the reason, the force of the conclusion of this last, are like unto the other; notwithstanding we

are entangled. I see the Pyrrhonian Philosophers, who can by no manner of speech expresse their generall conceit: for they had need of a new language. Ours is altogether composed of affirmative propositions, which are directly against them. So that, when they say I doubt, you have them fast by the throat to make them avow that at least you are assured and know that they doubt. So have they beene compelled to save themselves by this comparison of Physicke, without which their conceit would be inexplicable and intricate. When they pronounce, I know not, or I doubt, they say that this proposition transportes it selfe together with the rest, even as the Rewbarbe doeth, which scowred ill humours away, and therewith is carried away himselfe. This conceit is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in an Imprese of a pair of ballances. Note how some prevaile with this kinde of unreverent and unhallowed speech. In the disputations that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch urge the adver-

saries, they will roundly tell you that it lieth not in the power of God to make his body at once to be in Paradise and on earth, and in many other places together. And how that ancient skoffer made profitable use of it. At least (saith he) it is no small comfort unto man to see that God cannot doe all things; for he cannot kill himselfe if he would, which is the greatest benefit we have in our condition; he cannot make mortall men immortall nor raise the dead to life againe, nor make him that hath lived never to have lived, and him who hath had honours not to have had them, having no other right over that is past, but of forgetfulnesse. And that this society betweene God and Man may also be combined with some pleasant examples, he cannot make twice ten not to be twenty. See what he saith, and which a Christian ought to abhor, that ever such and so profane words should passe his mouth: Whereas, on the contrary part, it seemeth that fond men endeavor to finde out this foolish-boldnesse of speech, that so they may turne and

winde God almighty according to their measure.

——— *cras vel atra*

*Nube polum poter occupato,
Vel sole puro, non tamen irritum
Quodcumque retro est efficiet, neque
Diffinget infectumque reddet
Quod fugiens semel hora vexit.*

OR.
ar. 1.
i. Od.
xix. 43.

To-morrow let our father fill the skie
With darke cloud, or with cleare Sunne, he thereby
Shall not make voyd what once is overpast :
Nor shall he undoe, or in new mold cast,
What time hath once caught, that flyes hence so fast.

When we say that the infinite of ages, as well past as to come, is but one instant with God ; that his wisdome, goodnesse, and power, are one selfe-same thing with his essence ; our tongue speaks it, but our understanding can no whit apprehend it. Yet will our selfe overweening sift his divinitie through our sieve : whence are engendred all the vanities and errours wherewith the world is so full-fraught, reducing and weighing with his uncertaine balance a thing so farre from his reach, and so distant from his weight. *Mirum quo procedat improbitas*

cordis humani, parvulo aliquo invitata successu: “It is a wonder whither the perverse wickednesse of mans heart will proceed, if it be but called-on with any little successe.” How insolently do the Stoikes charge Epicurus, because he holds that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy belongs but only unto God; and that the wise man hath but a shadow and similitude thereof? How rashly have they joyned God unto destiny? (Which at my request, let none that beareth the surname of a Christian doe at this day.) And Thales, Plato, and Pythagoras have subjected him unto necessitie. This over-boldnesse, or rather bold-fiercenesse, to seeke to discover God by and with our eyes, hath beene the cause that a notable man of our times hath attributed a corporall forme unto divinitie, and is the cause of that which daily hapneth unto us, which is by a particular assignation to impute all important events to God: which because they touch us, it seemeth they also touch him, and that he regardeth them with more care and attention than those that are

PLIN.
Nat.
Hist. l.
ii. c. 23

but slight and ordinary unto us. *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt*: "The Gods take some care for great things, but none for little." Note his example; he will enlighten you with his reason. *Nec in regnis quidem*

Cic. Nat. Deor. l. ii.

Ib. l. iii. *reges omnia minima curant*: "Nor doe Kings in their Kingdomes much care for the least matters." As if it were all one to that King, either to remove an Empire or a leafe of a tree; and if his providence were otherwise exercised, inclining or regarding no more the successe of a battell than the skip of a flea. The hand of his government affords itselfe to all things after a like tenure, fashion and order; our interest addeth nothing unto it; our motions and our measures concerne him nothing and move him no whit. *Deus ita artifex magnus in magnis, ut minor non sit in parvis*: "God is so great a workman in great things, as he is no lesse in small things." Our arrogancie setteth ever before us this blasphemous equality, because our occupations charge us. Strato hath presented the Gods with all immunitie of offices, as are their Priests. He

maketh nature to produce and preserve all things, and by her weights and motions to compact all parts of the world, discharging humane nature from the feare of divine judgments. *Quod beatum æternumque sit, id nec habere, negotiū quicquam, nec exhibere alteri:* “That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others.”

Cic. Nat.
Deor. Li.

Nature willeth that in all things alike there be also like relation. Then the infinite number of mortall men concludeth a like number of immortall: The infinite things that kill and destroy presuppose as many that preserve and profit. As the soules of the Gods, sanse tongues, sanse eyes, and sanse eares, have each one in themselves a feeling of that which the other feel, and judge of our thoughts; so mens soules, when they are free and severed from the body, either by sleepe or any distraction, divine, prognosticate and see things, which being conjoynd to their bodies, they could not see. Men, saith Saint Paul, when they professed themselves to be wise, they became fooles, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible

Rom. i
22, 23.

God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man. Marke, I pray you, a little the jugling of ancient Deifications. After the great, solemne and proud pompe of funerals, when the fire began to burne the top of the Pyramis, and to take hold of the bed or hearse wherein the dead corps lay, even at that instant they let fly an Eagle, which taking her flight aloft upward, signified that the soule went directly to Paradise. We have yet a thousand medailes and monuments, namely, of that honest woman Faustina, wherein that Eagle is represented carrying a cocke-horse up towards heaven those deified soules. It is pity we should so deceive ourselves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

LUCAN.
l. i. 484.

Quod finxere timent,

Of that they stand in feare,
Which they in fancie beare,

as children will be afear'd of their fellowes visage, which themselves have besmeared and blackt. *Quasi quicquam infelicius sit homine, cui sua figmenta dominantur:*
“As though any thing were more wretched

than man over whom his owne imaginations beare sway and domineere." To honour him whom we have made is farre from honouring him that hath made us. Augustus had as many Temples as Iupiter, and served with as much religion and opinion of miracles. The Thracians, in requitall of the benefits they had received of Agesilaus, came to tell him how they had canonized him. "Hath your Nation," said he, "the power to make those whom it pleaseth Gods? Then first (for example sake) make one of your selves, and when I shall have seene what good he shall have thereby, I will then thanke you for your offer." Oh sencelesse man, who cannot possibly make a worme, and yet will make Gods by dozens. Listen to Trismegistus when he praiseth our sufficiencie: For man to finde out divine nature, and to make it, hath surmounted the admiration of all admirable things. Loe here arguments out of Philosophies schooles itselſe.

*Noscere cui Divos et caeli numina soli,
Aut soli nescire datum.*

LUCAN.
l. i. 452.

Only to whom heav'ns Deities to know,
Only to whom is giv'n, them not to know.

If God be, he is a living creature; if he be a living creature, he hath sense; and if he have sense, he is subject to corruption. If he be without a body, he is without a soule, and consequently without action: and if he have a body, he is corruptible. Is not this brave? We are incapable to have made the world, then is there some more excellent nature that hath set her helping hand unto it. Were it not a sottish arrogancie that wee should thinke ourselves to be the perfectest thing of this universe? Then sure there is some better thing. And that is God. When you see a rich and stately mansion house, although you know not who is owner of it, yet will you not say that it was built for rats. And this more than humane frame and divine composition, which we see, of heavens pallace, must we not deeme it to be the mansion of some Lord greater than our selves? Is not the highest ever the most worthy? And we are seated in the lowest place. Nothing that is without a soule and

void of reason is able to bring forth a living soule capable of reason. The world doth bring us forth, then the world hath both soule and reason. Each part of us is lesse than ourselves, we are part of the world, then the world is stored with wisdome and with reason, and that more plenteously than we are. It is a goodly thing to have a great government. Then the worlds government belongeth to some blessed and happy nature. The Starres annoy us not, then the Starres are full of goodnesse. We have need of nourishment, then so have the Gods, and feed themselves with the vapours arising here below. Worldly goods are not goods unto God. Then are not they goods unto us. To offend and to be offended are equall witnesses of imbecilitie: Then it is folly to feare God. God is good by his owne nature, man by his industry: which is more? Divine wisdome and mans wisdome have no other distinction but that the first is eternall. Now lastingnesse is an accession unto wisdome. Therefore are we fellowes. We have life, reason, and libertie, we esteeme

goodnesse, charitie and justice ; these qualities are then in him. In conclusion, the building and destroying the conditions of divinity are forged by man according to the relation to himselfe. Oh what a patterne, and what a model ! Let us raise and let us amplifie humane qualities as much as we please. Puffe-up thy selfe, poore man, yea swell and swell againe.

HOR.
Serm. 1.
ii. Sat.
iii. 324.

——— *non si te ruperis, inquit.*

Swell till you breake, you shall not be
Equall to that great one, quoth he.

Profecto non Deum, quem cogitare non possunt, sed semetipsos pro illo cogitantes, non illum, sed seipsos, non illi, sed sibi comparant. “Of a truth, they conceiting not God, whom they cannot conceive, but themselves instead of God, doe not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves.” In naturall things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this ? It is above natures order, its condition is too high, too far out of reach, and overswaying to endure, that our conclusions should seize

upon or fetter the same. It is not by our meanes we reach unto it, this traine is too low. We are no nerer heaven on the top of Sina mount than in the bottome of the deepest sea: Consider of it, that you may see with your Astrolabe. They bring God even to the carnall acquaintance of women, to a prefixed number of times, and to how many generations. Paulina, wife unto Saturnius, a matron of great reputation in Rome, supposing to lye with the God Serapis, by the maquerelage of the priests of that Temple, found herselfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. Varro, the most subtill and wisest Latine Author, in his bookes of divinitie writeth that Hercules his Sextaine, with one hand casting lots for himselfe, and with the other for Hercules, gaged a supper and a wench against him: if he won, at the charge of his offerings, but if he lost, at his owne cost. He lost, and paid for a supper and a wench: her name was Laurentina: who by the night saw that God in her armes, saying more-over unto her that the next day the first man

she met withall should heavenly pay her her wages. It was fortun'd to be one Taruncius, a very rich young man, who tooke her home with him, and in time left her absolute heire of all he had. And she, when it came to her turne, hoping to doe that God some acceptable service, left the Romane people heire generall of all her wealth. And therefore she had divine-honours attributed unto her. As if it were not sufficient for Plato to descend originally from the Gods by a two-fold line, and to have Neptune for the common author of his race. It was certainly beleev'd at Athens that Ariston, desiring to enjoy faire Perictyone, he could not, and that in his dreame he was warned by God Apollo to leave her untoucht and unpolluted untill such time as she were brought a bed. And these were the father and mother of Plato. How many such-like cuckoldries are there in histories, procured by the Gods against seely mortall men? And husbands most injuriously biazoned in favor of their children? In Mahomets religion, by the easie beleefe of

that people are many Merlins found, that is to say, fatherless children: spirituall children, conceived and borne divinely in the wombs of virgins, and that in their language beare names importing as much. We must note that nothing is more deare and precious to any thing than its owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and the Dolphin esteeme nothing above their kind), each thing referreth the qualities of all other things unto her owne conditions, which we may either amplifie or shorten; but that is all: for besides this principle, and out of this reference, our imagination cannot go, and guesse further: and it is impossible it should exceed that, or goe beyond it. Whence arise these ancient conclusions. Of all formes, that of man is the fairest: then God is of this forme. No man can be happy without vertue, nor can vertue be without reason; and no reason can lodge but in a humane shape: God is then invested with a humane figure. *Ita est informatum anticipatum mentibus nostris, ut homini, quum de Deo cogitet, forma occurrat*

C. Nat.
eor. l. i.

humana: "The prejudice forestaled in our mindes is so framed as the forme of man comes to mans minde when he is thinking of God." Therefore Xenophanes said presently, that if beasts frame any Gods unto themselves, as likely it is they do, they surely frame them like unto themselves, and glorifie themselves as we do. For, why may not a goose say thus? All parts of the world behold me, the earth serveth me to tread upon, the Sunne to give me light, the Starres to inspire me with influence; this commoditie I have of the winds, and this benefit of the waters: there is nothing that this worlds-vault doth so favourably look upon as me selfe; I am the favorite of nature; is it not man that careth for me, that keepeth me, lodgeth me, and serveth me? For me it is he soweth, reapeth, and grindeth: if he eat me, so doth man feed on his fellow and so doe I on the wormes that consume and eat him. As much might a Crane say, yea and more boldly, by reason of her flights-libertie, and the possession of this goodly and high-bownding region.

Tam blanda conciliatrix, et tam sui est lena ipsa natura; “So flattering a broker and bawd (as it were) is nature to it selfe.” Now by the same consequence the destinies are for us, the world is for us; it shineth, and thundreth for us: both the creator and the creatures are for us: it is the marke and point whereat the universitie of things aymeth. Survay but the register which Philosophy hath kept these two thousand years and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vocation unto them. Loe how they are up in armes against us.

CIC. *Nat. Deor.* l.

———*domitosque Herculeæ manu
Telluris invenes, unde periculum
Fulgens contremuit domus
Saturni veteris.*

HOR.
Car. l. i.
Od. xii.

And young earth-gallants tamed by the hand
Of Hercules, whereby the habitation
Of old Saturnus did in perill stand,
And, shyn'd it ne'er so bright, yet fear'd invasion.

See how they are partakers of our troubles,
that so they may be even with us, forsomuch

as so many times we are partakers of theirs.

*Neptunus muros magnoque emota tridenti
Fundamenta quatit, totamque à sedibus urbem
Eruit: hic Iuno Scæas scævissima portus
Prima tenet.*

VIRG.
En. 1.
i. 610.

Neptunus with his great three-forked mace
Shaks the weake wall, and tottering foundation,
And from the site the Cittie doth displace,
Fierce Juno first holds ope the gates t' invasion.

The Caunians, for the jealousie of their owne Gods domination, upon their devotion day arme themselves, and running up and downe, brandishing and striking the ayre with their glaives, and in this earnest manner they expell all foraine and banish all strange Gods from out their territorie. Their powers are limited according to our necessitie. Some heale horses, some cure men, some the plague, some the scald, some the cough, some one kinde of scab, and some another: *Adco minimis etiam rebus prava religio inserit Deos*: "This corrupt religion engageth and inserteth Gods even in the least matters:" some make grapes to growe, and some gar-

like ; some have the charge of bawdrie and uncleannesse, and some of merchandise : to every kinde of trades-man a God. Some one hath his province and credit in the East, and some in the West :

—— *hic illius arma*
Hic currus fuit.

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
i. 20.

His armor here
His chariots there appeare.

O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines.

CIC. *Div*
l. ii.

Sacred Apollo, who enfoldest
The earths set navell, and it holdest.

Pallada Cecropidæ, Minoia Creta Dianam,
Vulcanum tellus Hipsipilæa colit.

Iunonem Sparte, Pelopeiadesque Mycena,
Pinigerum Fauni Mænalis ora caput :

Mars Latio venerandus.

OVID.
Fast. 1.
iii. 81.

Besmear'd with bloud and goare,
Th' Athenians Pallas ; Minos-Candy coast
Diana ; Lemnos Vulcan honors most ;
Mycene and Sparta, Juno thinke divine ;
The coast of Mænalus Fauns crown'd with pine ;
Latium doth Mars adore.

Some hath but one borough or family in
his possession : some lodgeth alone, and

some in company, either voluntarily or necessarily.

OVID.
Fast. l.
i. 294.

Iunctaque sunt magno templa nepotis avo.

To the great grand-sires shrine,
The nephews temples doe combine.

Some there are so seely and popular (for their number amounteth to six and thirty thousand) that five or six of them must be shuffled up together to produce an eare of corne, and thereof they take their severall names. Three to a doore, one to be the boards, one to be the hinges, and the third to be the threshold. Foure to a childe, as protectors of his bandels, of his drinke, of his meat, and of his sucking. Some are certaine, others uncertaine, some doubtfull, and some that come not yet into paradise.

OVID.
Metam.
l. i. 194.

*Quos, quoniam cæli nondum dignamur honore,
Quas dedimus certè terras habitare sinamus.*

Whom for as yet with heav'n we have not graced,
Let them on earth by our good grant be placed.

There are some Philosophicall, some poeti-
call, and some civill, some of a meane con-
dition, betweene divine and humane nature,

mediators and spokes-men betweene us and God: worshipped in a kinde of second or diminutive order of adoration: infinite in titles and offices: some good, some bad, some old and crazed, and some mortall. For Chrysippus thought that in the last conflagration or burning of the world, all the Gods should have an end, except Jupiter. Man faineth a thousand pleasant societies betweene God and him. Nay, is he not his countrieman?

——— *Iovis incunabula Creten.*

The Ile of famous Creet,
For Jove a cradle meet.

OVID.
Metam.
l.viii. 98.

Behold the excuse that Scævola, chiefe Bishop, and Varro, a great Divine, in their dayes, give us upon the consideration of this subject. It is necessary (say they) that man be altogether ignorant of true things, and beleeve many false. *Quam veritatem qua liberetur, inquirat: credatur ei expedire, quod fallitur:* "Since they seeke the truth, whereby they may be free, let us beleeve it is expedient for them to be deceived."

Mans eye cannot perceiue things but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downfall of miserable Phaeton, forsomuch as he undertooke to guide the reins of his fathers steeds with a mortall hand. Our minde doth still relapse into the same depth, and by her owne temeritie doth dissipate and bruise it selfe. If you inquire of Philosophy what matter the Sun is composed of, what will it answer? but of yron and stone, or other stufte for his use? Demand of Zeno what nature is? A fire (saith he), an Artist, fit to engender, and proceeding orderly. Archimedes, master of this Science, and who in truth and certaintie assumeth unto himselfe a precedencie above all others, saith the Sunne is a God of enflamed yron. Is not this a quaint imagination, produced by the inevitable necessitie of Geometricall demonstrations? Yet not so unavoidable and beneficiall, but Socrates hath beene of opinion that it sufficed to know so much of it as that a man might measure out the land he either demized or tooke to rent: and that Polyænus, who

therein had beene a famous and principall Doctor, after he had tasted the sweet fruits of the lazie, idle and delicious gardens of Epicurus, did not contemne them as full of falsehood and apparent vanity. Socrates, in Xenophon, upon this point of Anaxagoras, allowed and esteemed of antiquitie, well seene and expert above all others in heavenly and divine matters, saith, that he weakened his braines much, as all men doe, who over nicely and greedily will search out those knowledges which hang not for their mowing nor pertaine unto them. When he would needs have the Sunne to be a burning stone, he remembered not that a stone doth not shine in the fire ; and which is more, that it consumes therein. And when he made the Sunne and fire to be all one, he forgot that fire doth not tan and black those he looketh upon ; that wee fixly looke upon the fire, and that fire consumeth and killeth all plants and herbs. According to the advice of Socrates and mine, "The wisest judging of heaven is not to judge of it at all." Plato in his Timeus, being to

speake of Dæmons and spirits, saith it is an enterprise far exceeding my skill and ability : we must beleve what those ancient forefathers hath said of them, who have said to have beene engendred by them. It is against reason not to give credit unto the children of the Gods, although their sayings be neither grounded upon necessary nor likely reasons, since they tell us that they speake of familiar and household matters. Let us see whether we have a little more insight in the knowledge of humane and naturall things. Is it not a fond enterprise to those unto which, by our owne confession, our learning cannot possibly attaine, to devise and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false forme ? as is seene in the planetary motions, unto which because our minde cannot reach, nor imagine their naturall conduct, we lend them something of ours, that is to say, materiall, grosse, and corporall springs and wards :

OVID.

Metam.

l. ii. 107.

———*temo aureus, aurea summis*

Curvatura rotæ, radiorum argenteus ordo.

The Axe-tree gold, the wheeles whole circle gold,
The ranke of raies did all of silver hold.

You would say, we have the Coach-makers,
Carpenters, and Painters, who have gone up
thither, and there have placed engines with
diverse motions, and ranged the wheelings,
the windings, and enterlacements of the
celestial bodies diapred in colours, accord-
ing to Plato, about the spindle of neces-
sity.

*Mundus domus est maxima rerum,
Quam quinque altitonæ fragmine zonæ
Cingunt, per quam limbus pictus bis sex signis,
Stellimicantibus, altus, in obliquo æthere, Lunæ
Bigas acceptat.*

The world, of things the greatest habitation,
Which five high-thundring Zones by separation
Engird, through which a scarfe depainted faire
With twice six signes star-shining in the aire.
Obliquely raise, the waine
O' th' Moone doth entertaine.

They are all dreames, and mad follies.
Why will not nature one day be pleased to
open her bosome to us, and make us per-
fectly see the meanes and conduct of her
motions, and enable our eyes to judge of

them? Oh, good God, what abuses, and what distractions should we find in our poor understanding and weake knowledge! I am deceived if she hold one thing directly in its point, and I shall part hence more ignorant of all other things than mine ignorance. Have I not seene this divine saying in Plato, that Nature is nothing but an ænigmaticall poesie? As a man might say, an overshadowed and darke picture, enter-shining with an infinite varietie of false lights, to exercise our conjectures: *Latent ista omnia crassis occultata et circumfusa tenebris: ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quæ penetrare incælum, terram intrare possit:* "All these things lye hid so veiled and environed with misty darknesse, as no edge of man is so piersant as it can passe into heaven or dive into the earth." And truly Philosophy is nothing else but a sophisticated poesie: whence have these ancient authors all their authorities but from poets? And the first were poets themselves, and in their art treated the same. Plato is but a loose poet. All high and

CIC.
Acad.
Qu. l. iv.

more than humane sciences are decked and enrobed with a poetick style. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yuorie, and in stead of a true beautie, or lively colour, lay on some artificiall hew; and as they make trunk sleeves of wyre, and whale-bone bodies, backes of lathes, and stiffe bombasted verdugals, and to the open-view of all men paint and embellish themselves with counterfeit and borrowed beauties; so doth learning (and our law hath, as some say, certaine lawfull fictions, on which it groundeth the truth of justice), which in lieu of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth us those things, which she her selfe teacheth us to be meere inventions: for these Epicycles Excentriques, and Concentriques, which Astrology useth to direct the state and motions of her starres, she giveth them unto us, as the best she could ever invent, to fit and sute unto this subject: as in all things else, Philosophy presenteth unto us, not that which is or she beleeveth, but what she inventeth as having most

appareance, likelihood, or comelinesse. Plato upon the discourse of our bodies-estate and of that of beasts: that what we have said is true we would be assured of it had we but the confirmation of some oracle to confirme it. This only we warrant, that it is the likeliest we could say. It is not to heaven alone that she sendeth her cordages, her engines, and her wheeles. Let us but somewhat consider what she saith of our selves and of our contexture. There is no more retrogradation, trepidation, augmentation, recoyling, and violence in the starres and celestiall bodies than they have fained and devised in this poor seeley little body of man. Verily they have thence had reason to name it Microcosmos, or little world, so many severall parts and visages have they imploied to fashion and frame the same. To accommodate the motions which they see in man, the divers functions and faculties that we feel in our selves. Into how many severall parts have they divided our soule? Into how many veats have they placed her? Into how

many orders, stages, and stations have they divided this wretched man, beside the naturall and perceptible? and to how many distinct offices and vocations? They make a publike imaginarie thing of it. It is a subject which they hold and handle: they have all power granted them to rip him, to sever him, to range him, to join and reunite him together againe, and to stuffe him every one according to his fantasie; and yet they neither have nor possess him. They cannot so order or rule him, not in truth onely, but in imagination, but still some cadence or sound is discovered which escapeth their architecture, bad as it is, and botched together with a thousand false patches and fantasticall peeces. And they have no reason to be excused: for to painters when they pourtray the heaven, the earth, the seas, the hills, the scattered Ilands, we pardon them if they but represent us with some slight apparence of them; and as of things unknowne we are contented with such fained shadows. But when they draw us, or any other subject

that is familiarly knowne unto us, to the life, then seeke we to draw from them a perfect and exact representation of their or our true lineaments or colours, and scorne if they misse never so little. I commend the Milesian wench, who seeing Thales the Philosopher continually amusing himself in the contemplation of heavens wide-bounding vault, and ever holding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, thereby to warne and put him in minde that he should not amuse his thoughts about matters above the clouds before he had provided for and well considered those at his feet. Verily she advised him well, and it better became him rather to looke to himselfe than to gaze on heaven; for, as Democritus by the mouth of Cicero saith,

*Quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat; cæli scrutantur
plogas.*

Cic.
Div 1. ii.

No man lookes what before his feet doth lie,
They seeke and search the climates of the skie.

But our condition beareth that the know-
ledge of what we touch with our hands and

have amongst us, is as far from us and above the clouds as that of the stars. As saith Socrates in Plato, that one may justly say to him who medleth with Philosophy, as the woman said to Thales, which is, he seeth nothing of that which is before him. For every Philosopher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth; yea, he knowes not what himself doth, and wots not what both are, whether beasts or men. These people who thinke Sebondes reasons to be weake and lame, who know nothing themselves, and yet will take upon them to governe the world and know all:

*Quæ mare compescant causæ, quid temperet annum,
Stellæ sponte sua, jussæve vagentur et errent:*

*Quid premat obscurum Lunæ, quid proferat orbem,
Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors.*

HOR. l. i.
Epist.

What cause doth calm the Sea, what cleares the
yeare,

Whether Stars forc't, or of selfe-will appeare;

What makes the Moones darke Orbe to wax or
wane,

What friendly fewd of things both will and can.

xii. 16.

Did they never sound amid their books

the difficulties that present themselves to them to know their owne being? We see very well that our finger stirreth and our foot moveth, that some parts of our body move of themselves without our leave, and other some that stirr but at our pleasure: and we see that certaine apprehensions engender a blushing-red colour, others a palenesse: that some imagination doth only worke in the milt, another in the braine; some one enduceth us to laugh, another causeth us to weep; some astonisheth and stupifieth all our senses, and staieth the motion of all our limbs; at some object the stomake riseth, and at some other the lower parts. But how a spirituall impression causeth or worketh such a dent or flaw in a massie and solid body or subject, and the nature of the conjoyning and compacting of these admirable springs and wards, man yet never knew: *Omnia incerta ratione, et in naturæ majestate abdita*: “All uncertaine in reason, and hid in the majesty of nature.” Saith Plinie and Saint Augustine: *Modus, quo corporibus adhærent spiritus.*

omnino mirus est, nec comprehendi ab homine potest, et hoc ipse homo est: “The meane is clearely wonderfull whereby spirits cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man.”

AUG. De
Spir. et
Anim.

Yet is there no doubt made of him: for mens opinions are received after ancient beliefs by authority and upon credit; as if it were a religion and a law. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibbrish or fustian tongue. This trueth, with all her framing of arguments and proporcioning of proofes, is received as a firme and solid body, which is no more shaken, which is no more judged. On the other side, every one the best he can patcheth up and comforteth this received believe with all the meanes his reason can afford him, which is an instrument very supple, pliable, and yeelding to all shapes. “Thus is the world filled with toyes, and overwhelmed in lies and leasings.” The reason that men doubt not much of things is that common impressions are never throughly tride and sifted, their ground is not sounded, nor where the fault and weak-

nes lieth. Men only debate and question of the branch, not of the tree: they aske not whether a thing be true, but whether it was understood or meant thus and thus. They enquire not whether Galen hath spoken any thing of worth, but whether thus, or so, or otherwise. Truly there was some reason this bridle or restraint of our judgements liberty, and this tyranny over our beliefs should extend it selfe even to schooles and arts. The God of scholasticall learning is Aristotle: It is religion to debate of his ordinances, as those of Lycurgus in Sparta. His doctrine is to us as a canon law, which peradventure is as false as another. I know not why I should or might not as soone and as easie accept either Platoes Ideas, or Epicurus his atomes and indivisible things, or the fulnesse and emptines of Leucippus and Democritus, or the water of Thales, or Anaximanders infinite of nature, or the aire of Diogenes, or the numbers or proportion of Pythagoras, or the infinite of Parmenides, or the single-one of Musæus, or the water and fire of Apollodorus, or the

similarie and resembling parts of Anaxagoras, or the discord and concord of Empedocles, or the fire of Heraclitus, or any other opinion (of this infinit confusion of opinions and sentences which this goodly humane reason, by her certainty and clear-sighted vigilancie brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withal) as I should of Aristotle's conceit, touching this subject of the principles of naturall things, which he frameth of three parts; that is to say, matter, forme, and privation. And what greater vanitie can there be than to make inanitie it selfe the cause of the production of things? Privation is a negative: with what humour could he make it the cause and beginning of things that are? Yet durst no man move that but for an exercise of logike: wherein nothing is disputed to put it in doubt, but to defend the author of the schoole from strange objections. His authoritie is the marke beyond which it is not lawfull to enquire. It is easie to frame what one list upon allowed foundations: for, according to the law and ordinance of this positive

beginning, the other parts of the frame are easily directed without crack or danger. By which way we finde our reason well grounded, and we discourse without rub or let in the way : For our masters preoccupate and gaine afore-hand as much place in our beleefe as they need to conclude afterward what they please, as geometricians doe by their graunted questions : the consent and approbation which we lend them, giving them wherewith to draw us, either on the right or left hand, and at their pleasure to winde and turne us. Whosoever is beleevd in his presuppositions, he is our master, and our God. He will lay the plot of his foundations so ample and easie, that, if he list, he will carrie us up, even unto the clouds. In this practice or negotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of Pythagoras for currant payment ; which is, that every expert man ought to be believed in his owne trade. This logitian referreth himselfe to the grammarian for the signification of words. The rhetoritian borroweth the places of arguments from the logitian ; the

poet his measures from the musician: the geometrician his proportions from the arithmetician; the metaphisikes take the conjectures of the physikes for a ground, for every art hath her presupposed principles, by which mans judgement is bridled on all parts. If you come to the shocke or front of this barre, in which consists the principall error, they immediately pronounce this sentence: that there is no disputing against such as deny principles. There can be no principles in men, except divinitie hath revealed them unto them: all the rest, both beginning, middle, and end, is but a dreame and a vapor. Those that argue by presupposition, we must presuppose against them the very same axiome which is disputed of. For, each humane presupposition, and every invention, unlesse reason make a difference of it, hath as much authoritie as another. So must they all be equally balanced, and first the generall and those that tyrannize us. A perswasion of certaintie is a manifest testimonie of foolishnesse, and of extreme uncertaintie.

