Michael
De Montaigne
Born
1533
Died
1592
First Edition Published
In French
A.D. 1580-1588
In English
A.D. 1603
THE
TEMPLE
CLASSICS

Edited by
ISRAEL
GOLLANCZ
M.A.
The frontispiece is an etching by Mr. H. Crickmore, of the Tower of Montaigne's Château.
The *ESSAYES of MICHAEL LORD of MONTAIGNE* TRANSLATED BY JOHN FLORIO

The Second *BOOKE* VOLUME 1.

A Table of the Chapters of the Second Booke

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Of the inconstancie of our actions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Of Drunkennesse</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A Custome of the lle of Cea</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>To morrow is a new day</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Of Conscience</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Of exercise or practice</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Of the recompences or rewards of honour</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Of the affection of fathers to their children</td>
<td>91</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Of the Parthians armes</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Of Books</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Of Cruelty</td>
<td>156</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>An Apologie of Raymond Sebond</td>
<td>183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[The conclusion of the Apologie is contained in Vol. 4.]
Of the inconstancie of our actions

Those which exercise themselves in controlling humane actions, finde no such let in any one part, as to peece them together, and bring them to one same lustre: For, they commonly contradict one another so strangely, as it seemeth impossible they should be parcels of one Warehouse. Young Marius is sometimes found to be the sonne of Mars, and other times the childe of Venus. Pope Boniface the Eight, is reported to have entred into his charge, as a Fox; to have carried himselfe therein, as a Lion; and to have died like a dog. And who would thinke it was Nero, that lively image of cruelty, who being required to signe (as the custome was) the sentence of a criminall offender,
Irresolution the commonest vice that had beene condemned to die, that ever he should answer? Oh would to God I could never have written! So neare was his heart grieved to doome a man to death. The world is so full of such examples, that every man may store himselfe; and I wonder to see men of understanding trouble themselves with sorting these parcels: Sithence (me seemeth) irresolution is the most apparant and common vice of our nature; as witnesseth that famous verse of Publius the Comedian:

*Malum consilium est, quod mutari non potest.* — *Pub. Mim.*

The counsell is but bad,
Whose change may not be had.

There is some apparence to judge a man by the most common conditions of his life, but seeing the naturall instability of our custumes and opinions; I have often thought, that even good Authors, doe ill, and take a wrong course, wilfully to opinionate themselves about framing a constant and solide contexture of us. They chuse an universall ayre, and following that image, range and interpret all a mans actions; which if they cannot wrest sufficiently, they remit them unto dissimulation. *Augustus* hath escaped their hands; for there is so apparent, so sudden and continuall a variety of actions found in him, through the course of his life, that even the boldest Judges and strictest censurers, have beene faine to give him over, and leave him undecided. *There is nothing I so hardly beleewe to be in man, as constancie, and nothing so easie to be*
found in him, as inconstancy. He that should distinctly and part by part, judge of him, should often jumpe to speake truth. View all antiquity over, and you shall finde it a hard matter, to chuse out a dozen of men, that have directed their life unto one certaine, setled, and assured course; which is the surest drift of wisdome. For, to comprehend all in one word, saith an ancient Writer, and to embrace all the rules of our life into one, it is at all times to will, and not to will one same thing. I would not vouch-safe, (saith he) to adde any thing; alwayes provided the will be just: for, if it be unjust, it is impossible it should ever continue one. Verily, I have heretofore learned, that vice is nothing but a disorder, and want of measure, and by consequence, it is impossible to fasten constancy unto it. It is a saying of Demosthenes, (as some report,) That consultation and deliberation, is the beginning of all vertue; and constancie, the end and perfection. If by reason or discourse we should take a certaine way, we should then take the fairest: but no man hath thought on it.

Quod petiiit, spernit, repetit quod nuper omisit,
Astuat, et vitae convenit ordine toto.
—Hor. i. Epist. i. 98.

He scorns that which he sought, seek's that he scorn'd of late,
He flowes, ebbes, disagrees in his lifes whole estate.

Our ordinary manner is to follow the inclination of our appetite, this way and that way; on the left, and on the right hand; upward and
downe-ward, according as the winde of occa-
sions doth transport us: we never thinke on
what we would have, but at the instant we would
have it: and change as that beast that takes the
colour of the place wherein it is laid. What we
even now purposed, we alter by and by, and
presently returne to our former biase: all is but
changing, motion, and inconstancy:

Ducimur ut nervis alienis mobile lignum.
—Hor. ii. Sat. vii. 82.

So are we drawne, as wood is shoved,
By others sinnewes each way moved.

We goe not, but we are carried: as things
that flote, now gliding gently, now hulling vio-
lently; according as the water is, either stormy
or calme.

—nône videmus
Quid sibi quisque velit nescire et quærere semper,
Commutare locum quasi onus deponere possit?
—Lucr. iii. 1100.

See we not, every man in his thoughts height
Knowes not what he would have, yet seekes he
streight
To change place, as he could lay downe his
weight?

Every day new toyes, each houre new fan-
tasies, and our humours move and fleet with the
fleetings and movings of time.