And no people are lesse philosophers and more foolish than Platoe's Philodoxes, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must know whether fire be hot, whether snow be white, whether, in our knowledge, there be anything hard or soft. And touching the answers, whereof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heat, to whom one replied, that to trie he should caste himselfe into the fire; to him that denied the yce to be cold, that he should put some in his bosome; they are most unworthy the profession of a philosopher. If they had left us in our owne naturall estate, admitting of strange apparences as they present themselves unto us by our senses, and had suffered us to follow our naturall appetites, directed by the condition of our birth, they should then have reason to speak so. But from them it is that we have learnt to become judges of the world; it is from them we hold this conceit, that mans reason is the generall controuler of all that is, both without and within heavens-vault, which imbraceth all and can doe all, by meanes

whereof all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the canibals, who without any of Aristotles precepts, or so much as knowing the name of naturall philosophy, enjoy most happily a long, a quiet, and a peaceable life. This answer might haply availe more, and be of more force, than all those they can borrow from their reason and invention. All living creatures, yea, beasts and all, where the commandment of the naturall law is yet pure and simple, might with us be capable of this answer, but they have renounced it. They shall not need to tell me it is true, for you both heare and see it is so. They must tell me if what I thinke I feel, I feel the same in effect; and if I feel it, then let them tell me wherefore I feel it, and how and what. Let them tell me the name, the beginning, the tennons, and the abuttings of heat and of cold, with the qualities of him that is agent, or of the patient: or let them quit me their profession, which is neither to admit nor approve any thing but by way of reason. It is their touchstone to

try all kindes of essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weakenesse: which way can we better make triall of it than by it selfe? If she may not be credited speaking of her selfe, hardly can she be fit to judge of strange matters. If she know anything, it can be but her being and domicile. She is in the soule, and either a part or effect of the same. For the true and essential reason (whose name we steal by false signes) lodgeth in Gods bosome. There is her home, and there is her retreat, thence she takes her flight when Gods pleasure is that we shall see some glimps of it: even as Pallas issued out of her fathers head, to communicate and impart her selfe unto the world. Now let us see what mans reason hath taught us of her selfe and of the soule: not of the soule in generall, whereof well nigh all philosophy maketh both the celestiall and first bodies partakers; not of that which Thales attributed even unto things that are reputed without soule or life, drawne thereunto by the consideration of the Adamant stone:

but of that which appertaineth to us, and which we should know best.

*Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura animæ,
Nata sit, an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,
An tenebras orci visat, vastasque lacunas,
An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se.*

LUCR. l.
i. 113.

What the soules nature is, we doe not know ;
If it be bred, or put in those are bred,
Whether by death divorst with us it goe,
Or see the darke vast lakes of hell below,
Or into other creatures turne the head.

To Crates and Dicæarchus it seemed that there was none at all ; but that the body stirred thus with and by a naturall motion : to Plato, that it was a substance moving of it selfe ; to Thales, a Nature without rest ; to Asclepiades, an exercitation of the senses ; to Hesiodus and Anaximander, a thing composed of earth and water ; to Parmenides, of earth and fire ; to Empedocles, of blood :

Sanguineam vomit ille animam.

His soule of purple-blood he vomits out.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
ix. 349.

To Possidonius, Cleanthes, and Galen, a heat, or hot complexion :

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
vi. 730.

Ignæus est ollis vigor, et cœlestis origo.

A fire vigor and celestiall spring,
In their originall they strangely bring.

To Hyppocrates, a spirit dispersed thorow the body ; to Varro, an air received in at the mouth, heated in the lungs, tempered in the heart, and dispersed thorow all parts of the body ; to Zeno, the quintessence of the foure elements ; to Heraclides Ponticus, the light ; to Xenocrates and to the Ægyptians, a moving number ; to the Chaldeans, a vertue without any determinate forme.

—— *Habitum quemdam vitalem corporis esse,
Harmonian Græci quam dicunt.*

LUCR. 1.
iii. 100.

There of the body is a vitall frame,
The which the Greeks a harmony doe name.

And not forgetting Aristotle, that which naturally causeth the body to move, who calleth it Entelechy, or perfection moving of itselfe (as cold an invention as any other), for he neither speaketh of the essence, nor of the beginning, nor of the soules nature, but onely noteth the effects of it : Lactan-

tius, Seneca, and the better part amongst the Dogmatists, have confessed they never understood what it was : and after all this rable of opinions. *Harum sententiarum quæ vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit* : “Which of these opinions is true, let some God looke unto it,” saith Cicero. I know by myselfe, quoth Saint Bernard, how God is incomprehensible, since I am not able to comprehend the parts of mine owne being : Heraclitus, who held that every place was full of Soules and Dæmons, maintained neverthelesse that a man could never goe so far towards the knowledge of the soule as that he could come unto it ; so deep and mysterious was her essence. There is no lesse dissention nor disputing about the place where she should be seated. Hypocrates and Herophilus place it in the ventricle of the brain : Democritus and Aristotle, through all the body :

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. l. i.

*Ut bona sæpe valetudo cum dicitur esse
Corporis, et non est tamen hæc pars ulla valentis.*

LUCR. l.
iii. 103.

As health is of the body said to be,
Yet is no part of him in health we see.

Epicurus in the stomacke.

*Hic exultat enim pavor ac metus, hæc loco circum
Lætitiæ mulcent.*

LUCR. l.
iii. 142.

For in these places feare doth domineere,
And neere these places joy keepes merrie cheere.

The Stoickes, within and about the heart :
Erasistratus, joyning the membrane of the
epicranium : Empedocles, in the bloud : as
also Moses, which was the cause he forbade
the eating of beasts blood, unto which their
soule is commixed : Galen thought that
every part of the body had his soule : Strato
hath placed it betweene the two upper eye-
lids : *Qua facie quidem sit animus aut ubi
habetet, nec quærendum quidem est* : “ We
must not so much as enquire what face the
minde beares, or where it dwells.” Saith
Cicero, “ I am well pleased to let this man
use his owne words : for why should I alter
the speech of eloquence it selfe ? since there
is small gaine in stealing matter from his
inventions : They are both little used, not
very forcible, and little unknowne. But the
reason why Chrysippus and those of his sect

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. l. i.

will prove the soule to be about the heart, is not to be forgotten. It is (saith he) because when we will affirme or swear anything, we lay our hand upon the stomacke; and when we will pronounce ἐγώ, which signifieth my selfe, we put downe our chin towards the stomacke." This passage ought not to be past-over without noting the vanity of so great a personage: for, besides that his considerations are of themselves very slight, the latter proveth but to the Græcians that they have their soule in that place. No humane judgement is so vigilant or Argos-eyed, but sometimes shall fall asleep or slumber. What shall we feare to say? Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wisdom, who devise that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, unable to free herselfe from that charge, even as a mouse taken in a trap. Some are of opinion that the world was made to give a body, in lieu of punishment, unto the spirits, which through their fault were fallen from the puritie wherein they were created: the

first creation having been incorporeall. And that according as they have more or lesse removed themselves from their spirituality, so are they more or lesse merily and giovially, or rudely and saturnally incorporated: whence proceedeth the infinite variety of so much matter created. But the spirit, who for his chastizement was invested with the bodie of the Sunne, must of necessitie have a very rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremities of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a dazeling. As Plutarke saith of the off-spring of histories, that after the manner of cards or maps, the utmost limits of known countries are set downe to be full of thicke marrish grounds, shady forrests, desart and uncouth places. See here wherefore the grosest and most childish dotings are more commonly found in these which treat of highest and furthest matters; even confounding and overwhelming themselves in their own curiositie and presumption. The end and beginning of learning are equally accompted foolish. Marke but how

Plato talketh and raiseth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clouds, or cloudy Poesies. Behold and read in him the gibbrish of the Gods. But what dreamed or doted he on when he defined man to be a creature with two feet, and without feathers ; giving them that were disposed to mocke at him a pleasant and scopefull occasion to doe it ? For, having plucked-off the feathers of a live capon, they named him the man of Plato. And by what simplicitie did the Epicureans first imagine that the Atomes or Motes, which they termed to be bodies, having some weight and a naturall moving downeward, had framed the world ; untill such time as they were advised by their adversaries that by this description it was not possible they should joyne and take hold one of another ; their fall being so downe-right and perpendicular, and every way engendring parallel lines ? And therefore was it necessarie they should afterward adde a causall moving sideling unto them : And moreover to give their Atomes crooked and forked tailes, that so they might take hold of any thing and

claspe themselves. And even then those that pursue them with this other consideration, doe they not much trouble them? If Atomes have by chance formed so many sorts of figures, why did they never meet together to frame a house or make a shooe? Why should we not likewise beleeeve that an infinit number of Greek letters, confusedly scattered in some open place, might one day meet and joyne together to the contexture of the Iliads? That which is capable of reason (saith Zeno) is better than that which is not. There is nothing better than the world: then the world is capable of reason. By the same arguing Cotta maketh the world a Mathematician, and by this other arguing of Zeno, he makes him a Musitian and an Organist. The whole is more than the part: we are capable of wisdom, and we are part of the world: then the world is wise. There are infinit like examples seene, not only of false, but foolish arguments, which cannot hold, and which accuse their authors not so much of ignorance as of folly, in the reproaches that Philosophers

charge one another with, about the disagreeings in their opinions and sects. He that should fardle-up a bundle or huddle of the fooleries of mans wisdome, might recount wonders. I willingly assemble some (as a shew or patterne) by some means or byase, no lesse profitable than the most moderate instructions. Let us by that judge what we are to esteeme of man, of his sense, and of his reason ; since in these great men, and who have raised mansufficiencie so high, there are found so grose errors and so apparant defects. As for me, I would rather beleve that they have thus casually treated learning even as a sporting childs baby, and have sported themselves with reason, as of a vaine and frivolous instrument, setting forth all sorts of inventions, devices, and fantasies, sometimes more outstretched, and sometimes more loose. The same Plato, who defineth man like unto a Capon, saith elsewhere, after Socrates, that in good sooth he knoweth not what man is ; and that of all parts of the world there is none so hard to be knowne. By this varietie of conceits

and instabilitie of opinions, they, as it were, leade us closely by the hand to this resolution of their irresolution. They make a profession not alwayes to present their advice manifest and unasked : they have oft concealed the same under the fabulous shadows of Poesie, and sometimes under other vizards. For our imperfection admitteth this also, that raw meats are not alwayes good for our stomacks : but they must be dried, altred, and corrupted, and so doe they who sometimes shadow their simple opinions and judgements ; and that they may the better sute themselves unto common use, they many times falsifie them. They will not make open profession of ignorance, and of the imbecilitie of mans reason, because they will not make children afraid, but they manifestly declare the same unto us under the shew of a troubled Science and unconstant learning. I perswaded somebody in Italy, who laboured very much to speak Italian, that alwayes provided he desired but to be understood, and not to seek to excell others therein, he should onely employ

and use such words as came first to his mouth, whether they were Latine, French, Spanish, or Gascoine, and that adding the Italian terminations unto them, he should never misse to fall upon some idiome of the countrie, either Tuscan, Roman, Venetian, Piemontoise, or Neapolitan; and amongst so many severall formes of speech to take hold of one. The very same I say of Philosophy. She hath so many faces and so much varietie, and hath said so much, that all our dreames and devices are found in her. The fantasie of man can conceive or imagine nothing, be it good or evill, that is not to be found in her: *Nihil tam absurde dici potest, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philosophorum*: “Nothing may be spoken so absurdly, but that it is spoken by some of the Philosophers.” And therefore doe I suffer my humours or caprices more freely to passe in publike; forasmuch as though they are borne with, and of me, and without any patterne, well I wot they will be found to have relation to some ancient humour, and some shall be found

Cic.
Div. l. ii.

that will both know and tell whence and of whom I have borrowed them. My customes are naturall; when I contrived them, I called not for the helpe of any discipline: and weake and faint as they were, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appear to the world a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat endeavoured to aid them with discourse, and assist them with examples, I have wondred at my selfe that by meere chance I have met with them, agreeing and sutable to so many ancient examples and Philosophicall discourses. What regiment my life was of, I never knew nor learned but after it was much worne and spent. A new figure: an unpremeditated philosopher and a casuall. But to returne unto our soule, where Plato hath seated reason in the braine; anger in the heart; lust in the liver; it is very likely that it was rather an interpretation of the soules motions than any division or separation he meant to make of it, as of a body into many members. And the likeliest of their opinion is that it is

alwayes a soule, which by her rationally facultie remembreth her selfe, comprehendeth, judgeth, desireth, and exerciseth all her other functions, by divers instruments of the body, as the pilote ruleth and directeth his ship according to the experience he hath of it; now stretching, haling, or loosing a cable, sometimes hoysing the main-yard, removing an oare, or stirring the rudder, causing severall effects with one only power: and that she abideth in the braine, appeareth by this, that the hurts and accidents which touch that part doe presently offend the faculties of the soule, whence she may without inconvenience descend and glide through other parts of the body:

—— *medium non deserit unquam*

Cæli Phæbus iter: radiis tamen omnia lustrat:

Never the Sunne forsakes heav'ns middle wayes

Yet with his rayes he lights all, all survayes:

CLAUD.
vi. *Hon.*
Cons.
Pan.411.

As the sunne spreadeth his light, and infuseth his power from heaven, and therewith filleth the whole world.

Cætera pars animæ per totum dissita corpus

Paret, et ad numen mentis nomenque movetur.

LUCR. l.
iii. 144.

Th' other part of the soule through all the body
sent

Obeyes, and moved is, by the mindes government.

Some have said that there was a generall soule, like unto a great body, from which all particular soules were extracted, and returned thither, alwayes reconjoyning and entermingling themselves unto that universall matter :

——— *Deum namque ire per omnes*

Terrasque tractusque maris celumque profundum :

Hinc pecudes, armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,

Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,

Scilicet huc reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri

Omnia : nec mortì esse locum.

VIRG.
Georg. 1.
iv. 222.

For God through all the earth to passe is found,
Through all Sea currents, through the heav'n profound,

Here hence men, heards, and all wilde beasts that
are,

Short life in birth each to themselves doe share.

All things resolved to this point restor'd

Returne, nor any place to death afford.

Others, that they did but reconjoyne and
fasten themselves to it againe : others, that
they were produced by the divine substance : others, by the angels, of fire and

aire: some from the beginning of the world, and some even at the time of need: others make them to descend from the round of the moone, and they returne to it againe. The common sort of anti-quitie, that they are begotten from father to sonne, after the same manner and production that all other naturall things are; arguing so by the resemblances which are betweene fathers and children.

Instillata patris virtus tibi.

Thy Fathers virtues be
Instilled into thee.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,

Of valiant Sires and good,
There comes a valiant brood.

And that from fathers we see descend into children, not only the marks of their bodies, but also a resemblance of humours, of complexions, and inclinacions of the soule.

Denique cur acrum violentia triste Leonum

Seminiū sequitur, dolus Vulpibus, et fuga Cervis

A patribus datur, et patrius pavor incitat Artus,

Si non certa suo quia semine seminioque

Vis animi pariter crescit cum corpore toto?

HOR.
Car. l. iv
Od. iv.
29.

LUCR. L
iii. 766.

Why followes violence the savage Lyons race?
 Why craft the Foxes? Why to Deere to flye apace?
 By parents is it given, when parents feare incites,
 Unlesse because a certaine force of inward spirits
 With all the body growes,
 As seed and seed-spring goes?

That divine justice is grounded there-upon, punishing the fathers offences upon the children; forsomuch as the contagion of the fathers vices is in some sort printed in childrens soules, and that the misgovernment of their will toucheth them. Moreover, that if the soules came from any other place, then by a naturall consequence, and that out of the body they should have beene some other thing, they should have some remembrance of their first being: considering the naturall faculties which are proper unto him, to discourse, to reason, and to remember.

— *si in corpus nascentibus insinuat*,

Cur super anteaquam aetatem meminisse nequimus,

Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?

LUCR. 1.
 iii. 692.

If our soule at our birth be in our body cast,
 Why can we not remember ages over-past,
 Nor any markes retaine of things done first or last?

For, to make our soules condition to be of that worth we would, they must all be presupposed wise, even when they are in their naturall simplicitie and genuine puritie. So should they have beene such, being freed from the corporall prison, as well before they entred the same, as we hope they shall be when they shall be out of it. And it were necessarie they should (being yet in the body) remember the said knowledge (as Plato said) that what we learnt was but a new remembering of that which we had knowne before: a thing that any man may by experience maintaine to be false and erroneous. First, because we doe not precisely remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did merely execute her function, she would at least suggest us with something besides our learning. Secondly, what she knew being in her puritie, was a true understanding, knowing things as they are by her divine intelligence: whereas here, if she be instructed, she is made to receive lies and apprehend vice, wherein she cannot employ

her memorie; this image and conception having never had place in her. To say that the corporall prison doth so suppress her naturall faculties, that they are altogether extinct in her: first, is cleane contrarie to this other beleefe, to know ledge her forces so great, and the operations which men in this transitorie life feel of it, so wonderfull as to have thereby concluded this divinitie, and fore-past eternitie, and the immortalitie to come:

*Nam si tantopere est animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut actarum exciderit retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab letho jam longior errat.*

LUCR. l.
iii. 695.

If of our minde the power be so much altered,
As of things done all hold, all memorie is fled,
Then (as I ghesse) it is not far from being dead.

Moreover, it is here with us, and no where else, that the soules powers and effects are to be considered; all the rest of her perfections are vaine and unprofitable unto her: it is by her present condition that all her immortalitie must be rewarded and paid, and she is only accomptable for the life of man: it were injustice to have

abridged her of her meanes and faculties, and to have disarmed her against the time of her captivitie and prison, of her weaknesse and sicknesse, of the time and season where she had beene forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endlesse continuance, and to relye upon the consideration of so short a time, which is peradventure of one or two houres, or, if the worst happen, of an age (which have no more proportion with infinitie than a moment) definitively to appoint and establish of all her being by that instant of space. It were an impious disproportion to wrest an eternall reward in consequence of so short a life. Plato, to save himselfe from this inconvenience, would have future payments limited to a hundred yeares continuance, relatively unto a humane continuance: and many of ours have given them temporall limits. By this they judged that her generation followed the common condition of humane things: as also her life, by the opinion of Epicurus and Democritus, which hath most

been received, following these goodly appearances. That her birth was seene when the body was capable of her; her vertue and strength was perceiv'd as the corporall encreas'd; in her infancie might her weaknesse be discern'd, and in time her vigor and ripenesse, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitude.

—— *gigni pariter cum corpore, et una
Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.*

LUCR. l.
iii. 450.

The minde is with the body bred, we doe behold,
It jointly growes with it, with it it waxeth old.

They perceiv'd her to be capable of diverse passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, wherethrough she fell into wearinesse and grieffe, capable of alteration and change of joy, stupefaction, and languishment, subject to her infirmities, diseases, and offences, even as the stomacke or the foot;

—— *mentem sanari, corpus ut ægrum
Cernimus, et flecti medicina posse videmus:*

Ib. 517.

We see as bodies sicke are cur'd, so is the minde,
We see, how Physicke can it each way turne and
winde:

dazled and troubled by the force of wine ; removed from her seat by the vapors of a burning feaver ; drowzie and sleepy by the application of some medicaments, and rouzed up againe by the vertue of some others.

———*corpoream naturam animi esse necesse est,
Corporeis quoniam telis ictuque laborat.*

LUCR. l.
iii. 176.

The nature of the minde must needs corporeall bee,
For with corporeall darts and strokes it's griev'd
we see.

She was seene to dismay and confound all her faculties by the only biting of a sicke dog, and to containe no great constancie of discourse, no sufficiencie, no vertue, no philosophicall resolution, no contention of her forces that might exempt her from the subjection of these accidents : the spittle or slaving of a mastive dog shed upon Socrates his hands, to trouble all his wisdom, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull them that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him :

——— *vis animai*

Conturbatur,

——— *et divisa seorsum*

Disjectatur eodem illo distracta veneno.

LUCR. l.
iii. 501.

The soules force is disturbed, separated,
Distraught by that same poison, alienated.

And the said venome to finde no more resistance in his soule than in that of a childe of foure yeares old, a venome able to make all Philosophy (were she incarnate) become furious and mad: so that Cato, who scorned both death and fortune, could not abide the sight of a looking glasse or of water; overcome with horreur, and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog he had fallen into that sicknesse which physitians call hydrophobia, or feare of waters.

——— *vis morbi distracta per artus*

Turbat agens animam, spumantes æquore salso

Ventorum ut validis fervescunt viribus undæ.

Ib. 495.

The force of the disease disperst through joints
offends,

Driving the soule, as in salt Seas the wave ascends,
Foming by furious force which the wind raging
lends.

Now, concerning this point, Philosophy hath indeed armed man for the enduring of all other accidents, whether with patience, or if it be overcostly to be found, with an infallible defeat in conveying her selfe altogether from the sense: but they are meanes which serve a soule that is her owne, and in her proper force capable of discourse and deliberation: not serving to this inconvenience where with a Philosopher, a soule becommeth the soule of a foole, troubled, vanquished and lost. Which divers occasions may produce, as in an over-violent agitation, which by some vehement passion the soule may beget in her selfe: or a hurt in some part of the body, or an exhalation from the stomacke, casting us into some astonishment, dazling, or giddinesse of the head:

—— *morbis in corporis avius errat*

Sape animus, dementit enim, deliraque fatur,

Interdumque gravi Lethargo fertur in altum

Æternumque soporem, oculis natuque cadenti.

The minde in bodies sicknesse often wandring
strayes:

For it enraged raves, and idle talk outbrayes;

LUCR. l.
iii. 467.

Brought by sharpe Lethargy sometime to more than
deepe,

While eyes and eye-lids fall into eternall sleepe.

Philosophers have, in mine opinion, but slightly harpt upon this string, no more than other of like consequence. They have ever this dilemma in their mouth to comfort our mortall condition: "The soule is either mortall or immortall: if mortall, she shall be without paine: if immortall, she shall mend." They never touch the other branch: what if she empaire and be worse? and leave the menaces of future paines to Poets. But thereby they deal themselves a good game. These are two omissions which in their discourses doe often offer themselves unto me. I come to the first againe: the soul loseth the use of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant and so firme. Our goodly wisdom must necessarily in this place yeelde her selfe and quit her weapons. As for other matters, they also considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that the admixture and societie of two so different parts as in

the mortall and the immortall is inimaginable :

*Quippe etenim mortale æterno jungere, et unà
Consentire putare, et fungi mutua posse,
Desipere est. Quid enim diversius esse putandum est,
Aut magis inter se disjunctum discrepitansque,
Quam mortale quod est, immortalis atque perenni
Iunctum in concilio sævas tolerare procellas?*

Lucret. l.
iii. 831

For what immortall is, mortall to joyne unto,
And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties
Is to be foolish : for what thinke we stranger is,
More disagreeable or more disjoyn'd than this,
That mortall with immortall endlesse joyn'd in
union,
Can most outrageous stormes endure in their com-
munion?

Moreover they felt their soule to be engaged
in death as well as the body.

— *simul ævo fessa fatiscit,*

Ib. 465.

It jointly faints in one,
Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to Zeno) the image
of sleep doth manifestly show unto us. For
he esteemeth that it is a fainting and de-
clination of the soule as well as of the body :

Cic.
Dt. l. ii.

Contrahi animum, et quasi labi putat atque decidere: "He thinks the minde is contracted, and doth as it were slide and fall downe." And that (which is perceived in some) its force and vigor maintaineth it selfe even in the end of life, they referred and imputed the same to the diversitie of diseases, as men are seene in that extremitie to maintaine some one sense and some another, some their hearing and some their smelling, without any alteration; and there is no weaknesse or decay seene so universall but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

LUCR. l.
11.

*Non alio pacto quam si pes cum dolet ægri,
In nullo caput interea sit forte dolore.*

No otherwise than if, when sick-mans foote doth
ake,
Meane time perhaps his head no fellow-feeling take.

Our judgements sight referreth it selfe unto truth, as doth the owles eyes unto the shining of the sunne, as saith Aristotle. How should we better convince him than by so grosse blindnesse in so apparent a

light? For the contrarie opinion of the soules immortalitie, which Cicero saith to have first beene brought in (at least by the testimonie of books) by Pherecydes Syrius in the time of King Tullus (others ascribe the invention thereof to Thales, and other to others) it is the part of humane knowledge treated most sparingly and with more doubt. The most constant Dogmatists (namely in this point) are inforced to cast themselves under the shelter of the Academikes wings. No man knowes what Aristotle hath established upon this subject no more than all the ancients in generall, who handle the same with a very wavering believe: *Rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium*: "Who rather promise than approve a thing most acceptable. He hath hidden himself under the clouds of intricat and ambiguous words and unintelligible senses, and hath left his Sectaries as much cause to dispute upon his judgement as upon the matter. Two things made this his opinion plausible to them: the one, that without the immortality of soules there

should no meanes be left to ground or settle the vaine hopes of glory ; a consideration of wonderfull credit in the world : the other (as Plato saith) that it is a most profitable impression, that vices, when they steal away from out the sight and knowledge of humane justice, remaine ever as a blancke before divine justice, which even after the death of the guilty will severely pursue them. Man is ever possessed with an extreme desire to prolong his being, and hath to the uttermost of his skill provided for it. Toombs and Monuments are for the preservation of his body, and glorie for the continuance of his name. He hath employed all his wit to frame him selfe anew (as impatient of his fortune) and to underprop or uphold himselfe by his inventions. The soule by reason of her trouble and imbecility, as unable to subsist of herselfe, is ever and in all places questing and searching comforts, hopes, foundations and forraine circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle herselfe. And how light and fantastickall soever his invention doth frame

them unto him, he notwithstanding relieth more surely upon them and more willingly than upon himself: But it is a wonder to see how the most obstinat in this so just and manifest perswasion of our spirits immortalitie have found themselves short and unable to establish the same by their humane forces. *Somnia sunt non docentis sed optantis*: "These are dreames not of one that teacheth, but wisheth what he would have:" said an ancient Writer. Man may by his owne testimonie know that the truth he alone discovereth, the same he oweth unto fortune and chance, since even when she is falne into his hands, he wanteth wherwith to lay hold on her and keepe her; and that this reason hath not the power to prevaile with it. All things produced by our owne discourse and sufficiencie, as well true as false, are subject to uncertaintie and disputation. It is for the punishment of our temeritie and instruction of our miserie and incapacitie, that God caused the trouble, downfall and confusion of Babels Tower. Whatsoever we attempt

without his assistance, whatever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanitie and folly: With our weaknes we corrupt and adulterate the very essence of truth (which is uniforme and constant), when fortune giveth us the possession of it. What course soever man taketh of himself, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion whose image he so lively representeth unto us by the just punishment, wherewith he framed the presumptuous over-weening of Nembroth, and brought to nothing the frivolous enterprises of the building of his high-towring Pyramis or Heaven-menacingtower. *Perdam sapientiam sapientium et prudentiam prudentium repro- babo*: "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent." The diversitie of tongues and languages wherewith he disturbed that worke and overthrew that proudly-raisd Pile; what else is it but this infinit altercation and perpetual discordance of opinions and reasons which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans

1 Cor.
l. 19.

learning, or vaine building of human science? Which he doth most profitably. Who might containe us, had we but one graine of knowledge? This Saint hath done me much pleasure: *Ipsa Veritatis occultatio, aut humilitatis exercitatio est, aut elationis attritio*: “The very concealing of the profit is either an exercise of humilitie or a beating downe of arrogancie.” Unto what point of presumption and insolencie do we not carry our blindnesse and foolishnesse? But to returne to my purpose: Verily there was great reason that we should be beholding to God alone, and to the benefit of his grace, for the truth of so noble a beliefe, since from his liberalitie alone we receive the fruit of immortalitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let us ingenuously confesse that only God and Faith hath told it us: for it is no lesson of Nature, nor comming from our reason. And he that shall both within and without narrowly sift and curiously sound his being and his forces without this divine privilege, he that shall view and

consider man without flattering him, shall not finde nor see either efficacie or facultie in him that tasteth of any other thing but death and earth. The more we give, the more we owe: and the more we yeeld unto God, the more Christian-like doe we. That which the Stoicke Philosopher said he held by the casuall consent of the peoples voice, had it not beene better he had held it of God? *Cum de animorum aeternitate disserimus, non leue momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut colentium. Vtor hac publica persuasione:* "When we discourse of the immortalitie of soules, in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authoritie, who either feare or adore the infernall powers. This publike persuasion I make use of." Now the weaknes of human arguments upon this subject is very manifestly knowne by the fabulous circumstances they have added unto the traine of this opinion, to finde out what condition this our immortalitie was of. Let us omit the Stoickes. *Usuram nobis largiuntur,*

tanquam cornicibus ; diu mansuros aiunt animos, semper, negant : “They grant us use of life, as is unto Ravens : they say our soules shall long continue, but they deny they shall last ever.” Who gives unto soules a life beyond this but finite. The most universall and received fantasie, and which endureth to this day, hath beene that whereof Pythagoras is made Author ; not that he was the first inventor of it, but because it received much force and credit by the authoritie of his approbation ; which is, that soules at their departure from us did but pass and roule from one to another body, from a Lyon to a Horse, from a Horse to a King, uncessantly wandring up and downe from House to Mansion. And himselfe said that he remembered to have beene Æthalides, then Euphorbus, afterward Her- motimus, at last from Pyrrhus to have passed into Pythagoras ; having memorie of himselfe the space of two hundred and six years : some added more, that the same soules doe sometimes ascend up to heaven and come downe againe :

Cic.
Tusc. Qu
l. i.

*O Pater anne aliquas ad caelum hinc ire putandum
est*

*Sublimis animus, interimque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? Quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido?*

VIRG.
Æn. l.
vi. 739.

Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe go,
Raised to heav'n, thence turne to bodies slow?
Whence doth so dyre desire of light on wretches
grow?

Origen makes them eternally to go and come from a good to a bad estate. The opinion that Varro reporteth is, that in the revolution of foure hundred and forty yeares they reconjoynd themselves unto their first bodies. Chrysippus, that that must come to passe after a certaine space of time unknowne and not limited. Plato (who saith that he holds this opinion from Pindarus and from ancient Poesie) of infinite vicissitudes of alteration to which the soule is prepared, having no paines nor rewards in the other world but temporall, as her life in this is but temporall, concludeth in her a singular knowledge of the affaires of Heaven, of Hell, and here below, where she hath passed, repassed, and sojourned in many voyages, a matter in his remembrance.

Beholde her progresse elsewhere: he that hath lived well reconjoyneth himself unto that Star or Planet to which he is assigned: who evill, passeth into a woman: and if then he amend not himself, he transchangeth himselfe into a beast of condition agreeing to his vicious customes, and shall never see an end of his punishments untill he returne to his naturall condition, and by virtue of reason he hath deprived himselfe of those grose, stupide, and elementarie qualities that were in him. But I will not forget the objection which the Epicureans make unto this transmigration from one body to another: which is very pleasant. They demand what order there should be if the throng of the dying should be greater than that of such as be borne. For the soules removed from their abode would throng and strive together who should get the best seat in this new case: and demand besides what they would pass their time about, whilst they should stay untill any other mansion were made ready for them: Or contrary-wise, if more creatures were

borne than should dye, they say bodies shall be in an ill taking, expecting the infusion of their soule, and it would come to passe that some of them should dye before they had ever been living.

*Denique connubia ad veneris, partusque ferarum,
Esse animas præsto deridiculum esse videtur,
Et spectare immortales mortalia membra
Innumero numero, certareque præproperanter
Inter se, quæ prima potissimaque insinuetur.*

LUCR. 1.
iii. 802.

Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prest To Venus meetings, and begetting of a beast : That they to mortall lims immortal be address In number numberlesse, and over-hasty strive, Which of them first and chiefe should get in there to live.

Others have staid the soule in the deceased bodies, therewith to animate serpents, wormes, and other beasts, which are said to engender from the corruption of our members, yea, and from our ashes : others divide it in two parts, one mortall, another immortal : others make it corporeall, and yet notwithstanding immortal : others make it immortal, without any science or knowledge. Nay, there are some of ours who

have deemed that of condemned mens souls divels were made : as Plutarke thinks, that Gods are made of those soules which are saved : for there be few things that this author doth more resolutely averre then this ; holding every where else an ambiguous and doubtfull kind of speech. It is to be imagined and firmlie believed (saith he) that the soules of men, vertuous both according unto nature and divine justice, become of Men, Saints, and of Saints, Demi-Gods, and after they are once perfectly, as in sacrifices of purgation, cleansed and purified, being delivered from all passibility and mortalitie, they become of Demi-Gods (not by any civill ordinance, but in good truth, and according to manifest reason) perfect and very very Gods ; receiving a most blessed and thrice glorious end. But who-soever shall see him who is notwithstanding one of the most sparing and moderate of that faction, so undantedly to skirmish, and will heare him relate his wonders upon this subject, him I refer to his discourse of the Moone, and of Socrates his Dæmon ; where

as evidently as in any other place, may be averred that the mysteries of Philosophy have many strange conceits, common with those of Poesie ; mans understanding losing itselfe once goes about to sound and controule all things to the utmost ende ; as, tired and troubled by a long and wearisome course of our life, we returne to a kind of doting child-hood. Note here the goodly and certaine instructions which concerning our soules-subject we drawe from humane knowledge. There is no lesse rashnesse in that which shee teacheth us touching our corporall parts. Let us make choyce but of one or two examples, else should we lose our selves in this troublesome and vaste Ocean of Physicall Errours. Let us know whether they agree but in this one, that is to say, of what matter men are derived and produced one from another. For, touching their first production, it is no marvell if in a thing so high and so ancient mans wit is troubled and confounded. Archelaus, the Physitian, to whom (as Aristoxenus affirmeth) Socrates was disciple and Minion,

assevered that both men and beasts had beene made of milkie slime or mudde, expressed by the heate of the earth. Pythagoras saith that our seed is the scumme or froth of our best blood: Plato, the distilling of the marrow in the backe-bone, which he argueth thus because that place feeleth first the wearinesse which followeth the generative businesse. Alemæon, a part of the braine substance, which to prove he saith their eyes are ever most troubled that over-intemperately addict themselves to that exercise. Democritus, a substance extracted from all parts of this corporall masse. Epicurus, extracted from the last soule and the body. Aristotle, an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the blood, the last scattereth it selfe in our severall members; others, blood, concocted and digested by the heate of the genitories, which they judge because in the extreame, earnest, and forced labours, many shed drops of pure blood; wherein some appearance seemeth to be, if from so infinit a confusion any likelihood may be drawne.

But to bring this seed to effect, how many contrary opinions make they of it? Aristotle and Democritus hold that women have no sperme, that it is but a sweate, which by reason of the pleasure and frication they cast forth, and availeth nothing in generation.

Galen and his adherents contrariwise, affirme that there can be no generation except two seeds meete together. Behold the Physitians, the Philosophers, the Lawyers, and the Divines pell-mell together by the eares with our women about the question and disputation how long women beare their fruite in their wombe. And as for me, by mine owne example, I take their part that maintaine a woman may go eleven months with childe. The worlde is framed of this experience, there is no meane woman so simple that cannot give her censure upon all these contestations, although we could not agree. This is sufficient to verifie that in the corporall part man is no more instructed of himselfe than in the spirituall. We have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his

reason to his reason, to see what shee shall tell us of it. Mee thinkes I have sufficiently declared how little understanding shee hath of herselfe. And hee who hath no understanding of himselfe, what can he have understanding of? *Quasi vero mensuram ullius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat:* “As

though he could take measure of any thing that knowes not his owne measure.” Truly

PLIN.
Nat.
Hist. l.
ii. c. l.

Protagoras told us prettie tales, when hee makes a man the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not hee, his dignitie will never suffer any other creature to have this advantage over him. Now he being so contrary in himselfe, and one judgement so uncessantly subverting another, this favorable proposition was but a jest, which induced us necessarily to conclude the nullity of the Compasse and the Compasser. When Thales judgeth the knowledge of man very hard unto man, hee teacheth him the knowledge of all other things to be impossible unto him. You for whom I have taken the paines to enlarge so long a work

(against my custome) will not shun to maintaine your Sebond with the ordinary forme of arguing, whereof you are daily instructed, and will therein exercise both your minde and study; for this last trick of sense must not be employed but as an extreme remedy. It is a desperate thrust, gainst which you must forsake your weapons, to force your adversary to renounce his, and a secret slight, which must seldome and very sparingly be put in practice. It is a great fond hardnesse to lose our selfe for the losse of another. A man must not be willing to die to revenge himselfe, as Gobrias was: who being close by the eares with a Lord of Persia, Darius chanced to come in with his sword in his hand, and fearing to strike, for feare he should hurt Gobrias, he called unto him, and bade him smite boldly, although he should smite through both. I have heard armes and conditions of single combates being desperate, and in which he that offered them put both himselfe and his enemie in danger of an end inevitable to

both, reproved as unjust, and condemned as unlawfull. The Portugals took once certaine Turkes prisoners in the Indian Seas, who, impatient of their captivity, resolved with themselves (and their resolution succeeded) by rubbing of Ship-nailes one against another, and causing sparkes of fire to fall amongst the barrels of powder (which lay not far from them) with intent to consume both themselves, their masters, and the ship. We but touch the skirts, and glance at the last closings of Sciences, wherein extremity, as well as in vertue, is vicious. Keepe your selves in the common path, it is not good to be so subtile and so curious. Remember what the Italian pro-
verbe saith,

Chi troppo assottiglia, si scavezza.

Who makes himselfe too fine,
Doth break himselfe in fine.

JUSTIN.
L. i.

PETR. p.
i. canz.
xiii. 48.

I perswade you, in your opinions and discourses, as much as in your customes, and in every other thing, to use moderation and temperance, and avoide all newfangled in-

ventions and strangenesse. All extravagant waies displease me. You, who by the authoritie and preheminance which your greatnesse hath laied upon you, and more by the advantages which the qualities that are most your owne, bestow on you, may with a nod command whom you please, should have laied this charge upon some one that had made profession of learning, who might otherwise have disposed and enriched this fantasie. Notwithstanding here have you enough to supply your wants of it. Epicurus said of the lawes that the worst were so necessary unto us, that without them men would enter-devour one another. And Plato verifieth that without lawes we should live like beasts. Our spirit is a vagabond, a dangerous and fond-hardy implement; it is very harde to joyne order and measure to it. In my time, such as have any rare excellency above others, or extraordinary vivacity, we see them almost all so lavish and unbridled in licence of opinions and manners, as it may be counted a wonder to find any one settled and sociable. There is

great reason why the spirit of man should be so strictly imbarred. In his study, as in all things else, he must have his steps numbered and ordered. The limits of his pursuite must be cut out by art. He is bridled and fettered with and by religious lawes, customes, knowledge, precepts, paines, and recompences, both mortall and immortall; yet we see him, by meanes of his volubility and dissolution, escape all these bonds. It is a vaine body that hath no way about him to be seized on or cut off: a diverse and deformed body, on which neither knot nor hold may be fastened. Verily there are few soules so orderly, so constant, and so well borne as may be trusted with their owne conduct, and may not with moderation, and without rashnes, faile in the liberty of their judgements beyond common opinions. It is more expedient to give some body the charge and tuition of them. The spirit is an outragious glaive, yea even to his owne possessor, except he have the grace very orderly and discreetly to arme himselfe therewith. And there is no beast

to whom one may more justly apply a blinding bord, to keepe her sight in and force her to her footing, and keepe from straying here and there, without the tracke which use and lawes trace her out. Therefore shall it be better for you to close and bound your selves in the accustomed path, howsoever it be, than to take your flight to this unbridled licence. But if any one of these new doctors shall undertake to play the wise or ingenious before you, at the charge of his and your health: to rid you out of this dangerous plague, which daily more and more spreads it selfe in your Courts: this preservative will in any extreame necessity be a let, that the contagion of this venome shall neither offend you nor your assistance. The liberty then, and the jollity of their ancient spirits brought forth many different Sects of opinions, in Philosophy and humane Sciences: every one undertaking to judge and chuse, so he might raise a faction. But now that men walke all one way: *Qui certis quibusdam destinatisque sententiis addicti et consecrati sunt.*

ut etiam que non probant, cogantur defendere: “Who are addicted and consecrated to certaine set and fore-decreed opinions, so as they are enforced to maintaine those things which they prove or approve not:” And that wee receive Arts by civill authority and appointment: so that Schooles have but one patterne, alike circumscribed discipline and institution; no man regardeth more what coines weigh and are worth; but every man in his turne receiveth them according to the value that common approbation and succession allotteth them: Men dispute no longer of the alloy, but of the use. So are all things spent and vented alike. Physike is received as Geometry: and jugling tricks, enchantments, bonds, the commerce of deceased spirits, prognostications, domifications, yea even this ridiculous wit and wealth-consuming pursuite of the Philosophers stone, all is employed and uttered without contradiction. It sufficeth to know that Mars his place lodgeth in the middle of the hands triangle; that of Venus in the thunme; and Mer-

Cic.
Tusc.
Qu. 1. ii.

curies in the little finger: and when the table-line cutteth the fore-finger's rising, it is a signe of cruelty: when it faileth under the middle finger, and that the naturall median-line makes an angle with the vitall, under the same side, it is a signe of a miserable death: and when a womans naturall line is open, and closes not its angle with the vitall, it evidently denotes that she will not be very chast. I call your selfe to witnesse, if with this Science onely, a man may not passe with reputation and favour among all companies. Theophrastus was wont to say that mans knowledge, directed by the sense, might judge of the causes of things unto a certaine measure, but being come to the extream and first causes, it must necessarily stay, and be blunted or abated, either by reason of its weaknesse or of the things difficulty. It is an indifferent and pleasing kind of opinion to thinke that our sufficieney may bring us to the knowledge of some things, and hath certaine measures of power beyond which it's temerity to employ it. This opinion is

plausible and brought in by way of composition: but it is hard to give our spirit any limits, being very curious and greedy, and not tied to stay rather at a thousand than at fifty paces. Having found by experience that if one had mist to attaine unto some one thing, another hath come unto it, and that which one age never knew, the age succeeding hath found out: and that Sciences and Arts are not cast in a mold, but rather by little and little formed and shaped by often handling and polishing them over: even as beares fashion their young whelps by often licking them: what my strength cannot discover, I cease not to sound and try: and in handling and kneading this new matter, and with removing and chasing it, I open some faculty for him that shall follow me, that with more ease he may enjoy the same, and make it more facile, more supple and more pliable:

———*vt hymettia sole*

*Cera remollescit, tractataque pollice, multas
Vertitur in facies, ipsoque fit utilis vsu.*

OVID.
Metam.
l. x. 284.

As the best Bees wax melteth by the Sun,
 And handling, into many formes doth run,
 And is made aptly fit
 For use by using it.

As much will the second do for the third, which is a cause that difficulty doth not make me despaire, much lesse my unability : for it is but mine owne. Man is as well capable of all things as of some. And if (as Theophrastus saith) he avow the ignorance of the first causes and beginnings, let him boldly quit all the rest of his knowledge. If his foundation faile him, his discourse is overthrowne. The dispute hath no other scope, and to enquire no other end but the principles : If this end stay not his course, he casteth himselfe into an infinite irresolution. *Non potest aliud alio magis minusque comprehendere, quoniam omnium rerum una est definitio comprehendendi :* "One thing can neither more nor lesse be comprehended than another, since of all things there is one definition of comprehending." Now it is likely that if the soule knew any thing, shee first knew her selfe : and if

she knew any without and besides her selfe, it must be her vaile and body before any thing else. If even at this day the Gods of Physicke are seene to wrangle about our Anatomie,

Mulciber in Troiam, pro Troia stabat Apollo,

Apollo stood for Troy,
Vulcan Troy to destroy,

OID.
Trist. l.
i. *El.* ii.
5.

when shall we expect that they will be agreed? We are neerer unto our selves, then is whitenesse unto snow, or weight unto a stone. If man know not himselfe, how can hee know his functions and forces? It is not by fortune that some true notice doth not lodge with us but by hazard. And forasmuch as by the same way, fashion and conduct, errours are received into our soule, she hath not wherewithall to distinguish them, nor whereby to chuse the truth from falshood. The Academikes received some inclination of judgment and found it over raw, to say, it was no more likely snow should be white then blacke, and that wee should be no more assured of the moving

of a stone, which goeth from our hand, then of that of the eighth Spheare. And to avoid this difficultie and strangenesse, which in truth cannot but hardly lodge in our imagination, howbeit they establish that we were no way capable of knowledge, and that truth is engulfed in the deepest Abysses, where mans sight can no way enter; yet avowed they some things to be more likely and possible then others, and received this faculty in their judgement that they might rather incline to one apparance then to another. They allowed her this propension, interdicting her all resolution. The Pyrrhonians advise is more hardy, and therewithall more likely. For this Academicall inclination, and this propension rather to one then another proposition, what else is it then a recognition of some more apparant truth, in this than in that? If our understanding be capable of the forme, of the lineaments, of the behaviour and face of truth, it might as well see it all compleat, as but halfe, growing and imperfect. For this apparance of verisimilitude which makes

them rather take the left then the right hand, doe you augment it ; this one ounce of likelihood, which turnes the ballance, doe you multiply it by a hundred, nay by a thousand ounces ; it will in the end come to passe that the ballance will absolutely resolve and conclude one choice and perfect truth. But how doe they suffer themselves to be made tractable by likelihood, if they know not truth ? How know they the semblance of that whereof they understand not the essence ? Either we are able to judge absolutely, or absolutely we cannot. If our intellectuall and sensible faculties are without ground or footing, if they but hull up and downe and drive with the wind, for nothing suffer we our judgment to be carried away to any part of their operation, what apparance soever it seemeth to present us with. And the surest and most happy situation of our understanding should be that, where without any tottering or agitation it might maintaine it selfe settled, upright and inflexible. *Inter visa, vera, aut falsa, ad animi assensum, nihil interest* : “There is no difference

CIC.
Acad.
Qu. l. iv.

betwixt true and false visions concerning the mindes assent." That things lodge not in us in their proper forme and essence, and make not their entrance into us of their owne power and authority, we see it most evidently. For if it were so, we would receive them all alike: wine should be such in a sicke mans mouth as in a healthy mans. He whose fingers are chopt through cold, and stiffe or benumbed with frost, should find the same hardnesse in the wood or iron he might handle, which another doth. Then strange subjects yeeld unto our mercy, and lodge with us according to our pleasure. Now if on our part we receive any thing without alteration, if mans holdfasts were capable and sufficiently powerfull by our proper meanes to seize on truth, those meanes being common to all; this truth would successively remove it selfe from one to another. And of so many things as are in the world, at least one should be found, that by an universall consent should be beleevd of all. But that no proposition is seene, which is not controversied and de-

bated amongst us, or that may not be, declareth plainly that our judgment doth not absolutely and clearly seize on that which it seizeth : for my judgment cannot make my fellowes judgment to receive the same : which is a signe that I have seized upon it by some other meane then by a naturall power in me or other men. Leave we apart this infinite confusion of opinions, which is seene amongst Philosophers themselves, and this universal and perpetuall disputation, in and concerning the knowledge of things.

For it is most truly presupposed that men (I mean the wisest, the best borne, yea and the most sufficient) do never agree ; no not so much that heaven is over our heads. For they who doubt of all, doe also doubt of this : and such as affirme that we cannot conceive any thing, say we have not conceived whether heaven be over our heads ; which two opinions are in number (without any comparison) the most forcible. Besides this diversity and infinite division, by reason of the trouble which our owne judgement layeth upon our selves, and the uncertainty

which every man findes in himselfe, it may manifestly be perceived that this situation is very uncertaine and unstaide. How diversely judge we of things? How often change we our phantasies? What I hold and beleeve this day, I beleeve and hold with all my beleefe: all my implements, springs and motions, embrace and claspe this opinion, and to the utmost of their power warrant the same: I could not possibly embrace any verity, nor with more assurance keepe it, than I doe this. I am wholly and absolutely given to it: but hath it not beene my fortune, not once, but a hundred, nay a thousand times, nay daily, to have embraced some other thing with the very same instruments and condition which upon better advise I have afterward judged false? A man should at the least become wise at his owne cost, and learne by others harmes. If under this colour I have often found my selfe deceived, if my Touch-stone be commonly found false and my ballance un-even and unjust; what assurance may I more take of it at this time than at others? Is it

not folly in me to suffer my selfe so often to be beguiled and couzened by one guide? Neverthelesse, let fortune remove us five hundred times from our place, let her doe nothing but incessantly empty and fill, as in a vessell, other and other opinions in our mind, the present and last is alwaies supposed certaine and infallible. For this must a man leave goods, honour, life, state, health and all :

———*posterior res illa reperta*

Perdit ; et immutat sensus ad pristina quæque.

The latter thing destroys all found before ;
And alters sense at all things lik'd of yore.

LUCR. l
v. 1424.

Whatsoever is told us, and what ever we learne, we should ever remember : it is man that delivereth and man that receiveth : it is a mortall hand that presents it, and a mortall hand that receives it. Onely things which come to us from heaven have right and authority of perswasion and markes of truth ; which we neither see with our eyes nor receive by our meanes : this sacred and great image would be of no force in so wretched a Mansion except God prepare it

to that use and purpose, unlesse God by his particular grace and supernaturall favor reforme and strengthen the same. Our fraile and defective condition ought at least make us demeane our selves more moderately and more circumspectly in our changes. We should remember that whatsoever we receive in our understanding we often receive false things, and that it is by the same instruments which many times contradict and deceive themselves. And no marvell if they contradict themselves, being so easie to encline, and upon very slight occasions subject to waver and turne. Certaine it is that our apprehension, our judgement, and our soules faculties in generall, doe suffer according to the bodies motions and alterations, which are continuall. Have we not our spirits more vigilant, our memorie more ready, and our discourses more lively in time of health then in sicknesse? Doth not joy and blithnesse make us receive the subjects that present themselves unto our soule, with another kind of countenance, then lowring vexation and drooping melan-

choly doth? Doe you imagine that Catullus or Saphoes verses delight and please an old covetous chuff-penny wretch as they do a lusty and vigorous young man? Cleomenes the sonne of Anaxandridas being sick, his friends reprov'd him, saying he had new strange humors and unusuall phantasies: "It is not unlikely," answered he, "for I am not the man I was wont to be in the time of health: but being other, so are my fantasies and my humors." In the rabble case-canvassing of our plea-courts this by-word, *Gaudeat de bona fortuna*: "Let him joy in his good fortune," is much in use, and is spoken of criminall offenders, who happen to meete with Judges in some milde temper or well-pleas'd mood. For it is most certain that in times of condemnation the Judges doome or sentence is sometimes perceived to be more sharpe, mercilesse and forward, and at other times more tractable, facile, and enclined to shadow or excuse an offence, according as he is well or ill pleas'd in mind. A man that commeth out of his house troubled with the paine of the gout,

vexed with jealousy, or angry that his servant hath robbed him, and whose mind is overcome with griefe, and plunged with vexation, and distracted with anger, there is not question to be made but his judgement is at that instant much distempred, and much transported that way. That venerable senate of the Areopagites was wont to judge and sentence by night, for feare the sight of the suters might corrupt justice. The ayre itself, and the clearenes of the firmament, doth forbode us some change and alteration of weather, as saith that Greek verse in Cicero :

*Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali pater ipse
Iupiter auctifera lustravit lampade terras.*

Cic. ex
Incert.

Such are mens mindes, as with increasefull light
Our father Jove survaies the world in sight.

It is not onely fevers, drinkes and great accidents, that over-whelme our judgement: the least things in the world will turne it topsie-turvie. And although we feele it not, it is not to bee doubted, if a continuall ague may in the end suppress our mind, a tertian will also (according to her measure and

proportion) breed some alteration in it. If an Apoplexie doth altogether stupefie and extinguish the sight of our understanding, it is not to be doubted but a cold and rheum will likewise dazle the same. And by consequence, hardly shall a man in all his life find one houre wherein our judgement may alwaies be found in his right byase, our body being subject to so many continuall alterations, and stuft with so divers sorts of ginnes and motions, that, giving credit to Physitians, it is very hard to find one in perfect plight, and that doth not alwaies mistake his marke and shute wide. As for the rest, this disease is not so easily discovered, except it be altogether extreame and remedillesse; forasmuch as reason marcheth ever crooked, halting and broken-hipt; and with falshood as with truth; and therefore it is very hard to discover her mistaking and disorder. I alwaies call reason that apparence or shew of discourses which every man deviseth or forgeth in himselfe: that reason, of whose condition there may be a hundred, one

contrary to another, about one selfe same subject: it is an instrument of lead and wax, stretching, pliable, and that may be fitted to all byases and squared to all measures: there remaines nothing but the skill and sufficiency to know how to turne and winde the same. How well soever a Judge meaneth, and what good mind so ever he heareth, if diligent care be not given unto him (to which few amuse themselves) his inclination unto friendship, unto kindred, unto beauty, and unto revenge, and not onely matters of so weighty consequence, but this innated and casual instinct which makes us to favour one thing more than another, and eucline to one man more than to another, and which, without any leave or reason, giveth us the choice in two like subjects, or some shadow of like vanity, may insensibly insinuate in his judgment the commendation and applause, or disfavour and disallowance of a cause, and give the ballance a twitch. I that nearest prie into my selfe, and who have mine eyes uncessantly fixt upon me as

one that hath not much else to doe else where,

———*quis sub Arcto
Rex gelidæ metuatur oræ,
Quid Tyridatem terreat, unice
Securus,*

Onely secure, who in cold coast
Under the North-pole rules the rost,
And there is fear'd, or what would fright,
And Tyridates put to flight,

HOR. l.
i. *Od.*
XXvi. 3

dare very hardly report the vanity and weaknesse I feele in my selfe. My foot is so staggering and unstable, and I finde it so ready to trip, and so easie to stumble; and my sight is so dimme and uncertaine that fasting I finde my selfe other than full fed. If my health applaud me, or but the calmesse of one faire day smile upon me, then am I a lusty gallant; but if a corne wring my toe, then am I pouting, unpleasant and hard to be pleased. One same pace of a horse is sometimes hard and sometimes easie unto me; and one same way, one time short, another time long and wearisome; and one same forme, now more, now lesse agreeable and pleasing to me: some-

times I am apt to doe any thing, and other times fit to doe nothing: what now is pleasing to me within a while after will be painful. There are a thousand indiscreet and casuall agitations in me. Either a melancholy humour possesseth me, or a cholericke passion swaieth me, which having shaken off, sometimes frowardnesse and peevishnesse hath predominancy, and other times gladnes and blithnesse over-rule me. If I chance to take a booke in hand I shall in some passages perceive some excellent graces, and which ever wound me to the soule with delight; but let me lay it by and read him another time; let me turne and tosse him as I list, let me apply and manage him as I will, I shall finde it an unknowne and shapelesse masse. Even in my writings I shall not at all times finde the tracke or ayre of my first imaginations; I wot not my selfe what I would have said, and shall vexe and fret my selfe in correct-ing and giving a new sense to them, because I have peradventure forgotten or lost the former, which happily was better. I doe

but come and goe; my judgement doth not alwaies goe forward, but is ever floting and wandering.

———*velut minuta magno*

Deprensa navis in mari, vesaniente vento.

Much like a pettie skiffe, that's taken short
In a grand Sea, when winds doe make mad sport.

CATUL.
Lyr.
Epig.
xxii. 12.

Many times (as commonly it is my hap to doe) having for exercise and sport-sake undertaken to maintaine an opinion contrarie to mine, my minde applying and turning it selfe that way doth so tie me unto it, as I finde no more the reason of my former conceit, and so I leave it. Where I encline, there I entertaine my selfe how soever it be, and am carried away by mine owne weight. Every man could neer-hand say as much of himselfe would he but looke into himselfe as I doe. Preachers know that the emotion which surpriseth them whilst they are in their earnest speech doth animate them towards belief, and that being angrie we more violently give our selves to defend our proposition, imprint it in our selves, and embrace the same with

more vehemencie and approbation than we did being in our temperate and reposed sense. You relate simply your case unto a Lawyer; he answers faltring and doubtfully unto it, whereby you perceiue it is indifferent unto him to defend either this or that side, all is one to him. Have you paid him well, have you given him a good baite or fee to make him earnestly apprehend it, beginnes he to be enterested in the matter, is his will moved or his minde enflamed? Then will his reason be moved and his knowledge enflamed with all. See then an apparent and undoubted truth presents it selfe to his understanding, wherein he discovers a new light, and believes it in good sooth, and so perswades himselfe. Shall I tell you? I wot not whether the heate proceeding of spight and obstinacie against the impression and violence of a magistrate and of danger: or the interest of reputation have induced some man to maintaine, even in the fiery flames, the opinion for which amongst his friends and at libertie he would never have beene moved

nor have ventured his fingers end. The motions and fits which our soule receiveth by corporall passions doe greatly prevaile in her, but more her owne, with which it is so fully possest, as happily it may be maintained she hath no other way or motion than by the blasts of her windes, and that without their agitation she should remaine without action, as a ship at sea which the winds have utterly forsaken. And he who should maintaine that following the Peripatetike faction should offer us no great wrong, since it is knowne that the greatest number of the soules actions proceede and have neede of this impulsion of passion; valor (say they) cannot be perfected without the assistance of choler.

Semper Ajax fortis, fortissimus tamen in furore.

Ajax every valor had,
Most then, when he was most mad.

Cic.
Tusc.
Qu. l. iv.

Nor doth any man run violently enough upon the wicked, or his enemies, except he be throughly angrie; and they are of opinion that an advocate or counsellor at

the barre, to have the cause goe on his side, and to have justice at the judges hands, doth first endeavor to provoke him to anger. Longing-desires moved Themistocles and urged Demosthenes, and have provoked Philosophers to long travels, to tedious watchings, and to lingring peregrinations; and leade us to honours, to doctrine, and to health: all profitable respects. And this demissenens of the soule in suffering molestation and tediousness, serveth to no other purpose, but to breed repentance and cause penitence in our consciences, and for our punishment to feele the scourge of God and the rod of politike correction. Compassion serveth as a sting unto clemencie, and wisdom to preserve and governe our selves, is by our owne feare rouzed up; and how many noble actions by ambition, how many by presumption? To conclude, no eminent or glorious vertue can be without some immoderate and irregular agitation. May not this be one of the reasons which moved the Epicureans to discharge God of all care and thought of our affaires: forso-

much as the very effects of his goodnesse cannot exercise themselves towards us without disturbing his rest by meanes of the passions which are as motives and solicitations directing the soule to vertuous actions? Or have they thought otherwise, and take them as tempests which shamefully lead astray the soule from her rest and tranquillitie? *Vt maris tranquillitas intelligitur, nulla, ne minima quidem, aurâ fluctus commovente: Sic animi quietus et placatus status cernitur, quam perturbatio nulla est, quâ moveri queat:* “As we conceive the seas calmnesse, when not so much as the least pirling wind doth stirre the waves, so is a peaceable reposed state of the mind then seene when there is no perturbation whereby it may be moved.” What differences of sense and reason, what contrarietie of imaginations doth the diversitie of our passions present unto us? What assurance may we then take of so unconstant and wavering a thing, subject by its owne condition to the power of trouble, never marching but a forced and borrowed pace? If

CIC.
Tusc.
Qu. I. v

our judgement be in the hands of sickenes itselfe and of perturbation ; if by rashnesse and folly it be retained to receive the impression of things, what assurance may we expect at his hands ? Dares not Philosophie thinke that men produce their greatest effects, and nearest approaching to divinity when they are besides themselves, furious, and madde ? We amend our selves by the privation of reason, and by her drooping. The two naturall waies to enter the cabinet of the Gods, and there to foresee the course of the destinies, are furie and sleepe. This is very pleasing to be considered. By the dislocation that passions bring into our reason, we become vertuous ; by the extirpation which either furie or the image of death bringeth us, we become Prophets and Divines. I never beleevd it more willingly. It is a meere divine inspiration that sacred truth hath inspired in a Philosophical spirit which against his proposition exacteth from him ; that the quiet state of our soule, the best-settled estate, yea the healthfullest that Philosophy can

acquire unto it, is not the best estate. Our vigilancie is more drouzie then sleepe it selfe ; our wisdome lesse wise then folly ; our dreames of more worth then our discourses. The worst place we can take is in ourselves. But thinks it not that we have the foresight to marke, that the voice which the spirit uttereth when he is gone from man so cleare sighted, so great, and so perfect, and whilst he is in man so earthly, so ignorant, and so overclouded, is a voice proceeding from the spirit which is in earthly, ignorant, and overclouded man ; and therefore a trustles and not to be believed voice ? I have no great experience in these violent agitations, being of a soft and dull complexion, the greatest part of which, without giving it leisure to acknowledge her selfe, doe sodainely surprise our soule. But that passion, which in young mens harts is saied to be produced by idlenes, although it march but leasurely and with a measured progress, doth evidently present to those that have assaid to oppose themselves against her endeavour,

the power of the conversion and alteration which our judgement suffereth. I have some times enterprised to arme my selfe with a resolution to abide, resist, and suppress the same. For I am so farre from being in their ranke that call and allure vices, that unlesse they draw me I scarcely follow them. I felt it mauer my resistance, to breed, to growe, and to augment; and in the end, being in perfect health and cleare sighted, to seize upon and pollute me; in such sort that as in drunkennes the image of things began to appeare unto me otherwise then it was wont. I saw the advantages of the subject I sought after, evidently to swell and grow greater, and much to encrease by the winde of my imagination; and the difficulties of my enterprise to become more easie and plaine, and my discourse and conscience to shrink and drawbacke. But that fire being evaporated all on a sodaine, as by the flashing of a lightning, my soule to reassume an other sight, an other state, and other judgement. The difficultie in my retreat seemed great

and invincible, and the very same things of another taste and shew than the fervency of desire had presented them unto me. And which more truly, Pyrrho cannot tell. We are never without some infirmitie. Fevers have their heat and their cold: from the effects of a burning passion, we fall into the effects of a chilling passion. So much as I had cast my selfe forward, so much doe I drawe my selfe backe.

*Qualis ubi alterno procurrens gurgite pontus,
Nunc ruit ad terras, scopulisque superjacet undam,
Spumeus, extremamque sinu perfundit arenam,
Nunc rapidus retro, atque aestu revoluta resorbens
Saxa, fugit, littusque vado labente relinquit.*

As th' Ocean flowing, ebbing in due course,
To land now rushes, foming throws his foureo
On rocks, therewith bedewes the utmost sand,
Now swift returns the stones rowld backe from
 straud
By tide resucks, foord failing, leaves the land.

Now by the knowledge of my volubilitie,
I have by accident engendred some constancy of opinions in my selfe; yea have not so much altered my first and naturall ones. For, what apparance soever there be in

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
xi. 508.

novelty, I do not easily change, for feare I should lose by the bargaine : and since I am not capable to chuse, I take the choice from others ; and keepe my selfe in the seate that God hath placed me in. Else could I hardly keepe my selfe from continuall rowling. Thus have I by the Grace of God preserved my selfe whole (without agitation or trouble of conscience) in the ancient believe of our religion, in the middest of so many sects and divisions which our age hath brought forth. The writings of the ancient fathers (I meane the good, the solide, and the serious) doe tempt, and in a manner remove me which way they list. Him that I heare seemeth ever the more forcible. I finde them everie one in his turne to have reason, although they contrary one another. That facility which good witts have to prove any thing they please likely ; and that there is nothing so strange but they will undertake to set so good a glosse on it, as it shall easily deceive a simplicity like unto mine, doth manifestly shew the weaknesse of their prooffe. The heavens and the planets have

moved these three thousand yeares, and all the world beleev'd as much, untill Cleanthes the Samian, or else (according to Theophrastus) Nicetas the Syracusian tooke upon him to maintaine, it was the earth that moved, by the oblique circle of the Zodiacke, turning about her axell tree. And in our daies Copernicus hath so well grounded this doctrine, that hee doth very orderly fit it to all astrologicall consequences. What shall we reape by it but only that wee neede not care which of the two it be? And who knoweth whether a thousand yeares hence a third opinion will rise, which happily shall overthrow these two præcedents?

*Sic volvenda ætas vommutat tempora rerum,
Quodque fuit pretio, fit nullo denique honore,
Porro aliud succedit, et è contemptibus exit,
Inque dies magis appetitur, floretque repertum
Laudibus, et miro est mortales inter honore.*

LUCR. L
v. 1286.

So age to be past-over alters times of things :
What earst was most esteem'd,
At last nought-worth is deem'd :
Another then succeeds, and from contempt upsprings,
Is daily more desir'd, flowreth as found but then
With praise and wondrous honor amongst mortall
men.

So when any new doctrine is represented unto us, we have great cause to suspect it, and to consider how, before it was invented, the contrary unto it was in credit; and as that hath beene reversed by this latter, a third invention may peradventure succeed in after-ages, which in like sort shall front the second. Before the principles which Aristotle found out were in credit, other principles contented mans reason as his doe now content us. What learning have these men, what particular priviledge, that the course of our invention should rely only upon them, and that the possession of our believe shall for ever hereafter belong to them? They are no more exempted from being rejected than were their fore-fathers. If any man urge me with a new argument, it is in me to imagine that, if I cannot answer it, another can. For, to believe all apparences which we cannot resolve, is meere simplicitie. It would then follow that all the common sort (whereof we are all part) should have his believe turning and winding like a weather-cocke: for, his soule being

soft and without resistance, should incessantly be enforced to receive new and admit other impressions: the latter ever defacing the precedents trace. He that perceiveth himselfe weake, ought to answer, according to law termes, that he will conferre with his learned counsel, or else referre himselfe to the wisest, from whom he hath had his prentiseship. How long is it since physicke came first into the world? It is reported that a new start-up fellow, whom they call Paracelsus, changeth and subverteth all the order of ancient and so long received rules, and maintaineth that untill this day it hath only served to kill people. I thinke he will easily verify it. But I suppose it were no great wisdom to hazard my life upon the triall of his new-fangled experience. "We must not beleieve all men," saith the precept, "since every man may say all things." It is not long since that one of these professours of novelties and physicall reformations told me that all our forefathers had notoriously abused themselves in the nature and motions of the

winds, which, if I should listen unto him, he would manifestly make me perceive. After I had with some patience given attendance to his arguments, which were indeed full of likelyhood, I demanded of him whether they who had sailed according to Theophrastus his lawes, went westward when they bent their course eastward? Or whether they sailed sideling or backward? "It is fortune," answered he, "but so it is, they tooke their marke amisse:" To whom I then replied that I would rather follow the effects than his reason. They are things that often shock together: and it hath bene told mee that in geometry (which supposeth to have gained the high point of certainty amongst all sciences) there are found unavoidable demonstrations, and which subvert the truth of all experience: as James Peletier told me in mine owne house, that he had found out two lines bending their course one towards another, as if they would meet and joyne together; neverthelesse he affirmed that, even unto infinity, they could never come to touch one another. And the

Pyrrhonians use their arguments, and reason but to destroy the apparence of experience: and it is a wonder to see how far the suppleness of our reason hath in this design followed them to resist the evidence of effects: for they affirme that we move not, that we speake not, that there is no weight, nor heat, with the same force of arguing that we averre the most likeliest things. Ptolomey, who was an excellent man, had established the bounds of the world; all ancient philosophers have thought they had a perfect measure thereof, except it were certaine scattered ilands which might escape their knowledge: it had beene to Pyrrhonize a thousand yeares agoe, had any man gone about to make a question of the art of cosmography: and the opinions that have beene received thereof, of all men in generall: it had been flat heresie to avouch that there were Antipodes. See how in our age an infinite greatnesse of firme land hath beene discovered, not an iland onely, nor one particular country, but a part in greatnesse very neere equall unto

that which we knew. Our moderne geographers cease not to affirme that now all is found, and all is discovered :

LUCR. L
v. 1422.

Nam quod adest presento, placet, et pollere videtur.

For what is present here,
Seemes strong, is held most deare.

The question is now, if Ptolomey was heretofore deceived in the grounds of his reason, whether it were not folly in me to trust what these late fellowes say of it, and whether it be not more likely that this huge body which we terme the world is another manner of thing than we judge it. Plato saith that it often changeth his countenance, that the heaven, the starres, and the sunne do sometimes re-enverse the motion we perceiue in them, changing the east into the west. The Ægyptian priests told Herodotus that since their first king, which was cleauen thousand and odde yeares (when they made him see the pictures of all their former kings, drawne to the life in statues) the sun had changed his course foure times : that the sea and the earth doe enterchange-

ably change one into another; that the worlds birth is undetermined: the like said Aristotle and Cicero. And some one amongst us averreth that it is altogether eternall, mortal, and new reviving againe, by many vicissitudes, calling Solomon and Esay to witnesse: to avoid these oppositions, that God hath sometimes been a Creator without a creature; that he hath beene idle: that he hath unsaid his idlenesse by setting his hand to this worke, and that by consequence he is subject unto change. In the most famous schooles of Greece, the world is reputed a God framed by another greater and mightier God, and is composed of a body and a soule, which abideth in his centre, spreading it selfe by muscally numbers into his circumference, divine, thrice-happy, very great, most wise and eternall. In it are other Gods, as the sea, the earth, and planets, which mutually entertaine one another with an harmonious and perpetuall agitation and celestiall dance; sometime meeting, other times farre-sundering themselves; now hiding, then shewing them.

selves; and changing place, now forward, now backward. Heraclitus firmly maintained that the world was composed of fire, and by the destinies order it should one day burst forth into flames, and be so consumed into cinders, and another day it should be new borne againe. And Apuleius of men saith: *Sigillatim mortales; cunctim perpetui*: "Severally mortall; altogether everlasting." Alexander writ unto his mother the narration of an Ægyptian priest, drawne from out their monuments, witnessing the antiquitie of that nation, infinite; and comprehending the birth and progresse of their countries to the life. Cicero and Diodorus said in their daies that the Chaldeans kept a register of foure hundred thousand and odde yeares; Aristotle, Plinie, and others, that Zoroaster lived sixe thousand yeares before Plato. And Plato saith that those of the citty of Sais have memories in writing of eight thousand yeares, and that the towne of Athens was built a thousand yeares before the citty of Sais. Epicurus, that at one

L. APUL.
De Deo;
SOCRAT.

same time all things that are looke how we see them, they are all alike, and in the same fashion, in divers other Worlds, which he would have spoken more confidently had he seene the similitudes and correspondencies of this new-found world of the West Indiaes with ours, both present and past, by so many strange examples. Truly, when I consider what hath followed our learning by the course of this terrestriall policie, I have divers times wondered at myselfe, to see in so great a distance of times and places, the simpaty or jumping of so great a number of popular and wilde opinions, and of extravagant customes and beliefes, and which by no meanes seeme to hold with our naturall discourse. Man's spirit is a wonderfull worker of miracles. But this relation hath yet a kind of I wot not what more Heteroclite: which is found both in names and in a thousand other things. For there were found Nations which (as far as we know) had never heard of us, where circumcision was held in request; where great states and commonwealths were main-

tained onely by women, and no men : where our fasts and Lent was represented, adding thereunto the abstinence from women ; where our crosses were severall waies in great esteeme. In some places they adorned and honored their sepulchres with them, and elsewher, especially that of Saint Andrew, they employed to shield themselves from nightly visions, and to lay them upon childrens couches, as good against enchantments and witch-crafts. In another place they found one made of wood, of an exceeding height, worshipped for the God of raine ; which was thrust very deepe into the ground. There was found a very expresse and lively image of our Penitentiaries : the use of Miters, the Priestes single life ; the Art of Divination by the entrailles of sacrificed beasts ; the abstinence from all sorts of flesh and fish for their food ; the order amongst Priests, in saying of their divine service, to use a not vulgar but a particular tongue ; and this erroneous and fond concept, that the first God was expelled his throne by a younger brother of

his: that they were at first created with all commodities, which afterward, by reason of their sinnes, were abridged them: that their territory hath beene changed; that their naturall condition hath beene much impaired: that they have heretofore beene drowned by the inundation of Waters come from heaven; that none were saved but a few families, which cast themselves into the cracks or hollows of high Mountaines, which crackes they stoped very close, so that the Waters could not enter in, having before shut therin many kinds of beasts: that when they perceived the Raine to cease and Waters to fall, they first sent out certaine doggs, which returned cleane-washt and wet, they judged that the waters were not yet much falne; and that afterward sending out some other, which seeing to returne all muddy and foule, they issued forth of the mountaines, to repeople the world againe, which they found replenished onely with Serpents. There were places found where they used the perswasion of the day of judgement, so that they grew

wondrous wroth and offended with the Spaniards, who in digging and searching of riches in their graves, scattered here and there the bones of their deceased friends, saying, that those dispersed bones could very hardly be reconjoyned together againe. They also found where they used traffick by exchange, and no otherwise; and had Faires and Markets for that purpose: they found dwarfes, and such other deformed creatures, used for the ornament of Princes tables: they found the use of hawking and fowling according to the nature of their birdes: tyrannicall subsidies, and grievances upon subjects; delicate and pleasant gardens; dancing, tumbling, leaping, and juggling, musicke of instruments, armories, dicing-houses, tennisse-courts, and casting lottes, or mumme-chaunce, wherein they are often so earnest and moody, that they will play themselves and their liberty: using no other physicke but by charmes: the manner of writing by figures: beleeving in one first man, universall father of all people. The adoration of one God, who heretofore lived

man in perfect Virginitie, fasting, and penance, preaching the law of Nature, and the ceremonies of religion ; and who vanished out of the world without any naturall death : The opinion of Giants ; the use of drunkennesse, with their manner of drinckes and drinking and pledging of healths ; religious ornaments painted over with bones and dead mens sculs ; surplices, holy Water, and holy Water sprinckles, Women and servants, which thrivingly present themselves to be burned or enterred with their deceased husbands or masters : a law that the eldest or first borne child shall succeed and inherit all ; where nothing is reserved for Puzies, but obedience : a custome to the promotion of certaine officers of great authority, and where he that is promoted takes upon him a new name, and quiteth his owne : Where they use to cast lime upon the knees of new borne children, saying unto him : From dust thou camest, and to dust thou shalt returne againe : the Arts of Augures or prediction. These vaine shadowes of our religion, which are seene in some of

these examples, witness the dignity and divinity thereof. It hath not onely in some sort insinuated it selfe among all infidell Nations on this side by some imitations, but amongst those barbarous Nations beyond, as it were by a common and supernaturall inspiration: For amongst them was also found the beliefe of Purgatory, but after a new forme: for, what we ascribe unto fire, they impute unto cold, and imagine that soules are both purged and punished by the vigor of an extreame coldnesse. This example putteth me in mind of another pleasant diversity: For, as there were some people found who tooke pleasure to unhood the end of their yard, and to cut off the fore-skinne after the manner of the Mahometans and Jewes, some there were found that made so great a conscience to unhood it, that with little strings they caried their fore-skin very carefully out-streched and fastened above, for feare that end should see the aire. And of this other diversity also, that as we honour our Kings and celebrate our Holy-

daies with decking and trimming our selves with the best habilliments we have ; in some regions there, to shew all disparity and submission to their King, their subjects present themselves unto him in their basest and meanest apparrell ; and entring into his pallace, they take some old torne garment and put it over their other attire, to the end all the glory and ornament may shine in their Sovereaigne and Maister.

But let us goe on : if Nature enclose within the limits of her ordinary progresse, as all other things, so the beliefes, the judgments, and the opinions of men ; if they have their revolutions, their seasons, their birth, and their death, even as cabbages : if heaven doth move, agitate and rowle them at his pleasure, what powerfull and permanent authority doe we ascribe unto them ? If by uncontroled experience we palpably touch, that the forme of our being depends of the aire, of the climate, and of the soile wherein we are borne, and not onely the hew, the stature, the complexion and the countenance, but also the soules faculties :

Et plagæ cæli non solum ad robor corporum, sed etiam animorum facit: "The climate helpeth not onely for strength of body, but of minds," saith Vegetius: And that the Goddess, foundresse of the Citie of Athens, chose a temperature of a country to situate it in, that might make the men wise, as the Ægyptian Priests taught Solon: *Athenis tenue cælum: ex quo etiam acutiores putantur Attici: crassum Thebis: itaque pingues Thebani, et valentes:* "About Athens is a thin aire, whereby those Country-men are esteemed the sharper witted: about Thebes the aire is grosse, and therefore the Thebans were grosse and strong of constitution." In such manner that as fruits and beasts doe spring up diverse and different; so men are borne either more or lesse warlike, martiall, just, temperate, and docile: here subject to wine, there to theft and whoredome; here inclined to superstition, addicted to misbelieving; here given to liberty; there to servitude; capable of some one art or science; grosse-witted or ingenious: either obedient or rebellious;

Cic. De
Fato.

good or bad, according as the inclination of the place beareth, where they are seated ; and being removed from one soile to another (as plants are) they take a new complexion : which was the cause that Cirus would never permit the Persians to leave their barren, rough, and craggie Country, for to transport themselves into another, more gentle, more fertile, and more plaine : saying, that “ fat and delicious countries make men wanton and effeminate ; and fertile soiles yeeld infertile spirits.” If sometime wee see one art to flourish, or a believe, and sometimes another, by some heavenly influence ; some ages to produce this or that nature, and so to encline mankind to this or that biase : mens spirits one while flourishing, another while barren, even as fields are seene to be ; what become of all those goodly prerogatives wherewith we still flatter ourselves ? Since a wise man may mistake himselfe ; yea, many men, and whole nations ; and as wee say, mans nature either in one thing or other, hath for many ages together mistaken her selfe. What assurance have we that

at any time she leaveth her mistaking, and that she continueth not even at this day, in her error? Me thinkes amongst other testimonies of our imbecilities, this one ought not to be forgotten, that by wishing it selfe, man cannot yet finde out what he wanteth ; that not by enjoying or possession, but by imagination and full wishing, we cannot all agree in one that we most stand in need of, and would best content us. Let our imagination have free liberty to cut out and sew at her pleasure, she cannot so much as desire what is fittest to please and content her.

——— *quid enim ratione timemus*

*Aut cupimus? quid tam dextro pede concipis, ut te
Conatus non pœniteat, votique peracti?*

Juv. Sat.
I. 4.

By reason what doe we feare, or desire?
With such dexteritie what doest aspire,
But thou eftsoones repentest it,
Though thy attempt and vow doe hit?

That is the reason why Socrates never requested the gods to give him anything but what they knew to be good for him. And the publike and private prayer of the

Lacedemonians did meerey impleie that good and faire things might be granted them, remitting the election and choise of them to the discretion of the highest power.

*Coniugium petimus partumque uxoris, at illis
Notum qui pueri, qualisque futura sit uxor.*

JUV. Sat.
x. 352.

We wish a wife, wifes breeding : we would know,
What children ; shall our wife be sheep or shrow.

And the Christian beseecheth God, that his will may be done, least he should fall into that inconvenience which poets faine of King Midas, who requested of the Gods that whatsoever he toucht might be converted into gold : his praiers were heard, his wine was gold, his bread gold, the feathers of his bed, his shirt, and his garments were turned into gold, so that he found himselfe overwhelmed in the injoying of his desire, and being enricht with an intolerable commoditie, he must now unpray his prayers :

*Attonitus novitate mali, divesque misereque,
Effugere optat opes, et quæ modo voverat, odit.*

OVID.
Met. l.
xi. 128.

Wretched and rich, amaz'd at so strange ill,
His riches he would flie, hates his owne will.

Let me speake of my selfe; being very yong I besought fortune above all things that she would make me a knight of the order of Saint Michael, which in those daies was very rare, and the highest tipe of honour the French nobilitie aymed at; she very kindly granted my request; I had it. In lieu of raising and advancing me from my place for the attaining of it, she hath much more graciously entreated me, she hath debased and depressed it, even unto my shoulders and under. Cleobis and Biton, Trophonius and Agamedes, the two first having besought the Goddess, the two latter their God, of some recompence worthy their pietie, received death for a reward. So much are heavenly opinions different from ours, concerning what we have need of. God might grant us riches, honours, long life and health, but many times to our owne hurt. For, whatsoever is pleasing to us, is not alwaies healthfull for us. If in lieu of former health he send us death, or some worse sicknesse: *Virga*

Psalm
xxiii. 4.

tua et baculus tuus ipsa me consolata sunt:

“Thy rod and thy staffe hath comforted me.” He doth it by the reasons of his providence, which more certainly considereth and regardeth what is meet for us then we ourselves can doe, and we ought to take it in good part as from a most wise and thrice-friendly hand.

——— *si consilium vis,
Permittes ipsis expendere numinibus, quid
Conveniat nobis, rebusque sit vtile nostris:
Charior est illis homo quam sibi.*

JUV. Sat.
x. 346.

If you will counsell have, give the Gods leave
To weigh what is most meet we should receive,
And what for our estate most profit were:
To them, then to himsele man is more deare.

For, to crave honours and charges of them, is to request them to cast you in some battle, or play at hazard, or some such thing, whereof the event is unknowen to you, and the fruit uncertaine. There is no combate amongst philosophers so violent and sharpe as that which ariseth upon the question of mans chiefe felicitie, from which (according to Varroe’s calculation) arose two hundred and foure score Sects. *Qui autem de summo bono dissentit, de tota Philosophiæ*

ratione disputat: "But he that disagrees about the chiefest felicitie, calls in question the whole course of Philosophie."

*Tres mihi convivæ propè dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multùm diversa palato.
Quid dem? quid non dem? renuis tu quod iubet
alter :*

HOR. l. *Quod petis, id sanè est invisum acidùmque duobus.*

ii. *Epist.*
ii. 61.

Three guests of mine doe seeme almost at ods to
fall,

Whilist they with divers taste for divers things doe
call :

What should I give? What not? You will not,
what he will :

What you would, to them twaine is hatefull, sowre
and ill.

Nature should thus answer their contestations and debates. Some say our felicitie consisteth and is in vertue, others in voluptuousnesse, others in yeelding unto Nature, some others in learning, others in feeling no manner of paine or sorrow, others for a man never to suffer himselfe to be carried away by appearances, and to this opinion seemeth this other of ancient Pithagoras to incline.

*Nil admirari, propè res est una, Numici,
Solaque, quæ possit facere et servare beatum,*

Sir, nothing to admire, is **th'** only thing,
That may keepe happy, and to happy bring,

HOR. l.
i. *Epist.*
vi. l.

which is the end and scope of the Pyrrhonian Sect. Aristotle ascribeth unto magnanimitie, to admire and wonder at nothing. And Archesilaus said that sufference and an upright and inflexible state of judgement were true felicities ; whereas consents and applications were vices and evils. True it is, that where he establisheth it for a certaine Axiome, he started from Pyrrhonisme. When the Pyrrhonians say that ataraxy is the chiefe felicitie, which is the immobilitie of judgement, their meaning is not to speake it affirmatively, but the very wavering of their mind, which makes them to shun downefalls, and to shrowd themselves under the shelter of calmenesse, presents this phantasie unto them, and makes them refuse another. Oh how much doe I desire that whilst I live, either some other learned men, or Iustus Lipsius, the most sufficient and learned man now living ; of a most

polished and judicious wit, true Cosin-germane to my Turnebus, had both will, health, and leisure enough, sincerely and exactly, according to their divisions and formes, to collect into one volume or register, as much as by us might be seene, the opinions of ancient philosophy, concerning the subject of our being and customes, their controversies the credit, and partaking of factions and sides, the application of the authors and sectators lives, to their precepts, in memorable and exemplarie accidents. Oh what a worthy and profitable labour would it be ! Besides, if it be from our selves that we draw the regiment of our customes, into what a bottomles confusion doe we cast our selves ? For what our reason perswades us to be most likely for it, is generally for every man to obey the lawes of his country, as is the advise of Socrates, inspired (saith he) by a divine perswasion. And what else meaneth she thereby, but only that our devoire or duety hath no other rule but casuall ? Truth ought to have a like and universall visage

throughout the world. Law and justice, if man knew any, that had a body and true essence, he would not fasten it to the condition of this or that countries customes. It is not according to the Persians or Indians fantazie that vertue should take her forme. Nothing is more subject unto a continuall agitation then the lawes. I have, since I was borne, seene those of our neighbours, the English-men, changed and re-changed three or foure times, not only in politike subjects, which is that some will dispense of constancy, but in the most important subject that possibly can be, that is to say, in religion; whereof I am so much the more both grieved and ashamed, because it is a nation with which my councitriemen have heretofore had so inward and familiar acquaintance, that even to this day there remaine in my house some ancient monuments of our former alliance. Nay, I have seene amongst our selves, some things become lawfull which erst were deemed capitall: and we that hold some others, are likewise in possibilitie, according to

the uncertainty of warring fortune, one day or other, to be offenders against the Majestie both of God and man, if our justice chance to fall under the mercy of justice; and in the space of few yeares possession, taking a contrary essence. How could that ancient God more evidently accuse, in humane knowledge, the ignorance of divine essence, and teach men that their religion was but a peece of their owne invention, fit to combine their societie, then in declaring, as he did, to those which sought the instruction of it, by his sacred Tripes, that the true worshipping of God was that which he found to be observed by the custome of the place where he lived? Oh God, what bond or dutie is it that we owe not to our Sovereigne Creators benignitie, in that he hath beene pleased to cleare and enfranchise our beliefe from those vagabonding and arbitrary devotions, and fixt it upon the eternall base of his holy word? What will Philosophie then say to us in this necessity? that we follow the lawes of our country, that is to say, this

waveing sea of a peoples or of a Princes opinions, which shall paint me forth justice with as many colours, and reforme the same into as many visages as there are changes and alterations of passions in them. I cannot have my judgement so flexible. What goodnesse is that which but yesterday I saw in credit and esteeme, and to morrow to have lost all reputation, and that the crossing of a river is made a crime? What truth is that which these Mountaines bound, and is a lie in the world beyond them? But they are pleasant, when to allow the lawes some certaintie, they say that there be some firme, perpetuall and immoveable which they call naturall, and by the condition of their proper essence, are imprinted in mankind: of which some make three in number, some foure, some more, some lesse: an evident token that it is a marke as doubtfull as the rest. Now are they so unfortunate (for how can I terme that but misfortune, that of so infinit a number of lawes there is not so much as one to be found which the fortune or temeritie of chance hath graunted

to be universally received, and by the consent of unanimitie of all Nations to be admitted?) they are (I say) so miserable that of these three or four choice-selected lawes there is not one alone that is not impugned or disallowed, not by one nation, but by many. Now is the generalitie of approbation the onely likely ensigne by which they may argue some lawes to be naturall; for what nature had indeed ordained us, that should we doubtlesse follow with one common consent; and not one onely nation, but every man in particular should have a feeling of the force and violence which he should urge him with, that would incite him to contrarie and resist that law. Let them all (for example sake) shew me but one of this condition. Protagoras and Ariston gave the justice of the lawes no other essence, but the authority and opinion of the law giver, and that excepted, both good and honest lost their qualities, and remained but vaine and idle names of indifferent things. Thrasymachus, in Plato, thinkes there is no other right but the commoditie of the supe-

riour. There is nothing wherein the world differeth so much as in customes and lawes. Some things are here accompted abominable, which in another place are esteemed commendable; as in Lacedemonia, the slight and subtlety in stealing marriages in proximity of blood are amongst us forbidden as capitall, elsewhere they are allowed and esteemed :

——— *gentes esse feruntur,*
In quibus et nato genitrix, et nata parenti,
Iungitur, et pietas geminato crescit amore.

OVID.
Metam.
 l. x. 331

There are some people, where the mother weddeth
 Her soune, the daughter her owne father beddeth,
 And so by doubling love, their kinnesse spreddeth

The murthuring of children and of parents ;
 the communication with women ; traffic of
 robbing and stealing ; free licence to all
 manner of sensuality ; to conclude, there
 is nothing so extreme and horrible, but is
 found to be received and allowed by the
 custome of some nation. It is credible that
 there be naturall lawes, as may be seene in
 other creatures, but in us they are lost : this
 goodly humane reason engrafting it self
 among all men, to sway and command, con-

founding and topsi-turving the visage of all things according to her inconstant vanitie and vaine inconstancy. *Nihil itaque amplius nostrum est, quod nostrum dico, artis est*: "Therefore nothing more is ours: all that I call ours belongs to art." Subjects have divers lustres, and severall considerations, whence the diversity of opinion is chiefly engendred. One nation vieweth a subject with one visage, and thereon it staies; an other with an other. Nothing can be imagined so horrible as for one to eate and devour his owne father. Those people which anciently kept this custome hold it neverthelesse for a testimonie of pietie and good affection: seeking by that meane to give their fathers the worthiest and most honourable sepulchre, harboring their fathers bodies and reliques in themselves, and in their marrow; in some sort reviving and regenerating them by the transmutation made in their quicke flesh by digestion and nourishment. It is easie to be considered what abomination and cruelty it had beene, in men accustomed and trained

in this inhumane superstition, to cast the carcasses of their parents into the corruption of the earth, as food for beasts and wormes. Lycurgus wisely considereth in theft, the vivacitie, diligence, courage, and nimbleness that is required in surprising or taking any thing from ones neighbour, and the commoditie which thereby redoundeth to the common-wealth, that every man heedeth more curiously the keeping of that which is his owne, and judged that by this twofold institution to assaile and to defend, much good was drawne for military discipline (which was the principall Science and chiefe vertue, wherein he would enable that nation) of greater respect and more consideration than was the disorder and injustice of prevailing and taking other mens goods. Dionysius, the tyrant, offered Plato a robe made after the Persian fashion, long, damask, and perfumed: but he refused the same, saying, "That being borne a man, he would not willingly put on a womans garment." But Aristippus tooke it, with this answer, "That no garment could corrupt a

chaste mind." His friends reproved his demissenesse in being so little offended, that Dionysius had spitten in his face. "'Tut" (said he), "fishers suffer themselves to be washed over head and eares to get a gudgeon." Diogenes washing of coleworts for his dinner, seeing him passe by, said unto him, "If thou couldest live with coleworts, thou wouldest not court and fawne upon a tyrant;" to whom Aristippus replied, "If thou couldest live among men, thou wouldest not wash coleworts." See here how reason yeeldeth apparance to divers effects. It is a pitcher with two eares, which a man may take hold on, either by the right or left hand.

———*bellum ô terra hospita portas,*

Bello armantur equi, bellum hæc armenta minantur:

Sed tamen iidem olim curru succedere sueti

Quadrupedes, et frenâ jupo concordia ferre,

Spes est pacis.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
iii. 559.

O stranger-harb'ring land, thou bringst us warre;

Steeds serve for warre;

These heards doe threaten jarre.

Yet horses erst were wont to draw our waines,

And harness matches beare agreeing raines,

Hope is hereby that wee

In peace shall well agree.

Solon being importuned not to shed vaine and bootles teares for the death of his sonne; "Thats the reason (answered hee) I may more justly shed them, because they are bootlesse and vaine." Socrates, his wife, exasperated her grieve by this circumstance. "Good Lord (said she) how unjustly doe these bad judges put him to death." "What! wouldest thou rather they should execute me justly?" replied he to her. It is a fashion amongst us to have holes bored in our eares: the Greekes held it for a badge of bondage. We hide our selves when we will enjoy our wives: the Indians doe it in open view of all men. The Scythians were wont to sacrifice strangers in their Temples, whereas in other places Churches are Sanctuaries for them.

*Inde furor vulgi, quod numina vicinorum
Odit quisque locus, cum solos credat habendos
Esse Deos quos ipse colit.*

JUV. Sat.
xv. 36.

The vulgar hereupon doth rage, because
Each place doth hate their neighbours soveraigne
lawes,
And onely Gods doth deeme
Those Gods, themselves esteeme.

I have heard it reported of a Judge who, when he met with any sharp conflict betweene Bartolus and Baldus, or with any case admitting contrarietie, was wont to write in the margin of his book, "A question for a friend," which is to say, that the truth was so entangled and disputable that in such a case he might favour which party he should thinke good. There was no want but of spirit and sufficiency, if he set not every where through his books, "A question for a friend." The Advocates and Judges of our time find in all cases byases too-too-many to fit them where they think good. To so infinite a science, depending on the authority of so many opinions, and of so arbitrary a subject, it cannot be but that an exceeding confusion of judgments must arise. There are very few processes so cleare but the Lawiers advises upon them will be found to differ: What one company hath judged another will adjudge the contrary, and the very same will another time change opinion. Whereof we see ordinarie examples by this licence which

wonderfully blemisheth the authoritie and lustre of our law, never to stay upon one sentence, but to run from one to another judge, to decide one same case. Touching the libertie of Philosophicall opinions concerning vice and vertue, it is a thing needing no great extension, and wherein are found many advises which were better unspoken then published to weake capacities. Arcesilaus was wont to say that in pailliardize it was not worthy consideration, where, on what side, and how it was done. *Et ob-cœnas voluptates, si natura requirit, non genera, aut loco, aut ordine, sed forma, ætate, figura metiendas Epicurus putat. Ne amores quidem sanctos à sapiente alienos esse arbitrantur. Quæramus ad quam usque, ætatem iuvenes amandi sint:* “Obscene pleasures, if nature require them, the Epicure esteemeth not to be measured by kind, place, or order: but by forme, age, and fashion. Nor doth he thinke that holy loves should be strange from a wise man. Let us then question to what years yong folke may be beloved.” These two last

Stoicke places, and upon this purpose, the reproch of Diogarchus to Plato himselfe, shew how many excessive licences and out of common use soundest Philosophy doth tolerate. Lawes take their authoritie from possession and custome. It is dangerous to reduce them to their beginning: In rowling on they swell and grow greater and greater, as doe our rivers: follow them upward into their source, and you shall find them but a bubble of water, scarce to be discerned, which in gliding on swelleth so proud and gathers so much strength. Behold the ancient considerations which have given the first motion to this famous torrent, so full of dignitie, of honour and reverence, you shall finde them so light and weake that these men which will weigh all and complaine of reason, and who receive nothing upon trust and authoritie, it is no wonder if their judgments are often far distant from common judgement. Men that take Natures first image for a patterne it is no marvaile if in most of their opinions they miss the common-beaten path. As for

example few amongst them would have approved the false conditions of our marriages, and most of them would have had women in community and without any private respect. They refused our ceremonies: Chrysippus said that some Philosophers would in open view of all men shew a dozen of tumbling-tricks, yea, without any slops or breeches, for a dozen of olives. He would hardly have perswaded Calisthenes to refuse his faire daughter Agarista to Hippocledes, because he had seen him graft the forked tree in her upon a table. Metrocles somewhat indiscreetly, as he was disputing in his Schole, in presence of his auditory, let a fart, for shame whereof he afterwards kept his house, and could not be drawn abroad untill such time as Crates went to visit him, who to his perswasions and reasons, adding the example of his liberty, began to fart a vie with him and to remove this scruple from off his conscience; and moreover won him to his Stoicall (the more free) Sect, from the Peripateticall (and more civill) one, which thereunto he had

followed. That which we call civilitie not to dare to doe that openly, which amongst us is both lawfull and honest, being done in secret, they termed folly: And to play the wilie Foxe in concealing and disclaiming what nature, custome, and our desire publish and proclaime of our actions, they deemed to be a vice. And thought it a suppressing of Venus her mysteries to remove them from out the private vestry of her temple, and expose them to the open view of the people. And that to draw her sports from out the curtines was to loose them. Shame is matter of some consequence. Concealing, reservation and circumspection are parts of estimation. That sensuality under the maske of Vertu did very ingeniously procure not to be prostituted in the midst of highwaies, not trodden upon and seen by the common sort, alledging the dignity and commodity of her wonted Cabinets. Whereupon some say that to forbid and remove the common brothel-houses is not only to spread whoredome every where, which only was allotted to those places, but also to incite idle and

vagabond men to that vice by reason of the difficultie.

*Mæchus es Aufidiæ qui vir Corvine fuisti,
Rivalis fuerat qui tuus, ille vir est.
Cur aliena placet tibi, quæ tua non placet uxor?
Nunquid securus non potes arrigere?*

MART. l.
iii. Epig.
lxx.

This experience is diversified by a thousand examples :

*Nullus in vrbe fuit tota, qui tangere vellet
Uxorem gratis Cæciliane tuam,
Dum licuit : sed nunc positis custodibus, ingens
Turba futurorum est, ingeniosus homo es.*

Ib. l. i.
Epig.
lxxiv.

A Philosopher being taken with the deed, was demaunded what he did ; answered very mildly, " I plant man," blushing no more being found so napping than if he had beene taken setting of Garlike. It is (as I suppose) of a tender and respective opinion that a notable and religious Author holds this action so necessarily-bound to secrecy and shame, that in Cynike embracements and dalliances he could not be perswaded that the worke should come to her end ; but rather that it lingred and staid only to represent wanton gestures and las-

civious motions, to maintaine the impudency of their schooles profession : and that to powre forth what shame had forced and bashfullnesse restrained, they had also afterward need to seeke some secret place. He had not seene far enough into their licentiousnesse : for Diogenes in sight of all, exercising his Masturbation, bred a longing desire in the by-standers, that in such sort they might fill their bellies by rubbing or clawing the same. To those that asked him why he sought for no litter place to feed in then in the open frequented highway, he made answer, "It is because I am hungry in the open frequented highway." The Philosophers Women, which medled with their Sects, did likewise in all places and without any discretion medle with their bodies : And Crates had never received Hipparchia into his fellowship but upon condition to follow all the customes and fashions of his order. These Philosophers set an extreme rate on vertue and rejected al other disciplins except the mortall ; hence it is that in all actions they ascribed the

Soveraigne authority to the election of their wise, yea, and above al lawes : and appointed no other restraint unto voluptuousness but the moderation and preservation of others liberty. Heraclitus and Protagoras, forso-much as wine seemeth bitter unto the sicke and pleasing to the healthy ; and an oare crooked in the water and straight to them that see it above water, and such-like contrary apparances which are found in some subjects ; argued that all subjects had the causes of these apparances in them, and that there was some kind of bitternes in the wine which had a reference unto the sick mans taste ; in the oare a certain crooked qualitie, having relation to him that seeth it in the water. And so of all things else. Which implieth, that all is in all things, and by consequence nothing in any : for either nothing is, or all is. This opinion put me in mind of the experience we have, that there is not any one sense or visage, either straight or crooked, bitter or sweet, but mans wit shall find in the writings which he undertaketh to runne over. In the purest,

most unspotted, and most absolutely perfect word that possibly can be, how many errors, falshoods and lies have beene made to proceed from it? What heresie hath not found testimonies and ground sufficient, both to undertake and to maintaine itself? It is, therefore, that the Authors of such errors will never goe from this prooffe of the testimony of words interpretation. A man of worth going about by authority to approve the search of the Philosophers stone (wherein he was overwhelmed) alleadged at least five or six several passages out of the holy Bible unto me, upon which (he said) he had at first grounded himselfe, for the discharge of his conscience (for he is a man of Ecclesiastical profession), and truly the invention of them was not only pleasant, but also very fitly applied to the defence of this goodly and minde-inchanting science. This way is the credit of divining fables attained to. There is no prognosticator if he have but this authority that any one wil but vouchsafe to read him over, and curiously to search all the infoldings and lustres of his

words, but a man shall make him say what he pleaseth, as the Sibils. There are so many means of interpretation, that it is hard, be it flat-long, side-long, or edge-long, but an ingenious and pregnant wit shal in all subjects meet with some aire that wil fit his turn. Therefore is a cloudy, darke and ambiguous stile found in so frequent and ancient custome, that the Author may gaine to draw, allure, and busie posterity to himselfe, which not only the sufficiency but the casuall favour of the matter may gaine as much or more. As for other matters, let him, be it either through foolishnes or subtilty, shew himself somewhat obscure and divers, it is no matter, care not he for that. A number of spirits sifting and tossing him over will finde and express sundry formes, either according, or collaterally, or contrary to his owne, all which shall do him credit. He shal see himselfe enriched by the meanes of his Disciples, as the Grammer Schoole Maisters. It is that which hath made many things of nothing, to pass very currant, that hath brought

divers books in credit, and charged with all sorts of matter that any hath but desired : one selfsame thing admitting a thousand and a thousand, and as many severall images and divers considerations, as it best pleaseth us. Is it possible that ever Homer meant all that which some make him to have meant? And that he prostrated himselfe to so many, and so severall shapes, as, Divines, Lawiers, Captaines, Philosophers, and all sort of people else, which, how diversly and contrary soever it be they treat of sciences, do notwithstanding wholly rely upon him, and refer themselves unto him ; as a Generall Maister for all offices, workes, sciences, and tradesmen, and an universall counsellor in all enterprises ? whosoever hath had need of Oracles or Predictions, and would apply them to himselfe, hath found them in him for his purpose. A notable man, and a good friend of mine, would make one marvel to heare what strange far-fetcht conceits and admirable affinities, in favor of our religion, he maketh to derive from him ;

and can hardly be drawne from this opinion, but that such was Homers intent and meaning (yet is Homer so familiar unto him, as I thinke no man of our age is better acquainted with him). And what he finds in favour of our religion, many ancient learned men have found in favour of theirs. See how Plato is tossed and turned over, every man endeavoring to apply him to his purpose, giveth him what construction he list. He is wrested and inferted to all new-fangled opinions that the world receiveth or alloweth of, and according to the different course of subjects is made to be repugnant unto himselfe. Every one according to his sense makes him to disavow the customes that were lawfull in his daies, inasmuch as they are unlawfull in these times. All which is very lively and strongly maintained, according as the wit and learning of the interpreter is strong and quicke. Upon the ground which Heraclitus had, and that sentence of his, that all things had those shapes in them which men found in them. And Democritus out of the very same drew a cleane contrarie

conclusion, id est, that subjects had nothing at all in them of that which we found in them. And forasmuch as honny was sweet to one man and bitter to another, he argued that honny was neither sweet nor bitter. The Pyrrhonians would say, they know not whether it be sweet or bitter, or both, or neither: for, they ever gain the highest point of doubting. The Cyrenaicks held that nothing was perceptible outwardly, and only that was perceivable which by the inward touch or feeling touched or concerned us, as grieffe and sensuality, distinguishing neither tune nor colours, but onely certaine affections that came to us of them; and that man had no other seate of his judgment. Protagoras deemed that to be true to all men, which to all men seemeth so. The Epicurians place all judgment in the senses, and in the notice of things, and in voluptuousnesse. Platoes mind was, that the judgment of truth, and truth it selfe drawne from opinions and senses, belonged to the spirit and to cogitation. This discourse hath drawne me to the consideration

of the senses, wherein consisteth the greatest foundation and triall of our ignorance. Whatsoever is knowne, is without peradventure knowne by the faculty of the knower: for, since the judgment commeth from the operation of him that judgeth, reason requireth that he performe and act this operation by his meanes and will, and not by others compulsion; as it would follow if wee knew things by the force, and according to the law of their essence. Now all knowledge is addressed unto us by the senses; they are our maisters:

——— *via qua munita fidei*

Proxima fert humanum in pectus, templaque mentis: LUCR. l.

Whereby a way for credit leads well-linde

v. 102.

Into man's breast and temple of his minde.

Science begins by them and in them is resolved. After all, we should know no more then a stone, unlesse we know that here is sound, smell, light, savor, measure, weight, softnesse, hardnesse, sharpnesse, colour, smoothnesse, breadth and depth. Behold here the platforme of all the frame and principles of the building of all our

knowledge. And according to some, science is nothing else but what is knowne by the senses. Whosoever can force me to contradict my senses, hath me fast by the throate, and cannot make me recoyle one foote backward. The senses are the beginning and end of humane knowledge.

*Invenies primis ab sensibus esse creatam
Notitiam veri, neque sensus posse refelli.
Quid maiore fide porro, quam sensus, haberi
Debet?*

LUCR. 1.
iv. 480.
484.

You shall finde knowledge of the truth at first was
bred

From our first senses, nor can senses be misseled.
What, then our senses, should
With us more credit hold?

Attribute as little as may be unto them, yet must this ever be graunted them, that all our instruction is addressed by their meanes and intermission. Cicero saith that Chrysippus having assaid to abate the power of his senses, and of their vertue, presented contrary arguments unto himselfe, and so vehement oppositions, that he could not satisfie himselfe. Whereupon Carneades

(who defended the contrary part) boasted that he used the very same weapons and words of Chrysippus to combate against him; and therefore cried out upon him, "Oh miserable man! thine owne strength hath foiled thee." There is no greater absurditie in our judgment, then to maintaine that fire heateth not, that light shineth not, that in iron there is neither weight nor firmenesse, which are notices our senses bring unto us: Nor believe or science in man, that may be compared unto that, in certaintie. The first consideration I have upon the senses subject is, that I make a question, whether man be provided of all naturall senses, or no. I see divers creatures that live an entire and perfect life, some without sight, and some without hearing; who knoweth whether we also want either one, two, three, or many senses more: For, if we want any one, our discourse cannot discover the want or defect thereof. It is the senses priviledge to be the extreme bounds of our perceiving. There is nothing beyond them that may

stead us to discover them : No one sense can discover another.

*An poterunt oculos aures reprehendere, an aures
Tactus, an hunc porro tactum sapor arguet oris,
An confutabunt nares, oculive revincent ?*

LUCR. 1.
iv. 488.

Can eares the eyes, or can touch reprehend
The eares, or shall mouthes taste that touch amend ?
Shall our nose it confute,
Or eyes gainst it dispute ?

They all make the extreamest line of our
facultie.

———— *seorsum cuique potestas
Divisa est, sua vis cuique est.*

ſo. 491.

To teach distinctly might
Is shar'de, each hath its right.

It is impossible to make a man naturally blind, to conceive that he seeth not ; impossible to make him desire to see, and sorrow his defect. Therefore ought we not to take assurance that our mind is contented and satisfied with those we have, seeing it hath not wherewith to feel her owne malady, and perceive her imperfection, if it be in any. It is impossible to tell that blind man any thing, either by discourse, argument, or

similitude, that lodgeth any apprehension of light, colour, or sight in his imagination. There is nothing more backward that may push the senses to any evidence. The blind-borne, which we perceive desire to see, it is not to understand what they require; they have learnt of us that something they want, and something they desire, that is in us, with the effects and consequences thereof, which they call good: yet wot not they what it is, nor apprehend they it neere or far. I have seene a gentleman of a good house, borne blind, at least blind in such an age that he knowes not what sight is; he understandeth so little what he wanteth, that as we doe, he useth words fitting sight, and applieth them after a manner onely proper and peculiar to himselfe. A child being brought before him to whom he was god-father, taking him in his armes, he said, "Good Lord, what a fine child this is! it is a goodly thing to see him. What a cherefull countenance he hath! how prettily he looketh!" He will say as one of us, "This hall hath a faire prospect.

It is very faire weather. The Sunne shines cleare." Nay, which is more: because hunting, hawking, tennis-play, and shutting at butts are our common sports and exercises (for so he hath heard) his mind will be so affected unto them, and he will so busie himselfe about them, that he will thinke to have as great an interest in them as any of us, and shew himselfe as earnestly passionate, both in liking and disliking them, as any else; yet doth he conceive and receive them but by hearing. If he be in a faire champion ground, where he may ride, they will tell him, yonder is a Hare started, or the Hare is killed, he is as busily earnest of his game as he heareth others to be that have perfect sight. Give him a ball, he takes it in the left hand, and with the right strikes it away with his racket; in a piece he shutes at randome; and is well pleased with what his men tell him, be it high or wide. Who knowes whether mankind commit as great a folly, for want of some sense, and that by this default the greater part of the visage of

things be concealed from us? Who knowes whether the difficulties we find in sundry of Natures workes proceede thence? And whether diverse effects of beasts, which exceed our capacitie, are produced by the facultie of some sense that we want? And whether some of them have by that meane a fuller and more perfect life then ours? We seize on an apple wel nigh with all our senses; we find rednesse, smoothnesse, odor and sweetnesse in it; besides which, it may have other vertues, either drying or binding, to which we have no sense to be referred. The proprieties which in many things we call secret, as in the Adamant to draw iron, is it not likely there should be sensitive faculties in nature able to judge and perceive them, the want whereof breedeth in us the ignorance of the true essence of such things? It is happily some particular sense that unto cockes or chanticleares discovereth the morning and midnight houre, and moveth them to crow: that teacheth a hen, before any use or experience, to feare a hawke and not a goose or a peacocke,

farre greater birds: that warneth yong chickins of the hostile qualitie which the cat hath against them, and not to distrust a dog; to strut and arme themselves against the mewling of the one (in some sort a flattering and milde voice) and not against the barking of the other (a snarling and quarrelous voice): that instructeth rats, wasps, and emmets, ever to chuse the best cheese and fruit, having never tasted them before: and that addresseth the stag, the elephant, and the serpent, to the knowledge of certaine herbs and simples, which, being either wounded or sicke, have the vertue to cure them. There is no sense but hath some great domination, and which by his meane afforded not an infinite number of knowledges. If we were to report the intelligence of sounds, of harmony and of the voice, it would bring an imaginable confusion to all the rest of our learning and science. For, besides what is tyed to the proper effect of every sense, how many arguments, consequences, and conclusions draw we unto other things, by comparing

one sense to another? Let a skilfull, wise man but imagine humane nature to be originally produced without sight and discourse, how much ignorance and trouble such a defect would bring unto him, and what obscurity and blindness in our mind. By that shall we perceive how much the privation of one, or two, or three such senses (if there be any in us) doth import us about the knowledge of truth. We have by the consultation and concurrence of our five senses formed one Verity, whereas peradventure there was required the accord and consent of eight or ten senses, and their contribution, to attaine a perspicuous insight of her, and see her in her true essence. Those Sects which combate man's science, doe principally combate the same by the uncertainty and feeblesse of our senses. For, since by their meane and intermission all knowledge comes unto us, if they chance to misse in the report they make unto us, if either they corrupt or alter that, which from abroad they bring unto us, if the light which by them is transported into our

soule be obscured in the passage, we have nothing else to hold by. From this extreme difficultie are sprung all these phantazies, which everie subject containeth, whatsoever we finde in it, that it hath not what we suppose to finde in it, and that of the Epicurians, which is, that the sunne is no greater than our sight doth judge it :

*Quicquid id est, nihilo fertur maiore figurâ,
Quàm nostris oculis quam cernimus esse videtur :*

Luc. 1.
v. 576.

Whate'er it be, it in no greater forme doth passe,
Then to our eyes, which it behold, it seeming was :
that the apparances, which represent a great body to him that is neare unto it, and a much lesser to him that is further from it, are both true :

*Nec tamen hic oculis falli concedimus hilum :
Proinde animi vitium hoc oculis adfingere noli :*

Ib. 1.
iv. 380.

Yet graunt we not, in this, our eyes deceiv'd or blind,
Impute not then to eyes this error of the mind :
and resolutely, that there is no deceit in the senses ; that a man must stand to their mercy, and elsewhere seek reasons to excuse the difference and contradiction we find in

them: yea invent all other untruthes and raving conceits (so farre come they) rather than accuse the senses. Timagoras swore, that howsoever he winked or turned his eyes, he could never perceive the light of the candle to double: and that this seeming proceeded from the vice of opinion, and not from the instrument. Of all absurdities the most absurd amongst the Epicurians is to disavow the force and effect of the senses.

Proinde quod in quoque est his visum tempore, verum est:

*Et si non potuit ratio dissolvere causam,
Cur ea quæ fuerint iuxtim quadrata, procul sint
Visa rotunda: tamen præstat rationis egentem
Reddere mendosè causas vtriusque figuræ,
Quam manibus manifesta suis emittere quoquam,
Et violare fidem primam, et convellere tota
Fundamenta, quibus nixatur vita salusque.
Non modo enim ratio ruat omnis, vita quoque ipsa
Concidat extemplo, nisi credere sensibus ausis,
Præcipitesque locos vitare, et cætera quæ sint
In genere hoc fugienda.*

What by the eyes is seene at any time, is true,
Though the cause Reason could not render of the
view,

LUCR.
iv. 502.

Why, what was square at hand, a farre off seemed
 round,
 Yet it much better were, that wanting reasons
 ground
 The causes of both formes we harp-on, but not
 hit,
 Then let slip from our hands things cleare, and
 them omit,
 And violate our first believe, and rashly rend
 All those ground-workes, whereon both life and
 health depend,
 For not alone all reason falls, life likewise must
 Faile out of hand, unlesse your senses you dare
 trust,
 And breake-necked places, and all other errors
 shunne,
 From which we in this kinde most carefully should
 runne.

This desperate and so little Philosophicall
 counsell, represents no other thing but that
 humane science cannot be maintained but
 by unreasonable, fond and mad reason; yet
 is it better that man use it to prevaile, yea
 and of all other remedies else how phantast-
 icall soever they be, rather than avow his
 necessarie foolishnesse: So prejudiciall and
 disadvantageous a veritie he cannot avoide,
 but senses must necessarily be the Soveraigne

maisters of his knowledge ; but they are uncertaine and falsifiable to all circumstances. There must a man strike to the utmost of his power, and if his just forces faile him (as they are wont) to use and employ obstinacie, temeritie and impudencie. If that which the Epicurians affirme, be true, that is to say, we have no science, if the apparances of the senses be false, and that which the Stoicks say, if it is also true that the senses apparances are so false as they can produce us no science ; we will conclude at the charges of these two great Dogmatist Sects, that there is no science. Touching the error and uncertaintie of the senses operation, a man may store himselfe with as many examples as he pleaseth, so ordinary are the faults and deceits they use towards us. And the echoing or reporting of a valley, the sound of a trumpet seemeth to sound before us, which cometh a mile behind us.

*Exstantesque procul medio de gurgite montes
Idem apparent longe diversi licet.
Et fugere ad puppim colles campique videntur
Quos agimus præter navim.*

LUCR. l
iv. 398.

Ib. 390.

———*vbi in medio nobis equus acer ob'æsit
Flumine, equi cor, us transversum ferre videtur
Vis, et in adversum flumen contrudere raptim.*

LUCR. l.
iv. 423.

And hills, which from the maine far-off to kenning
stand,
Appeare **all one**, though they farre distant be, at
hand,
And hilles and fields doe seeme unto our boate to
flie,
Which we drive by our boate as we doe passe there-
by,
When in midst of a streame a stately Horse doth
stay,
The streame's orethwarting seemes his body crosse
to sway,
And swiftly 'gainst the streame to thrust him th'
other way.

To roule a bullet under the fore finger,
the midlemost being put over it, a man
must very much enforce himselfe to affirm
there is but one, so assuredly doth our sense
present us two. That the senses do often
maister our discourse, and force it to re-
ceive impressions which he knoweth and
judgeth to be false, it is daily seene. I
leave the sense of feeling which hath his

functions neerer more quicke and substantiall, and which by the effect of the grieffe or paine it brings to the body doth so often confound and re-enverse all these goodly Stoicall resolutions, and enforceth to cry out of the belly-ache him who hath with all resolution established in his mind this doctrine, that the cholike, as every other sicknesse or paine, is a thing indifferent, wanting power to abate any thing of soveraigne good or chiefe felicity, wherein the wise man is placed by his owne vertue: there is no heart so demisse, but the rattling sound of a drum or the clang of a trumpet will rowse and inflame; nor mind so harsh and sterne, but the sweetnesse and harmony of musicke will move and tickle; nor any soule so skittish and stubborne, that hath not a feeling of some reverence in considering the cloudy vastitie and gloomie canopies of our churches, the eye-pleasing diversitie of ornaments, and orderly order of our ceremonies, and hearing the devout and religious sound of our organs, the moderate, symphonically, and heavenly harmonie of our

voices: even those that enter into them with an obstinate will and contemning minde have in their hearts a feeling of remorse, of chilnesse and horreur, that puts them into a certaine diffidence of their former opinions. As for me, I distrust mine owne strength to heare with a settled minde some of Horace or Catullus verses sung with a sufficiently well tuned voice, uttered by and proceeding from a faire, yong, and hart-alluring mouth. And Zeno had reason to say that the voice was the flower of beautie. Some have gone about to make me beleeve that a man, who most of us French men know, in repeating certaine verses he had maide, had imposed upon me that they were not such in writing as in the aire, and that mine eyes would judge of them otherwise than mine eares: so much credit hath pronounciation to give price and fashion to those workes that passe at her mercy; whereupon Philoxenus was not to be blamed, when hearing one to give an ill accent to some composition of his, he tooke in a rage some of his pots or bricks, and

breaking them, trode and trampled them under his feet, saying unto him, "I breake and trample what is thine, even as thou manglest and marrest what is mine." Wherefore did they (who with an undanted resolve have procured their owne death, because they would not see the blow or stroke coming) turne their face away? And those who for their healths sake cause themselves to be cut and cauterized, why cannot they endure the sight of the preparations, tooles, instruments and workes of the Chirurgion, since the sight can have no part of the paine or smart? Are not these fit examples to verifie the authoritie which senses have over discourse? We may long enough know that such a ones lockes or flaring tresses are borrowed of a page or taken from some lacky, that this faire ruby-red came from Spaine, and this whitenes or smoothnes from the ocean sea: yet must sight force us to find and deeme the subject more lovely and more pleasing against all reason. For in that there is nothing of its owne.

Auferimur cultu ; gemmis, aurôque teguntur

Crimina, pars minima est ipsa puella sui.

Sæpe ubi sit quod ames inter tam multa requiras :

Decipit hæc oculos Ægide dives amor.

OVID.

Fem.

Am. l.

l. 343.

We are misse-led by ornaments : what is amisse
Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the
maiden is,
'Mongst things so many you may aske, where your
love lies,
Rich love by this Gorgonian shield deceives thine
eyes.

How much doe Poets ascribe unto the vertue
of the senses which makes Narcissus to have
even fondly lost himselfe for the love of his
shadow ?

Cunctaque miratur, quibus est mirabilis ipse,

Se cupit imprudens, et qui probat, ipse probatur,

Dumque petit, petitur : pariterque accendit et ardet.

Ib.

Metam.

l. iii. 424.

He all admires, whereby himselfe is admirable,
Fond he, fond of himselfe, to himselfe amiable,
He that doth like, is lik'd, and while he doth
desire :
He is desired, at once he burnes and sets on fire.

And Pygmalions wit's so troubled by the im-
pression of the sight of his ivory statue, that
hee loves and serves it as if it had life :

*Osculadat, reddique putat, sequiturque, tenetque,
Et credit tactis digitos insidere membris,
Et metuit pressos veniat ne livor in artus.*

OVID.
Metam.
l. x. 256

He kisses, and thinks kisses come againe,
He sues, pursues, and holds, beleeves in vaine
His fingers sinke where he doth touch the place,
And feares least black and blew toucht-lims deface.

Let a Philosopher be put in a cage made of small and thin-set iron wire, and hanged on the top of our Ladies Church steeple in Paris ; he shall, by evident reason, perceive that it is impossible he should fall down out of it : yet can he not choose (except he have beene brought up to the trade of tilers or thatchers) but the sight of that exceeding height must needs dazle his sight, and amaze or turne his senses. For we have much ado to warrant our selves in the walks or battlements of an high tower or steeple, if they be battlemented and wrought with pillars, and somewhat wide one from another, although of stone and never so strong. Nay, some there are that can scarcely think or heare of such heights. Let a beame or plank be laid acrosse from

one of those two steeples to the other, as big, as thick, as strong, and as broad as would suffice any man to walke safely upon it, there is no philosophicall wisdome of so great resolution and constancie that is able to encourage and perswade us to march upon it, as we would were it below on the ground. I have sometimes made triall of it upon our mountaines on this side of Italic, yet am I one of those that will not easily be affrighted with such things, and I could not without horror to my minde and trembling of legs and thighes endure to looke on those infinite precipices and steepy downe-fals, though I were not neere the brim, nor any danger within my length and more; and unlesse I had willingly gone to the perill, I could not possibly have falne. Where I also noted that how deep soever the bottome were, if but a tree, a shrub, or any out-butting crag of a rock presented it selfe unto our eyes upon those steepe and high Alpes, somewhat to uphold the sight, and divide the same, it doth somewhat easo and assure us from feare, as if it were a

thing which in our fall might either helpe or uphold us : and that we cannot without some dread and giddinesse in the head so much as abide to looke upon one of those even and downe-right precipices : *Vt despici sine vertigine simul oculorum animique non possit* : “So as they cannot looke downe without giddinesse both of eyes and mindes :” which is an evident deception of the sight. Therefore was it that a worthy Philosopher pulled out his eyes that so he might discharge his soule of the seducing and diverting he received by them, and the better and more freely apply himselfe unto Philosophy. But by this accompt, he should also have stopped his eares, which (as Theophrastus said) are the most dangerous instruments we have to receive violent and sodaine impressions to trouble and alter us, and should in the end have deprived himself of all his other senses ; that is to say, both of his being and life. For they have the power to command our discourses and sway our minde : *Fit etiam sæpe specie quadam, sæpe vocum gravitate*

et cantibus, ut pellantur animi vehementius.

11c. Div.
L

sæpe etiam cura et timore: "It comes to passe that many times our mindes are much moved with some shadow, many times with deep sounding or singing of voices, many times with care and feare." Physitians hold that there are certaine complexions which by some sounds and instruments are agitated even unto furie. I have seene some who, without infringing their patience, could not well heare a bone gnawne under their table: and we see few men but are much troubled at that sharpe, harsh, and teeth-edging noise that smiths make in filing of brasse, or scraping of iron and steele together: others will be offended if they but heare one chew his meat somewhat aloud; nay, some will be angrie with or hate a man that either speaks in the nose or rattles in the throat. That piping prompter of Gracchus, who mollified, raised, and wound his masters voice whilst he was making orations at Rome; what good did he; if the motion and qualitie of the sound had not the force to move and efficacy to alter the auditories

judgement: Verily there is great cause to make so much ado, and keepe such a coyle about the constancie and firmnesse of this goodly piece, which suffers it selfe to be handled, changed, and turned by the motion and accident of so light a winde. The very same cheating and cozening that senses bring to our understanding, themselves receive it in their turnes. Our mind doth likewise take revenge of it, they lie, they cog, and deceive one another a vie. What we see and heare, being passionately transported by anger, we neither see nor heare it as it is.

Et solem geminum, et duplices se ostendere Thebas.

That two Sunnes doe appeare,
And double Thebes are there.

VIRG.
Æn.
l. iv.
470.

The object which we love seemeth much more fairer unto us then it is :

*Multimodis igitur pravos turpesque videmus
Esse in delitiis, summoque in honore vigere :*

LUCR. L
iv. 1147.

We therefore see that those, who many waies are
bad,
And fowle, are yet belov'd, and in chiefe honour
had ;

and that much fowler which we loath. To a pensive and heart-grieved man a cleare day seemes gloomie and duskie. Our senses are not onely altered, but many times dulled, by the passions of the mind. How many things see we, which we perceive not, if our mind be either busied or distracted elsewhere?

——— *in rebus quoque apertis noscere possis,
Si non advertas animum, proinde esse, quasi omni
Tempore semotæ fuerint, longèque remotæ.*

FR. 1.
303.

Ev'n in things manifest it may be scene,
If you marke not, they are, as they had beene
At all times sever'd farre, remooved cleane.

The soule seemeth to retire her selfe into the inmost parts, and ammuseth the senses faculties: so that both the inward and outward parts of man are full of weaknes and falshood. Those which have compared our life unto a dreame, have happily had more reason so to doe then they were aware. When we dreame, our soule liveth, worketh and exerciseth all her faculties, even and as much as when it waketh; and if more softly and obscurely, yet verily not so, as

that it may admit so great a difference as there is betweene a dark night and a cleare day: yea as betweene a night and a shadow: there it sleepeth, here it slumbreth: more or lesse they are ever darknesses, yea Cimmerian darknesses. We wake sleeping, and sleep waking. In my sleep I see not so cleare; yet can I never find my waking cleare enough, or without dimnesse. Sleepe also, in his deepest rest, doth sometimes bring dreames asleepe: but our waking is never so vigilant as it may clearely purge and dissipate the ravings or idle phantasies which are the dreames of the waking, and worse then dreames. Our reason and soule, receiving the phantasies and opinions, which sleeping seize on them, and authorising our dreames actions, with like approbation, as it doth the daies, why make we not a doubt whether our thinking and our working be another dreaming, and our waking some kind of sleeping? If the senses be our first judges, it is not ours that must only be called to counsell: for, in this facultie, beasts have as much (or more)

right as we. It is most certaine that some have their hearing more sharpe than man; others their sight; others their smelling; others their feeling, or taste. Democritus said that Gods and beasts had the sensitive faculties much more perfect than man. Now, betweene the effects of their senses and ours the difference is extreame. Our spettle cleanseth and drieth our sores, and killeth serpents.

Tantaque in his rebus distantia differitasque est,

Ut quod aliis cibus est, aliis fuat acre venenum.

Sæpe etenim serpens, hominis contacta saliva,

Disperit, ac sese mandendo conficit ipsa.

UCR. L.
v. 640.

There is such distance, and such difference in these things,

As what to one is meate, t'another poison brings.

For oft a Serpent toucht with spettle of a man

Doth die, and gnaw it selfe with fretting all he can.

What qualitie shall we give unto spettle, either according to us or according to the serpent? by which two senses shall we verifie its true essence, which we seeke for? Pliny saith that there are certaine sea-hares in India that to us are poison, and we bane to them: so that we die if we but touch

them ; now whether is man or the sea-hare poison ? Whom shall we beleewe, either the fish of man or the man of fish ? Some quality of the ayre infecteth man which nothing at all hurteth the oxe : some other the oxe, and not man : which of the two is, either in truth or nature, the pestilent quality ? Such as are troubled with the yellow jandise deeme all things they looke upon to be yellowish, which seeme more pale and wan to them then to us.

Lurida præterea fiunt quæcunque tuentur Arquati.

LUCR. l
iv. 333.

And all that jaundis'd men behold,
They yellow straight or palish hold.

Those which are sicke of the disease which phisitians call Hyposphagma, which is a suffusion of blood under the skin, imagine that all things they see are bloodie and red. Those humors that so change the sights operation, what know we whether they are predominant and ordinarie in beasts ? For we see some whose eyes are as yellow as theirs that have the jandise, others that have them all blood-shotten

with rednesse: it is likely that the objects collour they looke upon seemeth otherwise to them then to us: which of the two judgments shall be true? For it is not said that the essence of things hath reference to man alone. Hardnesse, whitenesse, depth, and sharpnesse, touch the service and concerne the knowledge of beasts as well as ours: Nature hath given the use of them to them as well as to us. When we winke a little with our eye, wee perceive the bodies we looke upon to seeme longer and outstretched. Many beasts have their eye as winking as we. This length is then happily the true forme of that body, and not that which our eyes give it, being in their ordinarie seate. If we close our eye above, things seeme double unto us:

Bina lucernarum florentia lumina flammis,

Et duplites hominum facies, et corpora bina.

The lights of candels double flaming then;

And faces twaine, and bodies twaine of men.

If our cares chance to be hindred by any thing, or that the passage of our hearing bee stopt, we receive the sound otherwise

then we were ordinarily wont. Such beasts as have hairie eares, or that in lieu of an eare have but a little hole, doe not by consequence heare that we heare, and receive the sound other then it is. We see at solemn shewes or in theatres that, opposing any collour'd glasse betweene our eyes and the torches light, whatsoever is in the roome seemes or greene, or yellow, or red unto us, according to the collour of the glasse.

*Et vulgò faciunt id lutea russaque vela,
Et ferruginea, cum magnis intenta theatris
Per malos volgata trabesque trementia pendent:
Namque ibi consessum caveat subter, et omnem
Scenai speciem, patrum matrumque deorumque
Inficiunt coguntque suo fluitare colore.*

LUCR. L
iv. 73.

And yellow, russet, rustic curtaines worke this feate
In common sights abroad, where over skaffold's
great,
Stretched on masts, spred over beames, they hang
still waving,
All the seates circuit there, and all the stages
braving,
Of fathers, mothers, Gods, and all the circled showe
They double-dye and in their colours make to flowe.

It is likely that those beasts eyes which

we see to be of divers collours, produce the apparances of those bodies they looke upon to be like their eyes. To judge the senses operation, it were then necessary we were first agreed with beasts, and then betweene our selves ; which we are not, but ever-and-anon disputing about that one seeth, heareth, or tasteth something to be other then indeed it is ; and contend as much as about any thing else, of the diversity of those images our senses report unto us. A yong child heareth, seeth, and tasteth otherwise, by natures ordinary rule, then a man of thirtie yeares ; and he otherwise then another of threescore. The senses are to some more obscure and dimme, and to some more open and quicke. We receive things differently, according as they are and seeme unto us. Things being then so uncertaine and full of controversie, it is no longer a wonder if it be told us that we may avouch snow to seeme white unto us ; but to affirme that it's such in essence and in truth, we cannot warrant ourselves : which foundation being so shaken, all

the science in the world must necessarily goe to wracke. What, doe our senses themselves hinder one another? To the sight a picture seemeth to be raised aloft, and in the handling flat: shall we say that muske is pleasing or no, which comforteth our smelling and offendeth our taste? There are hearbs and ointments which to some parts of the body are good, and to other some hurtfull. Honie is pleasing to the taste, but unpleasing to the sight. Those jewels wrought and fashioned like feathers or sprigs, which in impreses are called feathers without ends, no eye can discern the bredth of them, and no man warrant himselve from this deception, that on the one end or side it groweth not broder and broder, sharper and sharper, and on the other more and more narrow, especially being rouled about ones finger, when notwithstanding in handling it seemeth equal in bredth, and every where alike. Those who to encrease and aide their luxury were anciently wont to use perspective or looking glasses, fit to make the object they repre-

sented appeare very big and great, that so the members they were to use might, by that ocular increase, please them the more: to whether of the two senses yeilded they, either to the sight presenting those members as big and great as they wisht them, or to the feeling that presented them little and to be disdained? It is our senses that lend these diverse conditions unto subjects, when for all that the subjects have but one? as we see in the Bread we eat: it is but Bread, but one using it, it maketh bones, blood, flesh, haire, and nailes thereof:

*Vt cibus in membra atque artus cum diditur omnes
Disperit, atque aliam naturam sufficit ex se.*

CR. 1.
728.

As meate distributed into the members, dies,
Another nature yet it perishing supplies.

The moistnesse which the roote of a tree suckes becomes a trunke, a leafe, and fruite: And the aire being but one, applied unto a trumpet, becommeth diverse in a thousand sorts of sounds. Is it our senses (say I) who likewise fashion of diverse qualities those subjects, or whether they have them so and such? And upon this doubt, what may wee

conclude of their true essence? Moreover, since the accidents of sicknesse, of madnesse, or of sleepe, make things appeare other unto us then they seeme unto the healthie, unto the wise, and to the waking: is it not likely that our right seate and naturall humors have also wherewith to give a being unto things, having reference unto their condition, and to appropriate them to it selfe, as doe inordinate humors; and our health as capable to give them his visage as sicknesse? Why hath not the temperate man some forme of the objects relative unto himselfe as the intemperate: and shall not he likewise imprint his character in them? The distasted impute wallowishnes unto wine: the healthie, good taste; and the thirsty, brisknesse, relish, and dellicacie. Now our condition appropriating things unto it selfe, and transforming them to its owne humour: wee know no more how things are in sooth and truth; for nothing comes unto us but falsified and altered by our senses. Where the compasse, the quadrant, or the ruler are crooked,

all proportions drawne by them, and all the buildings erected by their measure, are also necessarily defective and imperfect. The uncertaintie of our senses yeelds what ever they produce, also uncertaine.

*Denique ut in fabrica, si prava est regula prima,
Normaque si fallax rectis regionibus exit,
Et libella aliquâ si ex parte claudicat hilum,
Omnia mendosè fieri, atque obstipa necessum est,
Prava, cubantia, prona, supina, atque absona tecta,
Iam ruere ut quædam videantur velle, ruântque
Prodita judiciis fallacibus omnia primis.
Hic igitur ratio tibi rerum prava necesse est,
Falsaque sit falsis quæcunque à sensibus orta est.*

FR. I.
514.

As in building, if the first rule be to blame,
And the deceitful squire erre from right forme and
frame,
If any instrument want any jot of weight,
All must needs faultie be, and stooping in their
height,
The building naught, absurd, upward and downe-
ward bended,
As if they meant to fall, and fall, as they intended;
And all this as betrayde
By judgements formost laid,
Of things the reason therefore needs must faultie
bee
And false, which from false senses drawes its
pedigree.

As for the rest, who shall bee a competent Judge in these differences? As wee said in controversies of religion, that we must have a judge enclined to either party, and free from partialitie, or affection, which is hardly to be had among Christians; so hapneth it in this: For if he be old he cannot judge of ages sense, himself being a party in this controversie: and so if he be yong, healthy, sicke, sleeping, or waking, it is all one: We had need of some body void and exempted from all these qualities, that without any preoccupation of judgement might judge of these propositions as indifferent unto him: by which accompt we should have a judge that were no man. To judge of the appearances that we receive of subjects, we had need have a judicatorie instrument: to verifie this instrument we should have demonstration; and to approve demonstration, an instrument: thus are we ever turning round. Since the senses cannot determine our disputation, themselves being so full of uncertainty, it must then be reason: and no reason can be established without another

reason: then are we ever going backe unto infinity. Our phantasie doth not apply it selfe to strange things, but is rather conceived by the interposition of senses; and senses cannot comprehend a strange subject; nay, not so much as their owne passions: and so, nor the phantasie, nor the apparence is the subject's, but rather the passion's only, and sufferance of the sense: which passion and subject are divers things: Therefore, who judgeth by apparences, judgeth by a thing different from the subject. And to say that the senses' passions referre the qualitie of strange subjects by resemblance unto the soule: How can the soule and the understanding rest assured of that resemblance, having of it selfe no commerce with forraigne subjects? Even as he that knowes not Socrates, seeing his picture, cannot say that it resembleth him. And would a man judge by apparences, be it by all it is impossible; for by their contraries and differences they hinder one another, as we see by experience. May it be that some choice apparences rule and

direct the others? This choice must be verified by another choice, the second by a third: and so shall we never make an end. In few, there is no constant existence, neither of our being, nor of the objects. And we and our judgement and all mortall things else do uncessantly rowle, turne and passe away. Thus can nothing be certainly established, nor of the one nor of the other; both the judging and the judged being in continuall alteration and motion. We have no communication with being; for every humane nature is ever in the middle betweene being borne and dying; giving nothing of it selfe but an obscure appearance and shadow, and an uncertaine and weake opinion. And if perhaps you fix your thought to take its being, it would be even as if one should go about to graspe the water: for, how much the more he shall close and presse that which by its owne nature is ever gliding, so much the more he shall loose what he would hold and fasten. Thus, seeing all things are subject to passe from one change to another, reason, which

therein seeketh a reall subsistence, findes her selfe deceived as unable to apprehend any thing subsistent and permanent: forso-much as each thing either commeth to a being, and is not yet altogether: or beginneth to dy before it be borne. Plato said that bodies had never an existence but indeed a birth, supposing that Homer made the Ocean Father, and Thetis Mother of the Gods, thereby to shew us that all things are in continuall motion, change and variation. As he sayeth, a common opinion amongst all the Philosophers before his time, only Parmenides excepted, who denied any motion to be in things of whose power he maketh no small accompt. Pythagoras that each thing or matter was ever gliding and labile. The Stoicks affirme there is no present time, and that which we call present is but conjoyning and assembling of future time and past. Heraclitus avereth that no man ever entered twice one same river; Epicharmus avoucheth that who ere while borrowed any money doth not now owe it; and that he who yesternight was

bidden to dinner this day, commeth to day unbidden : since they are no more themselves, but are become others ; and that one mortall substance could not twice be found in one self estate : for by the sodainesse and lightnesse of change sometimes it wasteth, and other times it assembleth ; now it comes and now it goes ; in such sort, that he who beginneth to be borne never comes to the perfection of being. For, this being borne commeth never to an end, nor ever stayeth as being at an end ; but after the seed proceedeth continually in change and alteration from one to another. As of mans seed there is first made a shapelesse fruit in the Mothers Wombe, then a shapen Childe, then being out of the Wombe, a sucking babe, afterward he becometh a ladde, then consequently a stripling, then a full growne man, then an old man, and in the end an aged decrepitate man. So that age and subsequent generation goeth ever undoing and wasting the precedent.

*Mutat enim mundi naturam totius ætas,
Ex alioque alius status excipere omnia debet,*

LEOP. 1.
v. 837.

*Nec manet vlla sui similis res, omnia migrant,
Omnia commutat natura et vertere cogit.*

Of th' universall world, age doth the nature change,
And all things from one state must to another range,
No one thing like it selfe remaines, all things doe
 passe,
Nature doth change, and drive to change, each
 thing that was.

And then we doe foolishly feare a kind
of death, whenas we have already past and
dayly passe to many others ; for, not only
(as Heraclitus said) the death of fire is a
generation of ayre : and the death of ayre
a generation of water : but also we may
most evidently see it in our selves. The
flower of age dieth, fadeth and fleeteth,
when age comes upon us, and youth endeth
in the flower of a full growne mans age :
child-hood in youth and the first age dieth
in infancie : and yesterday endeth in this
day, and to day shall die in to morrow.
And nothing remaineth or ever continueth
in one state. For to prove it, if we should
ever continue one and the same, how is it
then that now we rejoyce at one thing, and
now at another ? How comes it to passe

we love things contrary, or we hate them, or we love them, or we blame them? How is it that we have different affections, holding no more the same sense in the same thought? For it is not likely that without alteration we should take other passions, and what admitteth alterations, continueth not the same; and if it be not one selfe same, then it is not: but rather with being all one, the simple being doth also change, ever becoming other from other. And by consequence Natures senses are deceived and lie falsly; taking what appeareth for what is, for want of truly knowing what it is that is. But then what is it that is indeed? That which is eternall, that is to say, that which never had birth, nor ever shall have end; and to which no time can bring change or cause alteration. For time is a fleeting thing, and which appeareth as in a shadow, with the matter ever gliding, alwaies fluent without ever being stable or permanent; to whom rightly belong these termes, Before and After, and it Hath beene, or Shall be. Which at first sight doth manifestly shew

that it is not a thing which is : for it were great sottishnesse and apparent falsehood, to say that that is which is not yet in being, or that already hath ceased from being. And concerning these words, Present, Instant, Even now, by which it seemes that especially we uphold and principally ground the intelligence of time ; reason discovering the same doth forthwith destroy it : for presently it severeth it asunder and divideth it into future and past times as willing to see it necessarily parted in two. As much hapneth unto nature which is measured according unto time, which measureth her : for no more is there any thing in her that remaineth or is subsistent : rather all things in her are either borne or ready to be borne or dying. By means whereof it were a sinne to say of God, who is the only that is, that he was or shall be : for these words are declinations, passages, or vicissitudes of that which cannot last nor continue in being. Wherefore we must conclude, that only God is, not according to any measure of time, but according to an immoveable

and immutable eternity, not measured by time nor subject to any declination, before whom nothing is, nor nothing shall be after, nor more new nor more recent, but one really being: which by one onely Now or Present, filleth the Ever, and there is nothing that truly is but he alone: without saying he has bin or he shall be, without beginning and sans ending. To this so religious conclusion of a heathen man I will only add this word, taken from a testimony of the same condition, for an end of this long and tedious discourse, which might well furnish me with endlesse matter. "Oh, what a vile and abject thing is man (saith he) unlesse he raise himselfe above humanity!" Observe here a notable speech and a profitable desire; but likewise absurd. For to make the handfull greater than the hand, and the embraced greater than the arme, and to hope to straddle more than our legs length, is impossible and monstrous: nor that man should mount over and above himselfe or humanity; for he cannot see but with his owne eyes, nor take hold but

with his owne armes. He shall raise himself up, if it please God extraordinarily to lend him his helping hand. He may elevate himselfe by forsaking and renouncing his owne meanes, and suffering himselfe to be elevated and raised by meere heavenly meanes. It is for our Christian faith, not for his Stoicke vertue, to pretend or aspire to this divine Metamorphosis, or miraculous transmutation.

THE THIRTEENTH CHAPTER.

Of Judging of others' Death.

WHEN we judge of others assurance or boldnesse in death, which without all peradventure is the most remarkable action of humane life, great heed is to be taken of one thing, which is, that a man will hardly beleieve he is come to that point. Few men die with a resolution that it is their last houre; and nowher doth hopes deceit amuse us more. She never ceaseth to ring in our eares that others have been sicker and yet have not died; the cause is not so desperate as it is taken; and if the worst happen, God hath done greater wonders. The reason is, that we make too much account of our selves. It seemeth that the generality of things doth in some sort suffer for our annulation, and takes compassion of our state. Forsomuch as our sight, being altered, represents unto itselfe things alike; and we imagine that things faile it as it

doth to them : As they who travell by sea, to whom mountaines, fields, townes, heaven and earth, seeme to goe the same motion, and keepe the same course they doe :

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
iii. 72.

Provehimur portu, terræque urbésque recedunt.
We sayling launch from harbour, and
Behinde our backes leave townes, leave land.

Who ever saw old age that commended not times past, and blamed not the present, charging the world and mens customes with her misery and lowring discontent ?

LUCR. 1.
ii. 113.

*Sânque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator,
Et cum tempora temporibus præsentia confert
Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis
Et crepat antiquum genus ut pietate repletum.*

The gray-beard Plow-man sighes, shaking his hoarie head,
Compares times that are now with times past heretofore,
Praises the fortunes of his father long since dead,
And crackes of ancient men, whose honesty was more.

We entertaine and carry all with us : Whence it followeth that we deeme our death to be some great matter, and which

passeth not so easily, nor without a solemne consultation of the Starres : *Tot circa unum caput tumultuantes Deos* : “So many Gods keeping a stirre about one mans life.” And so much the more we thinke it, by how much the more we praise ourselves. What? should so much learning and knowledge be lost with so great dammage, without the Destinies particular care! A soule so rare and exemplar, costs it no more to be killed than a popular and unprofitable soule? This life that covereth so many others, of whom so many other lives depend, that for his use possesseth so great a part of the world and filleth so many places, is it displaced as that which holdeth by its owne simple string? No one of us thinkes it sufficient to be but one. Thence came those words of Cæsar to his pilot, more proudly swolne than the sea that threatned him :

——— *Italiam si, cælo authore, recusas,
Me pete ; sola tibi causa hæc est iusta timoris,
Vectorem non nosse tuum ; perrumpe procellas
Tutelâ secure mei :*

LUCAN.
l.iii. 579.

If Italie thou doe refuse with heaven thy guide,
 Turne thee to me : to thee only just cause of feare
 Is that thy passinger thou know'st not : stormie
 tide

Breake through, secure by guard of me, whom thou
 dost beare.

And these :

—— *credit jam digna pericula Cæsar*
Fatis esse suis : tantusque evertere (dixit)
Me superis labor est, parva quem puppe sedentem.
Tam magno petiere mari.

LUCAN.
 l.iii. 652.

Cæsar doth now beleeve those dangers worthie are
 Of his set fate ; and saies, doe Gods take so much
 pain

Me to undoe, whom they thus to assault prepare
 Set in so small a skiffe, in such a surging maine ?

And this common foppery that Phœbus
 for one whole year bare mourning weedes
 on his forehead for the death of him :

Ille etiam extincto miseratus Cæsare Romam,
Cum caput obscura nitidum ferrugine texit.

VIRG.
 Georg. i
 456.

The Sunne did pittie take of Rome when Cæsar dide,
 When he his radiant head in obscure rust did hide.

And a thousand such werewith the world
 suffers it selfe to be so easily conicatcht,
 deeming that our owne interests disturbe

heaven, and his infinite is moved at our least actions. *Non tanta cælo societas nobiscum est, ut nostro fato mortalis sit ille quoque siderum fulgor* : “There is no such societie betweene heaven and us, that by our destinie the shining of the starres should be mortall as we are.” And to judge a resolution and constancie in him, who though he be in manifest danger, doth not yet beleeve it, it is no reason: and it sufficeth not that he die in that ward, unlesse he have directly and for that purpose put himselfe into it: it hapneth that most men set a sterne countenance on the matter, looke big, and speake stoutly, thereby to acquire reputation, which, if they chance to live, they hope to enjoy. Of all I have seene die, fortune hath disposed their countenances, but not their disseignes. And of those which in ancient times have put themselves to death, the choice is great, whether it were a sodaine death or a death having time and leasure. That cruell Romane Emperor said of his prisoners, that he would make them feele death: and if any

PLIN.
N. Hist.
ii. 8.

fortuned to kill himselfe in prison, that fellow had escaped me (would he say). He would extend and linger death, and cause it be felt by torments.

*Vidimus et toto quamvis in corpore cæso,
Nil animæ lethale datum, morèmq; nefandæ
Durum sævitæ, pereuntis parcere morti.*

LUCAN.
l. ii. 179.

And we have seene, when all the body tortur'd lay,
Yet no stroke deadly giv'n, and that in humane
way
Of tyranny, to spare his death that sought to die.

Verily, it is not so great a matter, being in perfect health and well settled in mind, for one to resolve to kill himselfe : It is an easy thing to show stoutnesse and play the wag before one come to the pinch. So that Heliogabalus, the most dissolute man of the world, amidst his most riotous sensualities, intended, whensoever occasion should force him to it, to have a daintie death. Which, that it might not degenerate from the rest of his life, he had purposely caused a stately towre to be built, the nether part and forecourt whereof was floored with boards richly

set and enchased with gold and precious stones, from off which he might headlong throw himselfe downe: He had also caused cordes to be made of gold and crimson silke, therewith to strangle himselfe; and a rich golden rapier to thrust himselfe through, and kept poison in boxes of Emeraldes and Topases, to poison himselfe with, according to the humor he might have, to chuse which of these deaths should please him.

Impiger et fortis virtute coactâ.

A ready minded gallant,
And in first vallour valiant.

Notwithstanding, touching this man, the wantonnesse of his preparation makes it more likely that he would have fainted had he beene put to his triall. But even of those who most undantedly have resolved themselves to the execution, we must consider (I say) whether it were with a life ending stroke, and that tooke away any leasure to feele the effect thereof. For it is hard to guesse seeing life droope away little by little, the bodies-feeling entermingling it selfe with the soules,

meanes of repentance being offered, whether in so dangerous an intent, constancie or obstancie were found in him. In Cæsars civill warres, Lucius Domitius taken in Prussia, having empoysoned himselfe, did afterwards rue and repent his deede. It hath hapned in our daies that some having resolved to die, and at first not stricken deepe enough, the smarting of his flesh, thrusting his arme backe, twice or thrice more wounded himselfe anew, and yet could never stricke sufficiently deepe. Whilst the arraignment of Plantius Silvanus was preparing, Vrgulania, his grandfather, sent him a poignard, wherewith, not able to kill himselfe thoroughly, he caused his owne servants to cut his veines. Albucilla, in Tiberius time, purposing to kill herselfe, but striking over faintly, gave her enemies leasure to apprehend and imprison her, and appoint her what death they pleased. So did Captaine Demosthenes after his discomfiture in Sicilie. And C. Fimbria having over-feeble wounded himselfe, became a sutor to his boy to make an end of him. On the

other side, Ostorius, who forsomuch as he could not use his owne arme, disdained to employ his servants in any other thing but to hold his dagger stiffe and strongly; and taking his running, himselfe carried his throate to its point, and so was thrust through. To say truth, it is a meate a man must swallow without chewing, unlesse his throat be frostshod. And therefore Adrianus the Emperour made his Physitian to marke and take the just compasse of the mortall place about his pap, that so his aime might not faile him, to whom he had given charge to kill him. Loe why Cæsar being demanded, which was the death he most allowed, answered, "The least premeditated, and the shortest." If Cæsar said it, it is no faintnesse in me to beleeve it. "A short death (saith Plinie) is the chiefe happe of humane life." It grieveth them to acknowledge it. No man can be said to be resolved to die that feareth to purchase it, and that cannot abide to looke upon and out-stare it with open cies. Those which in times of execution are seene to runne to their end, and

hasten the execution, do it not with resolution, but because they will take away time to consider the same ; it grieves them not to be dead, but to die.

Emori nolo, sed ma esse mortuum, nihil aestimo.

I would not die too soone,
But care not, when 'tis doone.

Cic.
Tusc. Qu.
l. i.

It is a degree of constancie unto which I have experienced to arive, as those that cast themselves into danger, or into the sea, with closed eies. In mine opinion there is nothing more worthy the noting in Socrates life, then to have had thirty whole daies to ruminare his deaths decree, to have digested it all that while, with an assured hope, without dismay or alteration, and with a course of actions and words rather suppress, and loose-hanging, then out-stretched and raised by the weight of such a cogitation. That Pomponius Atticus, to whom Cicero writeth, being sicke, caused Agrippa, his sonne in lawe, and two or three of his other friends, to be called for, to whom he said, that having assaid how he got nothing in

going about to be cured, and what he did to prolong his life did also lengthen and augment his griefe, he was now determined to make an end of one and other; intreating them to allow of his determination, and that by no meanes they would lose their labour to diswade him from it. And having chosen to end his life by abstinence, his sicknesse was cured by accident. The remedy he had employed to make himselfe away brought him to health again. The Physitians and his friends, glad of so happy a successe, and rejoycing thereof with him, were in the end greatly deceived; for, with all they could do, they were never able to make him alter his former opinion, saying that as he must one day passe that careire, and being now so forward, he would remove the care another time to beginne againe. This man having with great leasure apprehended death, is not only no whit discouraged when he comes to front it, but resolutely falls upon it: for being satisfied of that for which he was entred the combate, in a braverie he thrust himselfe into it, to see

the end of it. It is farre from fearing death to goe about to taste and savour the same. The historie of Cleanthes, the Philosopher, is much like to this. His gummes being swolne, his Physitians perswaded him to use great abstinence. Having fasted two daies, he was so well amended, as they told him he was well, and might returne to his wonted course of life. He contrarily having already tasted some sweetnes in this fainting, resolveth not to drawe back, but to finish what he had so well begunne, and was so farre waded into. Tullius Marcellinus, a yong Romane gentleman, willing to prevent the houre of his destiny, to ridde himselfe of a disease which tormented him more than he would endure, although Physitians promised certainly to cure him, howbeit not sodainely: called his friends unto him to determine about it: some (saith Seneca) gave him that counsell, which for weaknesse of heart themselves would have taken; others for flatterie, that which they imagined would be most pleasing unto him; but a certaine Stoike standing by, said thus unto him:

“Toile not thy selfe, Marcellinus, as if thou determinedst some weightie matter : to live is no such great thing, thy base groomes and bruit beasts live also, but it is a matter of consequence to die honestly, wisely and constantly. Remember how long it is ; thou doest one same thing, to eate, to drinke, and sleepe ; to drinke, to sleepe, to eate. Wee are ever uncessantly wheeling in this endlesse circle. Not only bad and intolerable accidents, but the very satiety to live, brings a desire of death.” Marcellinus had no need of a man to counsell, but of one to helpe him : his servants were afraid to meddle with him ; but this Philosopher made them to understand that familiars are suspected onely when the question is, whether the maisters death hath beene voluntary : otherwise it would bee as bad an example to hinder him as to kill him, forasmuch as,

Inuitum qui servat, idem facit occidenti.

Who saves a man against his will
Doth ev'n as much as he should kill.

HOR.
Art.
Poet.
467.

Then he advertized Marcellinus, that it

would not be unseemely, as fruit or confets at our tables, when our bellies be full, are given unto by-standers, so, the life ended, to distribute something to such as have beene the ministers of it. Marcellinus, being of a frank and liberal disposition, caused certaine summes of mony to be divided amongst his servants, and comforted them. And for the rest there needed neither yron nor blood; he undertooke to depart from this life, not by running from it: not to escape from death, but to taste it. And to have leisure to condition or bargaine with death, having quit all manner of nourishment, the third day ensuing, after he had caused himselfe to be sprinkled over with luke-warme water, by little and little he consumed away; and (as he said) not without some voluptuousnesse and pleasure. Verily, such as have had these faintings and sownings of the heart, which proceed from weaknesse, say that they feele no paine at all in them, but rather some pleasure, as of a passage to sleepe and rest. These are premeditated and digested deaths. But that Cato alone

may serve to all examples of vertue, it seemeth his good destiny caused that hand wherewith he gave himselfe the fatall blow to be sicke and sore: that so hee might have leisure to affront death and to embrace it, reenforcing his courage in that danger in lieu of mollifieing the same. And should I have represented him in his proudest state, it should have beene all bloody-gored, tearing his entraile, and rending his gutts, rather then with a sword in his hand, as did the statuaries of his time. For this second murther was much more furious then the first.

THE FOURTEENTH CHAPTER.

How that our Spirit hindereth itselfe.

IT is a pleasant imagination to conceive a spirit justly ballanced betweene two equall desires. For, it is not to be doubted, that he shall never be resolved upon any match: forsomuch as the application and choise brings an inequality of prise: And who should place us betweene a bottle of wine and a gammon of bacon, with an equall appetite to eat and drinke, doubtlesse there were noe remedy, but to die of thirst and of hunger. To provide against this inconvenient, when the Stoikes were demanded whence the election of two indifferent things commeth into our soule (and which causeth that from out a great number of Crownes or Angells we rather take one then another, when there is no reason to induce us to preferre any one before others), they answer, that this motion of the soule is extraordinarie and irregular, comming into

us by a strange, accidentall and casuall impulsion. In my opinion, it might rather be said that nothing is presented unto us, wherein there is not some difference, how light so ever it bee: And that either to the sight, or to the feeling, there is ever some choice, which tempteth and drawes us to it, though imperceptible and not to bee distinguished. In like manner, hee that shall presuppose a twine-thrid equally strong all-through, it is impossible by all impossibilitie that it breake, for, where would you have the flaw or breaking to beginne? And at once to breake in all places together, it is not in nature. He who should also adde to this, the Geometricall propositions which, by the certaintie of their demonstrations, conclude the contained greater then the containing, and the centre as great as his circumference; and that finde two lines uncessantly approaching one unto another, which yet can never meete and joyne together; and the Philosophers stone, and quadrature of the circle, where the reason and the effects are so opposite: might per-

adventure draw thence some argument to
salve and helpe this bold speech of Pliny:
*Solum certum, nihil esse certi, et homine
nihil miserius aut superbius:* "This only
is sure, that there is nothing sure; and
nothing more miserable, and yet more
arrogant then man."

PLIN.
Nat.
Hist.
l. ii. 7.

THE FIFTEENTH CHAPTER.

That our Desires are increased by Difficultie.

THERE is no reason but hath another contrary unto it, saith the wisest party of Philosophers. I did erewhile ruminare upon this notable saying, which an ancient writer alleageth for the contempt of life. No good can bring us any pleasure, except that against whose losse we are prepared: *In æquo est, dolor amissæ rei, et timor amittendæ*: “Sorrow for a thing lost, and feare of losing it, are on an even ground.” Meaning to gaine thereby, that the fruition of life cannot perfectly be pleasing unto us, if we stand in any feare to lose it. A man might nevertheles say, on the contrary part, that we embrace and claspe this good so much the harder, and with more affection, as we perceive it to be lesse sure, and feare it should be taken from us. For, it is manifestly found, that as fire is rouzed up by the assistance of cold, even so

SEN.
Epist.
xcviii.

our will is whetted on by that which doth resist it.

OVID.
Amor. l.
ii. El.
xix. 27.

*Si nunquam Danaen habuisset aenea turris,
Non esset Danae de Iove facta parens.*

If Danae had not beene clos'd in brazen Tower,
Jove had not clos'd with Danae in golden shower.

And that there is nothing so naturally opposite to our taste as satiety, which comes from ease and facility, nor nothing that so much sharpneth it as rarenesse and difficulty. *Omnium rerum voluptas ipso quo debet fugare periculo crescit*: "The delight of all things encreaseth by the danger, whereby it rather should terrifie them that affect it."

MART. l.
iv. Epig.
xxxviii.

Gallo nega ; satiatur amor, nisi gaudia torquent.

Good wench, deny, my love is cloied,
Unlesse joyes grieve, before enjoyed.

To keepe love in breath and longing, Lycurgus ordained that the married men of Lacedemonia might never converse with their wives but by stealth, and that it should be as great an imputation and shame to finde them laid together, as if they were found

lying with others. The difficulty of assignations or matches appointed, the danger of being surprised, and the shame of ensuing to-morrow,

———*et languor, et silentium,
Et latere petitus imo spiritus.*

And whispering voice, and languishment,
And breath in sighes from deepe sides sent.

HOR.
Epod.
xi. 13.

are the things that give relish and tartnesse to the sawce. How many most lasciviously-pleasant sports proceed from modest and shamefast manner of speech, of the daliances and workes of love? Even voluptuousnesse seekes to provoke and stirre itselfe up by smarting. It is much sweeter when it itcheth, and endeared when it gauleth. The curtezan Flora was wont to say that she never lay with Pompey but she made him carry away the markes of her teeth.

*Quod petiere, premunt arcté, faciuntque dolorem
Corporis, et dentes inlidunt sæpe labellis:
Et stimuli subsunt, qui instigant lædere id ipsum
Quodcumque est, rabies unde illi germina surgunt.*

LUCR. 1.
iv. 1070.

So goes it every where: rarenesse and difficulty giveth esteeme unto things. Those

of Marca d'Ancona, in Italy, make their vowes, and goe on pilgrimage rather unto Iames in Galicia, and those of Galicia rather unto our Lady of Loreto. In the country of Liege they make more account of the Bathes of Luca ; and they of Tuscany esteeme the Baths of Spawe more than their owne. In Rome the Fence-schooles are ever full of Frenchmen, when few Romans come unto them. Great Cato, as well as any else, was even cloied and distasted with his wife so long as she was his owne, but when another mans, then wished he for her, and would faine have lickt his fingers at her. I have heretofore put forth an old stalion to soile, who before did no sooner see or smell a mare but was so lusty that no man could rule him, nor no ground hold him ; ease and facilitie to come to his owne when he list, hath presently quailed his stomacke, and so cloyed him that he is weary of them. But toward strange mares, and the first that passeth by his pasture, there is no hoe with him, but suddenly he returnes to his old wonted neighings and furious heate. Our

appetite doth contemne and passe over what he hath in his free choice and owne possession, to runne after and pursue what he hath not.

Transuolat in medio posita, et fugientia captat.

It over flies what open lies,
Pursuing onely that which flies.

HOR.
Ser. I. i.
Sat. ii.
107.

To forbid us anything is the ready way to make us long for it.

———*nisi tu servare puellam
Incipis, incipiet desinere esse mea.*

If you begin not your wench to enshrine,
She will begin to leave off to be mine.

OVID.
Amor.
l. ii.
El. xix.
47.

And to leave it altogether to our will is but to breede dislike and contempt in us. So that to want and to have store breedeth one selfe same inconvenience.

Tibi quod super est, mihi quod desit, dolet.

You grieve because you have too much ;
It grieves me that I have none such.

TER.
Phor.
act. i. sc.
3.

Wishing and enjoying trouble us both alike. The rigor of a mistris is yrkesome, but ease and facility (to say true) much more ; forasmuch as discontent and vexation

proceed of the estimation we have of the thing desired, which sharpen love and set it afire. Whereas satiety begets distaste: it is a dull, blunt, weary, and drouzy passion.

DVID.
Amor.
l. ii. *El.*
xix. 33.

Si qua volet regnare diu, contemnat amantem,

If any list long to beare sway,
Scorne she her lover, ere she play.

———*contemnite amantes,*

Sic hodie veniet, si qua negavit heri.

PRO-
PERT. l.
ii. *El.*
xiv. 19.

Lovers your lovers scorne, contemne, delude,
deride;
So will shee come to-day, that yesterday denied.

Why did Poppea devise to maske the beauties of her face, but to endear them to her lovers? Why are those beauties veiled downe to the heeles, which all desire to shew, which all wish to see? Why doe they cover with so many lets, one over another, those parts where chiefly consisteth our pleasure and theirs? And to what purpose serve those baricadoes and verdugalles wherewith our women arme their flankes, but to allure our appetite, and enveagle us to them by putting us off?

Et fugit ad salices, et se cupit ante videri.

She to the willows runs to hide,
Yet gladly would she first be spide.

Interdum tunica duxit operta moram.

She cover'd with her cote in play,
Did sometime make a short delay.

VIRG.

Buco.

Ecl. iii.

65.

PRO-

PERT. 1.

ii. *Eleg.*

xv. 6.

Whereto serves this mayden-like bashfulness, this willfull quaintnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things which they know better than our selves, that goe about to instruct them, but to increase a desire and endear a longing in us to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure to dispose all this squeamish ceremonie, and all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not only a delight but a glory to besot and debauch this dainty and nice sweetness, and this infantine bashfulness, and to subject a marble and sterne gravity to the mercy of our flame. It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty, chastity and temperance: and who disswadeth ladies from these parts, betraieeth both them and himselfe. It is to be supposed that their heart yerneth for feare, that the sound of

our wordes woundeth the purity of their eares, for which they hate us, and with a forced constraint agree to withstand our importunitie. Beauty with all her might hath not wherewith to give a taste of her selfe without these interpositions. See in Italie, where most, and of the finest beauty is to be sold, how it is forced to seek other strange meanes, and suttle devices, arts and tricks, to yeeld her selfe pleasing and acceptable: and yet in good sooth, doe what it can, being venal and common, it remaineth feeble, and even languishing. Even as in vertue of two equall effects, we hold that the fairest and worthiest, wherein are proposed more lets, and which affordeth greater hazards. It is an effect of Gods providence, to suffer his holy Church to be vexed and turmoyled as we see with so many troubles and stormes, to rouze and awaken by this opposition and strife the golly and religious soules, and raise them from out a lethall security and stupified slumber, wherein so long tranquillity had plunged them. If we shall counterpoize the losse we have

had by the number of those that have strayed out of the right way, and the profit that acrueth unto us, by having taken hart of grace, and by reason of combate raised our zeale and forces; I wot not whether the profit doth surmount the losse. We thought to tie the bond of our marriages the faster by remooving all meanes to dissolve them, but by how much faster that of constraint hath bin tyed, so much more hath that of our will and affection beene slacked and loosed: Whereas, on the contrary side, that which so long time held mariages in honour and safety in Rome, was the liberty to break them who list. They kept their wives the better, forsomuch as they might leave them; and when divorces might freely be had, there past five hundred years and more before any would ever make use of them.

Quod licet, ingratum est, quod non licet, acrius urit.

What we may doe, doth little please:

It woormes us more, that hath lesse ease.

OVID.

Amor.

l. ii. *El*

xix. 3.

To this purpose might the opinion of an ancient writer be adjoynded, that torments

do rather encourage vices than suppress them; that they beget not a care of well-doing, which is the worke of reason and discipline, but only a care not to be surprized in doing evill.

Latius excisæ pestis contagia serpunt.

Th' infection of the plague nigh spent
And rooted out, yet further went.

I wot not whether it be true, but this I know by experience, that policie was never found to be reformed that way. The order and regiment of maners dependeth of some other meane. The Greeke stories make mention of the Agrippians neighbouring upon Scithia, who live without any rod or staffe of offence, where not onely no man undertakes to buckle with any other man but whosoever can but save himselfe, there (by reason of their vertue and sanctity of life) is as it were in a Sanctuary: And no man dares so much as touch him. Many have recourse to them, to attone and take up quarrels and differences, which arise amongst men else where. There is a nation where

the inclosure of gardens and fields they intend keepe severall, are made with a seely twine of cotton, which amongst them is found to be more safe and fast than are our ditches and hedges. *Furem signata sollicitant, Aperta effractarius præterit*: "Things sealed up sollicite a thief to break them open: Whereas a common burglayer will passe by quietly things that lie open." Amongst other meanes, ease and facility doth haply cover and fence my house from the violence of civill wares: Inclosure and fencing drawe on the enterprise, and distrust, the offence. I have abated and weakened the souldiers designe by taking hazard and all means of military glory from their exploite, which is wont to serve them for a title, and stead them for an excuse. What is performed couragiously, at what time justice lieth dead, and law hath not her due course, is ever done honourably. I yeeld them the conquest of my house dastardly and treacherous. It is never shut to any that knocketh. It hath no other guardian or provision but a porter, as an

SEN.
Epist
lxi.

ancient custome, and used ceremony, who serveth not so much to defend my gate as to offer it more decently and courteously to all comers. I have nor watch nor sentinell but what the starres keepe for mee. That gentleman is much to blame who makes a shew to stand upon his garde, except he be very strong indeed. Who so is open on one side is so every where. Our fore-fathers never dreamed on building of frontire townes and castles.

The meanes to assaile (I meane without battery and troopes of armed men) and to surprise our houses, encrease daily beyond the meanes of garding or defending. Mens wits are generally exasperated and whetted on that way. An invasion concerneth all, the defence none but the rich. Mine was sufficiently strong, according to the times when it was made. I have since added nothing unto it that way; and I would feare the strength of it should turne against my selfe. Seeing a peaceable time will require we shall unfortifie them. It is dangerous not to be able to recover them

agaïne, and it is hard for one to be assured of them. For concerning intestine broils, your owne servant may be of that faction you stand in feare of. And where religion serveth for a pretence, even alliances and consanguinitie become mistrustful under colour of justice. Common rents cannot entertaine our private garrisons. They should all be consumed. We have not werewith, nor are wee able to doe it without our apparent ruine, or more incommodiously and therewithall injuriously without the common peoples destruction. The state of my losse should not be much worse. And if you chance to be a looser, your owne friends are readier to accuse your improvidence and unhedinesse than to moane you, and excuse your ignorance and carelesnesse concerning the offices belonging to your profession. That so many strongly-garded houses have been lost, whereas mine continueth still, makes me suspect they were overthrowne onely because they were so diligently garded. It is that which affoordeth a desire and minis-

treth a pretence to the assailant. All gards beare a shew of warre, which if God be so pleased may light upon me. But so it is, I will never call for it. It is my sanctuary or retreat to rest my selfe from warres. I endeavour to free this corner from the publike storme, as I doe another corner in my soule. Our warre may change forme and multiply and diversifie how and as long as it list, but for my selfe I never stirre. Amongst so many barricaded and armed houses, none but my selfe (as farre as I know) of my qualitie hath merely trusted the protection of his unto the heavens: for I never removed neither plate, nor hangings, nor my evidences. I will neither feare nor save my selfe by halfes. If a full acknowledgement purchaseth the favour of God, it shall last me for ever unto the end: if not, I have continued long enough to make my continuance remarkeable and worthy the registering. What, is not thirtie yeares a goodly time?

THE SIXTEENTH CHAPTER.

Of Glory.

THERE is both name, and the thing: the name is a voice which noteth and signifieth the thing: the name is neither part of thing nor of substance: it is a stranger-piece joyned to the thing and from it. God who in and by himselfe is all fulnesse, and the type of all perfection, cannot inwardly be augmented or encreased: yet may his name be encreased and augmented by the blessing and praise which we give unto his exteriour workes; which praise and blessing, since we cannot incorporate into him, forsomuch as no accession of good can be had unto him, we ascribe it unto his name, which is a part without him, and the nearest unto him. And that is the reason why glory and honour appertaineth to God only. And there is nothing so repugnant unto reason as for us to goe about to purchase any for our selves: for being

inwardly needy and defective, and our essence imperfect and ever wanting amendment, we ought only labour about that. We are all hollow and empty, and it is not with breath and words we should fill our selves. We have need of a more solide substance to repaire our selves. An hunger starved man might be thought most simple rather to provide himselfe of a faire garment then of a good meales-meat: we must runne to that which most concerneth us.

Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus: "Glory be to God on high, and peace on earth amongst men," as say our ordinary prayers. We are in great want of beautie, health, wisdome, vertue, and such like essentiall parts. Exteriour ornaments may be sought for when we are once provided of necessary things. Divinitie doth very amply and pertinently treat of this subject, but I am not very conversant with it. Chrysippus and Diogenes have beene the first and most constant authors of the contempt of glory. And amongst all sensualities, they said, there was none so

Luke ii.
14.

dangerous nor so much to be avoided as that which commeth unto us by the approbation of others. Verily experience makes us thereby feele and undergoe many damageable treasons. Nothing so much empoisoneth princes as flattery. Nor nothing whereby the wicked minded gaine so easie credit about them ; nor any enticement so fit, nor pandership so ordinary to corrupt the chastity of women, then to feed and entertaine them with their praises. The first enchantment the Syrens employed to deceive Ulisses is of this nature.

Deça vers nous, deça, o treslouable Ulisse,

Et le plus grand honneur dont la Grece fleurisse.

Turne to us, to us turne, Ulisses thrice-renowned,
The principall renowne wherewith all Greece is
crowned.

Philosophers said that all the worlds glory
deserved not that a man of wisdom
should so much as stretch forth his finger
to acquire it.

Gloria quantalibet quid erit, si gloria tantum est?

Never so glorious name,
What ist, be it but fame?

JUVEN.
Sat. vii.
81.

I say for it alone: for it draws many commodities after it, by which it may yeeld it selfe desirable: it purchaseth us good will: it makes us lesse exposed to others injuries and offences, and such like things. It was also one of the principall degrees of Epicurus: for that precept of his sect, HIDE THY LIFE, which forbideth men to meddle with public charges and negotiations, doth also necessarily presuppose that a man should despise glory, which is an approbation the world makes of those actions we give evidence of. He that bids us to hide our life and care but for our selves, and would not have us know of others, would also have us not to be honoured and glorified thereby. So doth he counsel Idomeneus by no meanes to order his actions by the vulgar opinion and publike reputation: unlesse it be to avoide other accidentall incommodities which the contempt of men might bring unto him. Those discourses (are in mine advise) very true and reasonable: but I wot not how we are double in our selves, which is the cause

that what we beleeve we beleeve it not, and cannot rid our selves of that which we condemne. Let us consider the last words of Epicurus, and which he speaketh as he is dying: they are notable and worthy such a Philosopher: but yet they have some badge of his names commendations, and of the humour which by his precepts he had disavowed. Behold here a letter which he edited a little before he yeelded up the ghost. “Epicurus to Hermachus, health and greeting: Whilst I passe the happy, and even the last day of my life, I write this, accompanied neverthesse with such paine in my bladder and anguish in my entrails, that nothing can be added unto the greatnesse of it; yet was it recompensed with the pleasure which the remembrance of my inventions and discourses brought unto my soule. Now as requireth the affection which even from the infancy thou hast borne me and Philosophy, embrace the protection of Metrodorus his children.” Loe here his letter. And which makes me interpret that the pleasure which in his soule

he saith to feele of his inventions, doth in some sort respect the reputation which after his death he thereby hoped to attaine, is the ordinance of his last will and testament, by which he willeth that Aminomachus and Timocrates his heires should for the celebration of his birth-day every month of January supply all such charges as Hermachus should appoint: and also for the expence he might be at on the twentieth of every moon for the feasting and entertainment of the Philosophers his familiar friends, who in the honour of his memorie and of Metrodorus should meete together. Carneades hath been chiefe of the contrary opinion, and hath maintained that glory was in it selfe to bee desired, even as we embrace our posthumes for themselves, having neither knowledge nor jovissance of them. This opinion hath not missed to be more commonly followed as are ordinarily those that fit most and come nearest our inclinations. Aristotle amongst externall goods yeeldeth the first ranke unto it: and avoideth as two extreme vices the

immoderation either in seeking or avoiding it. I beleeve that had we the bookes which Cicero writ upon this subject, we should heare strange matters of him : for he was so fond in this passion as had he dared he would (as I thinke) have easily falne into the excesse that others fell in ; which is that even vertue was not to be desired but for the honour which ever waited on it :

*Paulum sepultæ distat inerticæ
Celata virtus.*

There is but little difference betweene
Vertue conceal'd, unskilfulnesse unseene.

HOR.
Car. 1.
iv. Od.
ix. 29.

Which is so false an opinion, as I am vexed it could ever enter a mans understanding that had the honour to beare the name of a philosopher. If that were true, a man needed not to be vertuous but in publike : and we should never need to keepe the soules operations in order and rule, which is the true seate of vertue, but only so much as they might come to the knowledge of others. Doth then nothing else belong unto it. but craftily to faile, and subtilly to

cozen? If thou knowest a serpent to be hidden in any place (saith Carneades) to which he by whose death thou hopest to reape commodity goeth unawares to sit upon, thou committest a wicked act if thou warne him not of it: and so much the more because thy action should be knowne but to thy selfe. If we take not the law of wel-doing from our selves: if impunity be justice in us: to how many kindes of treacherie are we daily to abandon our selves? That which Sp. Peduceus did, faithfully to restore the riches which C. Plotius had committed to his only trust and secrecie, and as my selfe have done often, I thinke not so commendable, as I would deeme it execrable, if we had not done it. And I thinke it beneficiall we should in our daies be mindfull of Publius Sextillus Rufus his example, whom Cicero accuseth that he had received a great inheritance against his conscience: not only not repugnant, but agreeing with the lawes. And M. Crassus and Q. Hortensius, who by reason of their authority and might, having for certaine

Quidities been called by a stranger to the succession of a forged will, that so he might make his share good : they were pleased not to be partakers of his forgery, yet refused not to take some profit of it : very closely had they kept themselves under the countenance of the accusations, witnesses, and lawes. *Meminerint Deum se habere testem, id est (ut ego arbitror) mentem suam :* “ Let them remember they have God to witnesse, that is (as I construe it) their owne minde.” Vertue is a vaine and frivolous thing if it draw her commendation from glory. In vaine should we attempt to make her keepe her rancke apart, and so should we disjoyne it from fortune : for what is more casuall then reputation ? *Profecto fortuna in omnire dominatur : Ea res cunctas ex libidine magis quam ex vero celebrat obscuratque :* “ Fortune governeth in all things, and either advanceth or abaseth them rather by forward disposition then upright judgement.” To make actions to be knowne and seene, is the meere worke of fortune. It is chance that applieth glory unto us, according to

her temeritie. I have often seene it to goe before desert; yea, and many times to outgoe merit by very much. He that first bethought himselfe of the resemblance betweene shadow and glory, did better than he thought of. They are exceeding vaine things. It also often goeth before her body, and sometimes exceeds by much in length. Those who teach nobilitie to seeke in valour nothing but honour: *Quasi non sit honestum quod nobilitatum non sit*: "As though it were not honest except it were ennobled:" what gaine they by it? But to instruct them never to hazard themselves unlesse they be seen of others; and to be very heedy whether such witnesses are by that may report newes of their valour, whereas a thousand occasions to doe well are daily offered, and no man by to marke them? How many notable particular actions are buried in the throng of a battell? Whosoever ammuseth himselfe to controle others, in so confused a hurly-burly, is not greatly busied about it: and produceth the testimony which he giveth of his fellowes pro-

ceedings or exploits against himselfe. *Vera et sapiens animi magnitudo, honestum illud quod maxime naturam sequitur, in factis positum, non in gloria indicat:* "A true and wise magnanimitie esteemeth that honesty which especially followeth Nature, to consist in good actions and not in glory." All the glory I pretend in my life is, that I have lived quietly. Quietly, not according to Metrodorus, Arcesilas, or Aristippus, but according to my selfe. Since philosophy could never find any way for tranquillity that might be generally good, let every man in his particular seeke for it. To whom are Cæsar and Alexander behold- ing for that infinite greatnes of their re- nowre, but to fortune? How many men hath she suppressed in the beginning of their progresse, of whom we have no know- ledge at all, who bare the same courage that others did, if the ill fortune of their chance had not staid them even in the building of their enterprises? Amongst so many and so extreame dangers (to my re- membrance) I never read that Cæsar received

any hurt. A thousand have dyed in lesse danger than the least of those he escaped. Many worthy exploits and excellent deedes must be lost before one can come to any good. A man is not alwaies upon the top of the breach, nor in the front of an army, in the sight of his generall, as upon a stage. A man may be surprised betweene a hedge and a ditch. A man is sometimes put to his sodaine shifts, as to try his fortune against a hens-roost, to ferret out foure seely shotte out of some barne, yea and sometimes straggle alone from his troupes; and enterprise according as necessity and occasion offereth it selfe. And if it be well noted (in mine advice) it will be found, and experience doth teach it, that the least blazoned occasions are the most dangerous, and that in our late home-warres, more good men have perished in slight and little importing occasions, and in contention about a small cottage, than in worthy atchievements and honourable places. Whoso thinketh his death ill employed, except it be in some glorious exploit or famous

attempt, in lieu of dignifying his death, he happily obscureth his life: suffering in the meane time many just and honor-affording opportunities to escape, wherein he might and ought adventure himselfe. And all such occasions are glorious enough; his owne conscience publishing them sufficiently to all men. *Gloria nostra est testimonium conscientiae nostrae*: "Our glory is the testimony of our conscience." He that is not an honest man but by that which other men know by him, and because he shall the better be esteemed; being knowne to be so, that will not do well but upon condition his vertue may come to the knowledge of men; such a one is no man from whom any great service may be drawne, or good expected.

*Credo ch'il resto di quel verno, cose
 Facesse degne di tenerne conto,
 Ma fur fin' a quel tempo si nascose,
 Che non è colpa mia s'hor' non le conto,
 Perche Orlando a far' opre virtuose
 Piu ch' à narrarle poi sempre era pronto;
 Ne mai fu alcun' de li suoi fatti espresso,
 Senon quando hebbe i testimonii appresso.*

2 Cor. i.
 12; Aug.
 Hom.
 XXXV.

ARIOS-
 TO, *Orl.*
 cant. xi.
 stan. 81.

I guesse, he of that winter all the rest
 Atchiev'd exploits, whereof to keepe account,
 But they untill that time were so suppress,
 As now my fault 'tis not, them not to count,
 Because Orlando ever was more prest
 To doe, than tell deeds that might all surmount.
 Nor was there any of his deeds related
 Unlesse some wisse were associated.

A man must goe to warres for his devoirs
 sake, and expect this recompence of it,
 which cannot faile all worthy actions, how
 secret soever; no not to vertuous thoughts:
 it is the contentment that a well disposed
 conscience receiveth in itselſe by well doing.
 A man must be valiant for himselfe and for
 the advantage he hath to have his courage
 placed in a constant and assured seate, to
 withstand all assaults of fortune.

*Virtus repulsæ nescia sordidæ,
 Intaminatis fulget honoribus:
 Nec sumit aut ponit secures
 Arbitrio popularis auræ.*

Vertue unskill'd to take repulse that's base,
 In undefil'd honors clearely shines,
 At the dispose of peoples airy grace
 She signes of honor tak's not, nor resignes.

It is not only for an exterior shew or

ostentation that our soule must play her part, but inwardly within our selves, where no eyes shine but ours : there it doth shroud us from the feare of death, of sorrowes and of shame : there it assureth us from the losse of our children, friends, and fortunes ; and when opportunitie is offerd, it also leades us to the dangers of warre. *Non emolumento aliquo, sedi, psius honestatis decore:* “Not for any advantage, but for the gracefulness of honestie it selfe.” This benefit is much greater, and more worthie to be wished and hoped then honor and glory, which is nought but a favorable judgement that is made of us. We are often driven to empanell and select a jury of twelve men out of a whole countrie, to determine of an acre of land : And the judgement of our inclinations and actions (the waightiest and hardest matter that is) we referre it to the idle breath of the vaine voice of the common sort and base raskalitie, which is the mother of ignorance, of injustice and inconstancie. Is it reason to make the life of a wise man depend on the

Cic. Fin.
l. l.

ÆLIAN.
Var.
Hist. l.
ii. c. 1.

judgement of fooles? *An quidquam stultius, quam quos singulos contempnas, eos aliquid putare esse universos?* “Is there anything more foolish then to thinke that al together they are oughts, whom every one single you would set at noughts?” Whosoever aimeth to please them hath never done: It is a Butt, that hath neither forme nor holdfast. *Nil tam inestimabile est, quam animi multitudinis:* “Nothing is so incomprehensible to be just waied, as the minds of the multitude.” Demetrius said merrily of the common peoples voice, that he made no more reckoning of that which issued from out his mouth above, then of that which came from a homely place below; and saith moreover: *Ego hoc judico, si quando turpe non sit, tamen non esse non turpe, quum id à multitudine laudetur:* “Thus I esteem of it, if of it selfe it be not dishonest, yet can it not but be dishonest, when it is applauded be the many.” No art, no mildnesse of spirit might direct our steps to follow so stragling and disordered a guide. In this breathie confusion of bruites and

CIC. Fin.
Ten. l. ii.

frothy Chaos of reports and of vulgar opinions, which still push us on, no good course can be established. Let us not propose so fleeing and so wavering an end unto our selves. Let us constantly follow reason: And let the vulgar approbation follow us that way. If it please: And as it depends all on fortune, we have no law to hope for it, rather by any other way then by that. Should I not follow a strait path for its straightnesse, yet would I do it because experience hath taught me that in the end it is the happiest and most profitable. *Dedit hoc providentia hominibus munus ut honesta magis juvarent*: "Mans providence hath given him this gift, that honest things should more delight and availe him." The ancient Sailer said thus to Neptune in a great storme, "Oh God, thou shalt save me if thou please, if not, thou shalt lose me; yet will I keep my helme still fast." I have in my daies seene a thousand middle, mungrell and ambiguous men, and whom no man doubted to be more worldly-wise than my selfe,

lose themselves where I have saved my selfe.

OVID.
Epist.
Penel.
v. 18.

Risi successu posse carere dolos.

I smild to see that wily plots
Might want successe (and leave men sots).

Paulus Æmilius going to the glorious expedition of Macedon, advertized the people of Rome during his absence not to speake of his actions: for the licence of judgements is an especial let in great affaires. Forasmuch as all men have not the constancy of Fabius against common, contrary and detracting voices; who loved better to have his authority dismembred by mens vaine fantasies, then not to performe his charge so well, with favourable and popular applause. There is a kind of I know not what naturall delight that man hath to heare himselfe commended, but wee yeeld too-too much unto it.

*Laudari haud metuam, neque enim mihi cornea fibra
est,
Sed recti finemque extremumque esse recuso
Euge tuum et belle*

Nor feare I to be prais'd, for my guttes are not
horne,
But that the utmost end of good should be, I scorne,
Thy O well said, well done, well plaid.

I care not so much what I am with others,
as I respect what I am in my selfe. I will
bee rich by my selfe and not by borrowing.
Strangers see but external apparances and
events: every man can set a good face
upon the matter, when within he is full of
care, grieffe and infirmities. They see not
my heart when they looke upon my out-
ward countenance. There is great reason
the hypocrisie that is found in war should
be discovered: for, what is more easie in a
man of practise then to finch in dangers
and to counterfeit a gallant and a boaster
when his heart is full of faintnesse and
ready to droope for feare? There are so
many waies to shunne occasions for a man
to hazard himselfe in particular, that we
shall have deceived the world a thousand
times before we need engage our selves into
any perillous attempt; and even when wee
find our selves entangled in it, wee shall

not want skill how to cloake our sport with a good face, stearne countenance, and bold speeches; although our heart doe quake within us. And hee that had the use of the Platonickall Ring, whose vertue was to make him invisible that wore it upon his finger, if it were turned toward the flat of the hand; many would hide themselves when they should most make shewe of their worth, and would be sorie to be placed in so honourable a place where necessity may be their warrant of safetie.

HOR. l. i.
Epist.
xvi. 39.

*Falsus honor iuvat, et mendax infamia terret
Quem, nisi mendosum et mendacem?*

False honour tickles; false defame affrights,
Whom, but the faulty, and false-fierd sprights?

See how all those judgements that men make of outward apparances are wonderfully uncertaine and doubtfull, and there is no man so sure a testimony, as every man is to himselfe: How many horse-boyes have we in them as parteners and companions of our glory? He that keeps his stand in an open trench, what doth he more, but divers poore pioners doe as much

before him, who open the way for him, and with their bodies shelter him for poore sixpence a day, and happily for lesse ?

——— *non quicquid turbida Roma
Elevet, accedas, examénque improbum in illa
Castiges trutinâ, nec te quæsiveris extra.*

PERS.
Sat. 5.

If troublous Rome set ought at naught, make you
not one,
Nor chastise you unjust examination
In balance of their lode :
Nor seeke your selfe abroad.

We call that a magnifying of our name, to extend and disperse the same in many mouthes ; we will have it to be received in good part, and that its increase redound to his benefit : this is al that is most excusable in its desseigne. But the infirmity of its excesse proceeds so farre that many labour to have the world speake of them, howsoever it be. Trogus Pompeius saith of Herostratus, and Titus Livius of Manlius Capitolinus, that they were more desirous of great then good reputation. It is an ordinary fault ; we endeavour more that men should speake of us, then how and

what they speake, and it sufficeth us that our name run in mens mouthes, in what manner soever. It seemeth that to be knowen is in some sort to have life and continuance in other mens keeping. As for me I hold that I am but in my selfe; and of this other life of mine which consisteth in the knowledge of my friends, being simply and barely considered in my selfe, well I wot, I neither feele fruite or jovissance of it, but by the vanitie of fantastick opinion. And when I shall be dead, I shall much lesse have a feeling of it: And shall absolutely lose the use of true utilities which sometimes accidentally follow it: I shall have no more fastnesse to take hold on reputation, nor whereby it may either concerne or come unto mee. For, to expect my name should receive it. First, I have no name that is sufficiently mine: of two I have, the one is common to all my race, yea and also to others. There is a family at Paris and another at Montpellier called Montaigne, another in Britany, and one in Naintonge, surnamed de la Montaigne.

The removing of one onely syllable may so confound our webbe, as I shall have a share in their glory, and they perhaps a part of my shame. And my Ancestors have heretofore beene surnamed Higham or Eyquem, a surname which also belongs to a house well knowen in England. As for my other name, it is any bodies that shall have a minde to it. So shall I happily honour a Porter in my stead. And suppose I had a particular marke or badge for my selfe, what can it marke when I am no more extant? May it desseigne or favour inanity?

——— *nunc leviôr cippus non imprimit ossa?*
Laudat posteritas; nunc non è Manibus illis,
Nunc non è tumulo fortunataque favillâ
Nascuntur violæ?

PERS.
 Sat. i. 37.

Doth not the grave-stone on such bones sit light?
 Posterity applaudes: from such a spright,
 From such a tombe, from ashes blessed so,
 Shall there not violets (in cart-lodes) grow?

But of this I have spoken elsewhere. As for the rest, in a whole battell, where ten thousand are either maymed or slaine, there

are not peradventure fifteene that shall be much spoken off. It must be some eminent greatnes, or important consequence that fortune hath joyned unto it to make a private action prevaile, not of a meane shot alone, but of a chieftaine: for to kill a man or two or tenne; for one to present himselfe undantedly to death, is indeed something to every one of us in particular: for a mans free-hold goes on it: But in regarde of the world they are such ordinary things, so many are daily seene, and so sundry alike must concurre together to produce a notable effect, that wee can looke for no particular commendation by them.

—— *casus multis hic cognitus, ac iam
Tritus, et è medio fortunæ ductus acervo.*

JUVEN.
Sat. xiii.
9.

This case is knowne of many, worne with nothing,
Drawne from the midle heape of fortunes doting.

Of so many thousands of wortheie-valiant men, which fifteene hundred yeares since have died in France with their weapons in hand, not one hundred have to come to our knowledge: The memory not onely of the Generals and Leaders, but also of the

battels and victories lieth now low-buried in oblivion. The fortunes of more than halfe the world, for want of a register, stirre not from their place, and vanish away without continuance. Had I all the unknowne events in my possession, I am perswaded I might easily supplant those that are knowne in all kindes of examples. What of the Romanes themselves, and of the Græcians, amongst so many writers and testimonies, and so infinit rare exploits and matchles examples, how are so few of them come to our notice ?

Ad nos vix tenuis famæ perlabitur aura.

Scarcely to us doth passe
Fames thin breath, how it was.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
vii. 646.

It shall be much, if a hundred yeares hence the civill warres which lately we have had in France, be but remembered in grosse. The Lacedemonians, as they were going to their battles, were wont to sacrifice unto the Muses, to the end their deedes might be well written and worthily registred ; deeming it a divine favor and unusuall

grace, that noble actions might finde testimonies able to give them life and memory. Thinke we that at every shot that hits us, or at every dangerous attempt we runne into, to have a clarke present to enrole it: And besides, it may be that a hundred clarkes shall write them, whose commentaries shall not continue three daies, and shall never come to anybodys sight. We have but the thousandth part of ancient writings: It is Fortune, which according to her favor gives them either shorter or longer life; and what we have, we may lawfully doubt of, whether it be the worse, since we never saw the rest. Histories are not written upon every small trifle: It is requisite that a man have beene conqueror of an Empire or of a Kingdome; a man must have obtained two and fiftie set battles, and ever with a lesser number of men, as Caesar did. Tenne thousand good-fellowes, and many great captaines have died most valiantly and coragiously in pursuite of her, whose names have continued no longer then their wives and children lived:

—— *quos fama obscura recondit.*

Whom fame obscure before
Layes up in unknowne store.

VIRG.
Æn. l.
v. 292.

Even of those whom we see to doe excellently well, if they have but once continued so three months, or so many yeares, there is no more speech of them then if they had never bin. Whosoever shall in due measure proportion and impartially consider, of what kinde of people, and of what deedes the glory is kept in the memory of bookes, he shall finde there are few actions and very few persons that may justly pretend any right in them. How many vertuous men have we seene to survive their owne reputation, who even in their presence have seen the honor and glorie which in their young daies they had right-justly purchased to be cleane extinguished? And doe we for three yeares of this fantastick and imaginarie life lose and foregoe our right and essentiall life, and engage our selves in a perpetuall death? The wiser sort propose a right-fairer and much more just end unto themselves, to so urgent and

weighty an enterprise. *Rectè facti, fecisse merces est: Officii fructi, ipsum officium est:* "The reward of well-doing is the doing, and the fruit of our duty is our duty." It might peradventure be excusable in a Painter or other artificer, or also in a Rhetorician or Gramarian, by his labours to endeavor to purchase a name: But the actions of vertue are themselves too-too noble to seeke any other reward then by their own worth and merit, and especially to seeke it in the vanity of mans judgement. If this false-fond opinion doe notwithstanding serve and stead a common wealth to hold men in their dutie: if the people be thereby stirred up to vertue: if Princes be any way touched to see the world blesse and commend the memorie of Trajan, and detest the remembrance of Nero: if that doth moove them to see the name of that arch-villaine, heretofore so dreadfull and so much redoubted of all, so boldly cursed and so freely outraged by the first scholer that undertakes him: Let it hardly be increased, and let us (as much as in us lieth) still foster

the same amongst ourselves. And Plato employing all meanes to make his Citizens vertuous, doth also perswade them not to contemne the peoples good estimation. And saith that through some divine inspiration it commeth to passe that even the wicked know often, as well by word as by opinion, how to distinguish justly the good from the bad. This man, together with his master, are wonderfull and bold workmen to joyne divine operations and revelations wheresoever humane force faileth. And therefore did perventure Timon (deeming thereby to wrong him) surname him the great forger of miracles. *Vt tragici poetae confugiunt ad Deum, cum explicare argumenti exitum non possunt:* "As Poets that write Tragedies have recourse to some God when they cannot unfold the end of their argument." Since men by reason of their insufficiencie cannot well pay themselves with good lawfull coine, let them also employ false money. This meane hath bene practised by all the law-givers: And there is no common wealth where there is

Cic. Nat.
Deor. l. i.

not some mixture either of ceremonious vanity or of false opinion, which as a restraint serveth to keepe the people in awe and dutie. It is therefore that most of them have such fabulous grounds and trifling beginnings, and enriched with supernatural mysteries. It is that which hath given credit unto adulterate and unlawfull religions, and hath induced men of understanding to favour and countenance them. And therefore did Numa and Sertorius, to make their men have a better believe, feed them with this foppery : the one, that the Nymph Egeria, the other that his white Hinde, brought him all the counsels he tooke from the Gods. And the same authoritie which Numa gave his lawes under the title of this Goddesses patronage, Zoroaster, Law-giver to the Bactrians and Persians, gave it to his, under the name of the God Oromazis. Trismegistus, of the Ægyptians, of Mercury : Zamolzis, of the Scythians, of Vesta : Charondas, of the Chaldeonians, of Saturne : Mimos, of the Candiots, of Jupiter : Lycurgus, of the

Lacedemonians, of Apollo: Dracon and Solon, of the Athenians, of Minerva. And every common wealth hath a God to her chiefe: al others falsly, but that truly which Moses instituted for the people of Jewry descended from Ægypt. The Bedoins religion (as saith the Lord of Jouinvile) held among other things that his soule which among them all died for his Prince, went directly into another more happy body much fairer and stronger than the first: by means whereof they much more willingly hazarded their lives for his sake.

*In ferrum mens prona viris, animæque capaces
Mortis: et ignavum est redituræ parcere vitæ.*

Those men sword minded, can death entertaine,
Thinke base to spare the life that turnes againe.

LUCAN.
L. i. 461.

Loe here, although very vaine, a most needfull doctrine and profitable believe. Everie Nation hath store of such examples in its selfe. But this subject would require a severall discourse. Yet to say a word more concerning my former purpose: I do not counsell Ladies any longer to call their duty honour: *Vt enim consuetudo loquitur, id*

solum dicitur honestum, quod est populari famâ gloriosum: "For as custome speakes, that only is called honest which is glorious by popular report." Their duty is the marke; their honour but the barke of it. Nor do I perswade them to give us this excuse of their refusall in payment; for I suppose their intentions, their desire, and their will, which are parts wherein honour can see nothing, forasmuch as nothing appeareth outwardly, there are yet more ordered then the effects.

OVID.
Amor. l.
iii. El.
iv. 4.

Quæ, quia non liceat, non facit, illa facit.

She doth it, though she do it not,
Because she may not doe't (God wot).

The offence both toward God and in conscience would be as great to desire it as to effect the same. Besides, they are in themselves actions secret and hid; it might easily be, they would steale some one from others knowledge, whence honour dependeth, had they no other respect to their duty and affection which they beare unto chastity, in regard of it selfe. Each honorable person chuseth rather to lose his honour then to forgoe his conscience.

THE SEVENTEENTH CHAPTER.

Of Presumption.

THERE is another kinde of glory, which is an over-good opinion we conceive of our worth. It is an inconsiderate affection, wherewith wee cherish our selves, which presents us unto our selves other then we are. As an amorous passion addeth beauties and lendeth graces to the subject it embraceth, and maketh such as are therewith possessed, with a troubled conceit and distracted judgement, to deeme what they love, and finde what they affect, to bee other, and seeme more perfect, then in trueth it is. Yet would I not have a man, for feare of offending in that point, to mis-acknowledge himselfe, nor thinke to bee lesse then hee is : A true judgement should wholly and in every respect mainetaine his right. It is reason, that as in other things, so in this subject he see what truth presenteth unto him. If he be Cæsar, let him

boldly deeme himselfe the greatest Captaine of the world. We are nought but ceremonie; ceremonie doth transport us, and wee leave the substance of things; we hold-fast by the boughs, and leave the trunke or body. Wee have taught ladies to blush, onely by hearing that named which they nothing feare to doe. Wee dare not call our members by their proper names, and feare not to employ them in all kind of dissolutenese. Ceremonie forbids us by words to expresse lawfull and naturall things; and we beleeve it. Reason willeth us to doe no bad or unlawfull things, and no man giveth credit unto it. Here I find my selfe entangled in the lawes of Ceremonie, for it neither allowes a man to speake ill or good of himselfe. Therefore will wee leave her at this time. Those whom fortune (whether we shall name her good or bad) hath made to passe their life in some eminent or conspicuous degree, may by their publike actions wnesse what they are; but those whom she never employed but in base things, and of whom no man shall ever speake, except themselves

doe it, they are excusable if they dare speake of themselves to such as have interest in their acquaintance, after the example of Lucilius :

*Ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim
Credebat libris : neque si male cesserat, usquam
Decurrens aliò, neque si bene : quo fit, ut omnis
Votivâ pateat veluti descripta tabella
Vita senis.*

HOR.
Ser. l. ii.
Sat. i. 30.

He trusted to his booke, as to his trusty friend
His secrets, nor did he to other refuge bend,
How ever well, or ill, with him his fortune went.
Hence is it, all the life is seene the old man spent,
As it were in a Table noted,
Which were unto some God devoted.

This man committed his actions and imaginations to his paper, and as he felt, so he pourtraied himselfe. *Nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra fidem, aut obtrectationi fuit:* "Nor was that without credit, or any imputation to Rutilius or Scaurus." I remember then, that even from my tenderest infancy, some noted in me a kind of I know not what fashion in carrying of my body and gestures, witnessing a certaine vaine and foolish fiercenesse. This I will first say of it, that it is not inconvenient to

CORN.
TACIT.
Vit. Jul.
Agric.

have conditions so peculiar, and propensions so incorporated in us, that we have no meane to feele, or way to know them. And of such naturall inclinations, unknowne to us, and without our consent, the body doth easily retaine some signe or impression. It was an affectation witting of his beauty, which made Alexander to bend his head a little on one side, and Alcibiades, his speech somewhat effeminate and lisping: Iulius Cæsar was wont to scratch his head with one finger, which is the countenance of a man surcharged with painefull imaginations: and Cicero (as I remember) had gotten a custome to wryth his nose, which signifieth a naturall scoffer. Such notions may unawares and imperceptibly possesse us. Others there be which are artificiall, whereof I will not speake. As salutations, reverences, or conges, by which some doe often purchase the honour (but wrongfully) to be humble, lowly, and courteous: a man may be humble through glory. I am very prodigall of cappings, namely in Summer, and I never receive any from what quality of

men soever, but I give them as good and as many as they bring, except he be some servant of mine. I wish that some Princes whom I know would be more sparing and impartiall dispensers of them, for, being so indiscreetly employed, they have no force at all: If they be without regard, then are they without effect. Amongst disordered countenances, let us not forget the sterne looke of Constantius the Emperour, who in publike held ever his head bolt-upright, without turning or bending the same on any side, no not so much as to looke on them that saluted him sideling, holding his body so fixt and unmoveable, that let his coche shake never so much, he kept still up-right: he durst never spit nor wipe his nose nor drie his face before the people. I wot not whether those gestures which were noted in me were of this first condition, and whether in truth I had any secret propension to this fault, as it may well be: and I cannot answer for the motions of my body. But concerning those of the soule, I will here ingenuously confesse what I thinke of them.

There are two parts in this glory : which is to say, for a man to esteeme himselfe overmuch, the other, not sufficiently to esteeme of others. For the one, first me thinks these considerations ought somewhat to be accompted of. I feele my selfe surcharged with one errour of the mind, which both as bad, and much more as importunate, I utterly dislike. I endeavour to correct it; but I cannot displace it. It is, because I abate the just value of those things which I possesse; and enhance the worth of things by how much they are more strange, absent and not mine owne. This humor extends it selfe very farre, as doth the prerogative of the authority, wherewith husbands looke upon their owne wives with a vicious disdain, and many fathers upon their children: so doe I, and betweene two like workes would I ever weigh against mine. Not so much that the jealousie of my preferment, and amendment troubleth my judgement, and hindereth me from pleasing my selfe, as that mastery her self begets a contempt of that which a man possesseth and oweth.

Policies, far customes and tongues flatter me ; and I perceive the Latine tongue by the favour of her dignity to deceive me, beyond what belongs unto her, as children and the vulgar sort. My neighbours economie ; his house, and his horse, though but of equall value, is more worth then mine by how much more it is not mine owne. Besides, because I am most ignorant in mine owne matters, I admire the assurance, and wonder at the promise that every man hath of himselfe : whereas there is almost nothing that I wot I know, nor that I dare warrant my selfe to be able to doe. I have not my faculties in proposition or by estate, and am not instructed in them but after the effect : as doubtfull of mine owne strength, as uncertaine of anothers force. Whence it followeth, if commendably I chance upon any one piece of worke, I rather impute it to my fortune, then ascribe it to mine industry ; forasmuch as I designe them all to hazard and in feare. Likewise I have this in generall, that of all the opinions which Antiquity hath had of men in grose, those

which I most willingly embrace, and whereon I take most hold, are such as most vilifie, condemne, and annihilate us. Me thinks Philosophy hath never better cardes to shew then when she checketh our presumption, and crosseth our vanity; when in good sooth she acknowledgeth her irresolution, her weaknesse and her ignorance. Me seemeth the over good conceit and selfe-weening opinion man hath of himselfe, is the nurse-mother of the falsest opinions, both publike and particular. Those which a cocke-horse will perch themselves upon the Epicicle of Mercury, and see so farre into heaven, they even pull out my teeth. For in the study which I professe, the subject whereof is Man, finding so extreme a varietie of judgements, so inextricable a labyrinth of difficulties one upon the necke of another, so great diversitie, and so much uncertaintie, yea even in the schoole of wisdom it selfe: you may imagine since those men could never be resolved of the knowledge of themselves and of their owne condition, which is continually before their

eyes, which is ever within them ; since they know not how that moveth, which themselves cause to move, nor how to set forth the springs, and decipher the wards, which themselves hold and handle, how should I thinke of the true cause of the flux and reflux of the river Nilus? The curiosity to know things hath beene given to men (as saith the holy Scripture) for a scourge. But to come to my particular, it is very hard (mee seemeth) that some other regardeth him selfe lesse, yea and some other esteemeth me lesse then I esteeme my selfe. I accompt my selfe of the common sort, except in that I deeme my selfe guiltie of the basest and culpable most popular defects: but not disavowed nor excused. And I only prise my selfe wherein I know my worth. If any glory be in me, it is but superficially infused into me ; by the treason of my complexion : and hath no solide body appearing to the sight of my judgement. I am but sprinkled over, but not thoroughly dyed. For in truth, touching the effects of the spirit in what manner soever, there never came any

thing from me that contented me. And others approbation is no current payment for me. My judgement is tender and hard, especially in mine owne behalf. I feele my self to waver and bend through weaknesse: I have nothing of mine owne to satisfie my judgement. My sight is indifferently cleare and regular; but if I take any serious worke in hand, it is troubled and dimmed: as I perceive most evidently in poesie: I love it exceedingly: I have some insight or knowledge in other mens labours, but in truth I play the novice when I set my hand unto it: then can I not abide my selfe. A man may play the foole every where else, but not in poesie:

HOR.
Art.
Poet.
372.

———*mediocribus esse poetis*

Non dii, non homines, non concessere, columne.

Nor Gods, nor men, nor pillars gave the graunt,
That Poets in a meane, should meanelly chaunt.

I would to God this sentence were found
in the front of our printers or stationers
shops, to hinder the entrance of so many
bald rimers.

MART.
l. xii.
Epig.
lxiv.

———*verum*

Nil securius est malo Poeta.

Nothing securer may be had,
Then is a Poet bold and bad.

Why have we no such people? Dionisius the father esteemed nothing in himselfe so much as his poesie. In the times of the Olimpikie games, with chariots exceeding all other in magnificence, he also sent poets and musitians to present his verses, with tents and pavillions gilt and most sumptuously tapistried. When they first beganne to rehearse them, the favour and excellencie of the pronounciation did greatly allure the peoples attention: but when they beganne to consider the fondnesse of the composition, they fell as soone to contemne them: and being more and more exasperated, fell furiously into an uproare, and headlong ranne in most spitefull manner to teare and cast downe all his pavillions. And forasmuch as his rich chariots did no good at all in their course, and the ship which carried his men, returning homeward, missed the shore of Sicilie, and was by violent stormes driven and spilt upon the coast of Tarentum, they certainly beleaved the wrath of the

Gods to have beene the cause of it, as being greatly offended both against him and his vile and wicked poeme: yea and the mariners themselves that escaped the shipwracke did much second the peoples opinion: to which the oracle that foretold his death seemed in some sort to subscribe: which implied that Dionysius should be neare his end, at what time he had vanquished those that should be of more worth than himselfe: which he interpreted to be the Carthaginians, who exceeded him in might. And having at any time occasion to fight or grapple with them, that he might not incurre the meaning of his prediction, he would often temper and avoide the victorie. But he mis-understood the matter, for the God observed the time of advantage, when as through partiall favour and injustice he obtained the victory over the tragicall poets of Athens, who were much better than he was, where he caused, in contention of them, his tragedie, entitled the Lenciens, to be publikely acted. After which usurped victorie, he presently deceased: and partly

through the excessive joy he thereby conceived. What I finde excusable in mine is not of it selfe and according to truth : but in comparison of other compositions, worse then mine, to which I see some credit given. I envie the good the happe of those which can applaude and gratifie themselves by their owne labours ; for it is an easie matter for one to please himselfe, since he drawes his pleasure from himselfe : especially if one be somewhat constant in his owne wilfulness. I know a poetaster, gainst whom both weake and strong, in company and at home, both heaven and earth, affirme and say he hath no skill or judgement in poesie. who for all that is nothing dismaied, nor will not abate one jote of that measure whereunto he hath fitted himselfe ; but is ever beginning againe, ever consulting anew, and alwaies persisting ; by so much the more fixed in his opinion by how much the more it concerneth him alone, and he only is to maintaine it. My compositions are so farre from applauding me, that as many times as I looke them over, so often am I vexed at them.

*Cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno,
Me quoque qui feci, judice, digna lini.*

OVID.
Pont. l.
i. c. vi.
15.

When I re-read, I shame I write ; for much I see,
My selfe, who made them, being judge blotted to
be.

I have ever an idea in my mind which presents me with a better forme then that I have alreadie framed ; but I can neither lay hold on it nor effect it. Yet is that idea but of the meaner stamp. I thereby conclude that the productions of those rich and great mindes of former ages are farre beyond the extreame extension of my wish and imagination. Their compositions doe not only satisfie and fill me, but they astonish and wrap me into admiration. I judge of their beauty, I see it, if not to the end, at least so farre as it is impossible for me to aspire unto it. Whatsoever I undertake (as Plutarke saith of one) I owe a sacrifice to the Graces, hoping thereby to gaine their favour.

———*si quid enim placet,
Si quid dulce hominum, sensibus influit,
Debentur lepidis omnia aratiis.*

If ought do please, if any sweet
 The sense of men with pleasures greet,
 To thank the Graces it is meet.

They altogether forsake me : what I doe, it is but bunglingly, and wants both polishing and beauty. I can rate them at no higher value then they are worth. My workmanship addeth no grace unto the matter. And that's the reason I must have it strong, with good holdfast, and shining of it selfe. If I chance to seize on any popular or more gay, it is to follow me, who love not a ceremonious prudence and gloomy wisdom, as doth the world ; and to glad my selfe, not my stile, who would rather have it grave and severe ; if at least I may call that a stile which is formelesse and abrupt speech ; a popular gibbrish, and a proceeding without definition, without partition, and sans conclusion, troubled as that of Amasanius and Rabirius. I am neither pleased, nor glad, nor tickled. The best tale in the world comming into my hands becomes withered and tarnished. I cannot speake but in good earnest, and am

altogether barren of that facility which I see in many of my companions, to entertaine commers, to keep a whole troupe in talk, to amuse a princes eares with all manner of discources and never to be weary, and never to want matter, by reason of the graces they have in applying their first approches, and fitting them to the humour and capacity of those they have to doe withall. Princes love not greatly serious and long discources, nor I to tell tales. The first and easiest reasons (which are commonly the best taken) I can neither employ nor make use of them. I am an ill orator to the common sort. I speake the utmost I know of all matters. Cicero thinks, in discources of philosophy, the exordium to be the hardest part: if it be so, I wisely lay hold on the conclusion. Yet should a man know how to turne his strings to all aires: and the sharpest comes ever last in play. There is at last as much perfection in raising up an empty as to uphold a weighty thing: a man must sometimes handle matters but superficially, and at other times dive into them. I wot well that

most men keep themselves on this low stage because they conceive not of things but by the outward shew. I also know that the greatest clarkes, yea Xenophon and Plato, are often seene to yeeld to this low and popular fashion, in speaking of matters, upholding it with those graces which they never want. As for the rest, my language hath neither facility nor fluency in it, but is harsh and sharpe, having free and un-sinnowy dispositions. And so it liketh me, if not by my judgement, yet by my inclination. But yet I perceive that sometimes I wade too farre into it, and that forcing my selfe to avoide art and affectation, I fall into it another way.

—— *brevis esse laboro :*

Obscurus fio.

To be short labour I ?

I darker grow thereby.

HOR.

Art.

Poet. 25

Plato saith, that either long or short are not properties that either diminish or give price unto speech. If I should undertake to follow this other smoothe, even and regular stile, I should never attaine unto it. And

although the cadences and breakings of Salust doe best agree with my humour, yet doe I finde Cæsar both greater and lesse easie to be represented. And if my inclination doth rather carrie mee to the imitation of Senecaes stile, I omit not to esteeme Plutarke much more. As well in silence as in speech, I am simply my naturall forme, whence happily ensueth that I am more in speaking than in writing. The motions and actions of the body give life unto words, namely, in them that move roundly and without affectation, as I doe, and that will be earnest. Behaviour, the face, the voice, the gowne, and the place, may somewhat endeare those things which in themselves are but meane, as prating. Messala complaineth in Tacitus of certaine strait garments used in his time, and discommendeth the fashion of the benches whereon the Orators were to speak, saying they weakened their eloquence. My French tongue is corrupted both in the pronounciation and elsewhere by the barbarisme of my country. I never saw men of these hither-countries

that did not evidently taste of his home-speech, and who often did not wound those eares that are purely French. Yet it is not because I am so cunning in my Perigordin : for I have no more use of it than of the Dutch, nor doe I greatly care. It is a language (as are many others round about me) like to that of Poitou, Xaintonge, Angoulesme, Limosin, and Auvergne, squat-tering, dragling, and filthie. There is about us, towards the mountaines, a Gascoine tongue, which I much commend and like, sinnowie, pithie, short, significant, and in truth man-like and military, more than any other I understand. As compendious, powerfull, and pertinent as the French is gracious, delicate, and copious. As for the Latine, which was given me for my mother-tongue, by reason of discontinuance, I have so lost the promptitude of it, as I cannot well make use of it in speech, and scarcely in writing, in which I have heretofore beene so ready, that I was called a master in it. Loe heere my little sufficiencie in that behalfe.

Beauty is a part of great commendation

in the commerce and societie of men. It is the chiefe meane of reconciliation betweene one and other. Nor is there any man so barbarous and so hard-hearted, that in some sort feeleth not himselve strucken with her sweetnes. The body hath a great part in our being, and therein keepes a speciall rancke. For his structure and composition are worthy due consideration. Such as goe about to sunder our two principall parts, are much to blame: they ought rather to be coupled and joyned fast together. The soule must be enjoyned not to retire her selfe to her quarter, nor to entertaine her selfe apart, nor to despise and leave the body (which she cannot well doe, except it be by some counterfained, apish tricke), but ought to combine and cling fast unto him, to embrace, to cherish, assist, correct, perswade, and advise him, and if hee chance to sway or stray, then to leade and direct him: In fine, she should wed and serve him instead of a husband, that so their effects may not seeme contrary and divers, but agreeing and uniforme. Chris-

tians have a particular instruction concerning this bond, for they know that Gods justice alloweth this society, and embraceth this conjunction of the body and soule, yea so farre as to make the body capable of everlasting rewards. And that God beholds the whole man to worke, and will have him entirely to receive either the punishment or the recompence, according to his demerits. The Peripatetike Sect (of all sects the most sociable) attributeth this onely care unto wisdom, in common to procure and provide the good of these two associated parts : and declareth other sects to have partialized overmuch, because they had given themselves to the full consideration of this commixture ; this one for the body, this other for the soule, with one like error and oversight, and had mistaken their subject, which is man ; and their guide, which in generall they avouched to be Nature. The first distinction that hath beene amongst men, and the first consideration that gave preheminences to some over others, it is very likely it was the advantage of beauty.

— *agros divisere atque dedere*

Pro facie cuiusque et viribus ingenioque:

Nam facies multum valuit, virisque vigeant.

LUCR. 1.
v. 11-20.

They lands divided, and to each man shared
As was his face, his strength, his wit compared,
For face and strength were then
Much prizèd amongst men.

I am of a stature somewhat under the meane. This default hath not only uncomlinesse in it, but also incommoditie: Yea even in those which have charge and commandement over others; for the authoritie which a faire presence and corporall majestie endoweth a man withal is wanting. Caius Marius did not willingly admit any Souldiers in his bands that were not six foot high. The Courtier hath reason to require an ordinary stature in the gentleman he frameth, rather than any other: and to avoid all strangenesse that may make him to be pointed at. But if he misse of this mediocritie, to chuse that he rather offend in lownes than in tallnes. I would not doe it in a militarie man. Little men, saith Aristotle, are indeed pretty, but not beauteous, nor goodly; and in greatnes

is a great soule knowne as is beauty in a great and high body. The Ethiopians and Indians, saith he, in chusing of their Kings and Magistrates, had an especiall regard to the beautie and tallnes of the persons. They had reason, for it breedeth an awfull respect in those that follow him, and a kinde of feare in his enemies, to see a goodly, tall, and handsome man march as chiefe and generall in the head of any armie, or front of a troupe :

*Ipse inter primos præstanti corpore Turnus
Vertitur, arma tenens, et toto vertice supra est.*

VIRG.
Æn. 1.
vii. 725.

Turnus, a goodly man, mongst them that led,
Stood arm'd, then all they higher by the head.

Our great, divine, and heavenly King, all whose circumstances ought with much care, religion, and reverence, to be noted and observed, hath not refused the bodies commendation. *Speciosus forma præ filiis hominum*: “In favor beautiful above the sonnes of men.” And Plato wisheth beautie to be joyned unto temperance and fortitude in the preservers of his Commonwealth. Is it not a great spite, if being

Ps. xlv.
3.

amongst your owne servants, a stranger commeth to yourselfe to ask you where your Lord or Master is? And that you have nothing but the remainder of a capping, which is as well put off to your Barber, or to your Secretarie? As it happened to poore Philopœmen, who having left his company behind, and comming alone into a house where he was expresly looked for, his hostess, who knew him not, and saw him to be so il-favored a fellow, employed him to help her maides draw water, and to mend the fire for the service of Philopœmen. The gentlemen of his traine being come and finding him so busily at work (for he failed not to fulfil his hostesses commandement), enquired of him what he did, who answered, "I pay the penaltie of my unhandsomnesse." Other beauties are for women. The beautie of a handsome comely tallnesse is the only beautie of men. Where lownesse and littlenesse is, neither the largenesse nor roundnesse of a forehead, nor the whitenesse nor lovelinesse of the eyes, nor the pretty fashion of a nose, nor the

slendernes of the eare, littlenesse of the mouth, order and whitenesse of teeth, smooth thicknesse of a beard, browne like a chesse-nut, well-curled and upstanding haire, just proportion of the head, freshnes of colour, the cheereful aspect of a pleasing face, the sweet-smelling of a body, nor the well decorated composition of all limmes, can make a handsome beauteous man. As for me, I am of a strong and well compacted stature, my face is not fat but full, my complexion betweene joviall and melancholy, indifferently sanguine and hot.

Vnde rigent setis mihi crura, et pectora villis:

Whereby my legs and brest,
With rough haire are opprest.

MART. l.
vi. Epig.
lvi. l.

My health is blith and lustie, though well-stroken in age, seldome troubled with diseases: Such I was, for I am now engaged in the approaches of age, having long since past over forty yeares.

—*minutatim vires et robur adultum
Frangit, et in partem pejorem liquitur ætas.*

By little and a little age breakes strength.
To worse and worse declining melts at length.

LUCR. l.
ii. 1140.

What hereafter I shall be will be but half a being. I shall be no more my selfe. I daily escape, and still steale my selfe from my selfe:

HOR. l.
ii. *Epist.*
li. 55

Singula de nobis anni prædantur euntes.

Yeares as they passe away,
Of all our things make prey.

Of addressing, dexteritie, and disposition, I never had any, yet am I the son of a well disposed father, and of so blithe and merry a disposition, that it continued with him even to his extreamest age. He seldome found any man of his condition, and that could match him in all exercises of the body; as I have found few that have not out-gone me, except it were in running, wherein I was of the middle sort. As for musicke, were it either in voice, which I have most harsh, and very unapt, or in instruments, I could never be taught any part of it. As for dancing, playing at tennis, or wrestling, I could never attaine to any indifferent sufficiencie, but none at all in swimming, in fencing, in vaulting, or in leaping. My hands are so stiffe and

nummie, that I can hardly write for my selfe, so that what I have once scribed, I had rather frame it a new than take the paines to correct it ; and I reade but little better. I perceiue how the auditorie censureth me ; otherwise I am no bad clarke. I cannot very wel close up a letter, nor could I ever make a pen. I was never good carver at the table. I could never make readie nor arme a horse ; nor handsomely array a hawke upon my fist, nor cast her off, or let her flie, nor could I ever speake to dogges, to birds, or to horses. The conditions of my body are, in fine, very well agreeing with those of my minde, wherein is nothing lively, but onely a compleate and constant vigor. I endure labour and paine, yet not very well, unlesse I carry my selfe unto it, and no longer than my desire leadeth and directeth me.

Molliter austerum studio fallente laborem,

While earnestnesse for sport or gaine,
Sweetly deceives the sowrest paine.

SER. I.
ii. Sat.
ii. 12.

Otherwise, if by any pleasure I be not

allured, and if I have other direction than my genuine and free will, I am nothing worth, and I can never fadge well: for I am at such a stay, that except for health and life, there is nothing I will take the paines to fret my selfe about, or will purchase at so high a rate as to trouble my wits for it, or be constrained thereunto.

———*Tanti mihi non sit opact*

Omnis arena Tagi, quodque in mare volvitur aurum :

So much I weigh not shadow Tagus sande,
Nor gold that rouses into the Sea from land.

I am extreamelie lazie and idle, and exceedingly free, both by nature and art. I would as willingly lend my blood as my care. I have a minde free and altogether her owne; accustomed to follow her owne humor. And to this day never had, nor commanding, nor forced master. I have gon as farre, and kept what pace pleased me best; which hath enfeebled and made me unprofitable to serve others, and made me fit and apt, but onely for my selfe. And

as for me, no man ever needed to force this heavie, lither, and idle nature of mine: for, having even from my birth found my selfe in such a degree of fortune, I have found occasion to stay there (an occasion notwithstanding, that a thousand others of mine acquaintance would have taken as a plancke to passe over to search, to agitation and to unquietnes). And as I have sought for nothing, so I have taken nothing.

*Non agimur tumidis ventis Aquilone secundo,
Non tamen adversis cœtatem ducimus austris:
Viribus, ingenio, specie, virtute, loco, re,
Extremi primorum, extremis usque priores.*

HOR. l.
ii. *Epist*
ii. 201.

With full sailes, prosp'rous winde, we do not drive,
Nor yet with winde full in our teeth doe live.
In strength, in wit, in vertue, shape, goods, place,
Last of the first, before the last we pace.

I have had no need but of sufficiencie to content my selfe: which being well taken is ever a regiment for the mind, equally difficult in all sorts of conditions; and which by use we see more easily found in want than in plenty; peradventure, because that

according to the course of our other passions, the greedinesse of riches is more sharpened by their uses than by their need : and the vertue of moderation more rare than that of patience. And I have had no need but to enjoy those goods quietly, which God of his bounty had bestowed upon me. I have tasted no kinde of tedious trouble. I have seldome mannaged other than mine owne businesse : or if I have, it hath beene upon condition I might do it at my leisure, and according to my will, committed unto me, by such as trusted me and knew me well, and would not importune me. For the skilfull rider will reape some service of a restie and wind-broken jade. My very childe-hood hath beene directed by a soft, milde, gentle and free fashion, and ever exempted from rigorous subjection. Al which hath endowed me with a delicate kinde of complexion, and made me incapable of any care : So that I love men should conceale my losses from me and the disorders which concerne me. In the chapter of my charges and expences, I have

set downe what my negligence or careles-
nesse costs me, both to feed and entertaine
my selfe.

———*hæc nempe super sunt,
Quæ dominum fallant, quæ prosint furibus.*

This remnant of accompts I have,
Which may deceive Lords, help a Knave.

HOR. l.
i. *Epist.*
vi. 45.

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