Tales sunt hominum mentes, quali Pater ipse
Jupiter auctifero lustravit lumine terras.—Cic. Fragm.

Such are mens mindes, as that great God of might
Surveies the earth with encrease bearing light.
We float and waver betwenee divers opinions: we will nothing freely, nothing absolutely, nothing constantly. Had any man prescribed certaine Lawes, or established assured policies in his owne head; in his life should we daily see, to shine an equality of customes, an assured order, and an infallible relation from one thing to another (Empedocles noted this deformity to be amongst the Agrigentines, that they gave themselves so over unto delights, as if they should die to morrow next, and built as if they should never die) the discourse thereof were easie to be made. As is seen in young Cato: He that touched but one step of it, hath touched all. It is an harmony of well according tunes and which cannot contradict it selfe. With us it is cleane contrary, so many actions, so many particular judgements are there requir'd. The surest way (in mine opinion) were to refer them unto the next circumstances, without entering into further search, and without concluding any other consequence of them. During the late tumultuous broiles of our mangled estate, it was told me, that a young woman, not farre from mee, had head-long cast her selfe out of a high window, with intent to kill herselue, only to avoid the ravishment of a rascally-base soouldier, that lay in her house, who offered to force her: and perceiving that with the fall she had not killed herselfe, to make an end of her enterprize, she would have cut her owne throat with a knife, but that she was hindered by some that came in to her: Neverthelesse having sore wounded her-
Sundry instances of selfe, she voluntarily confessed, that the Souldier had yet but urged her with importunate requests, suing-solicitations, and golden bribes, but she feared he would in the end have obtained his purpose by compulsion: by whose earnest speeches, resolute countenance, and gored bloud (a true testimony of her chaste vertue) she might appeare to be the lively patterne of another Lucrece, yet know I certainly, that both before that time, and afterward, she had beene enjoyed of others upon easier composition. And as the common saying is; Faire and soft, as squemish-honest as she seemes, although you misse of your intent, conclude not rashly an inviolable chastitie to be in your Mistresse; For, a groome or a horse-keeper may finde an houre to thrive in; and a dog hath a day. Antigonus having taken upon him to favour a Souldier of his, by reason of his vertue and valour, commanded his Physicians to have great care of him, and see whether they could recover him of a lingring and inward disease, which had long tormented him, who being perfectly cured, he afterward perceiving him to be nothing so earnest and diligent in his affaires, demanded of him, how he was so changed from himselfe, and become so [cowardish]: your selfe good Sir (answered he) have made me so, by ridding me of those infirmities, which so did grieve me, that I made no accompt of my life. A Souldier of Lucullus, having by his enemies beene robbed of all he had, to revenge himselfe undertooke a notable and desperat atempt upon them; and having recovered his
losses, Lucullus conceived a very good opinion of him, and with the greatest shewes of assured trust and loving kindnesse he could bethinke himselfe, made especiall accompt of him, and in any dangerous enterprize seemed to trust and employ him only:

*Verbis quae timido quoque possent addere mentem:*

—Hor. ii. Epist. ii. 34.

With words, which to a coward might Adde courage, had he any spright.

Imploij (said he unto him) some wretch-stripped and robbed Souldier

—(*quantumvis rusticus ibit,
Ibit eó, quo vis, qui zonam perdidit, inquit.*)—39.

(None is, saith he, so clownish, but will-on,
Where you will have him, if his purse be gone)

and absolutely refused to obey him. When we reade that Mahomet, having outrageously rated Chasan, chiefe leader of his Janizers, because he saw his troup wel-nigh defeated by the Hungarians, and hee to behave himselfe but faintly in the fight, Chasan without making other reply, alone as he was, and without more ado, with his weapon in his hand rushed furiously in the thickest throng of his enemies that he first met withall, of whom hee was instantly slaine: This may haply be deemed, rather a rash conceit, than a justification; and a new spight, than a naturall prowess. He whom you saw yesterday so boldly-venturous, wonder not if you see him a dastardly meacocke to morrow next: for either anger or necessitie, company or wine, a sudden
fury or the clang of a trumpet, might rowze-up
his heart, and stir up his courage. It is no heart
nor courage so framed by discourse or deliberation: These circumstances have settled the same
in him: Therefore it is no marvell if by other
contrary circumstance he become a craven and
change copy. This supple variation, and easie
yeelding contradiction, which is seen in us, hath
made some to imagine, that wee had two soules,
and others, two faculties; whereof every one as
best she pleaseth, accompanieth and doth agitate
us; the one towards good, the other towards
evill. Forsomuch as such a rough diversitie can-
not wel sort and agree in one simple subject.
The blast of accidents doth not only remove me
according to his inclination; for besides, I re-
move and trouble my selfe by the instability of
my posture, and whosoever looketh narrowly
about himselfe, shall hardly see himselfe twice in
one same state. Sometimes I give my soule one
visage, and sometimes another, according unto
the posture or side I lay her in. If I speake
diversely of my selfe, it is because I looke
diversely upon my selfe. All contrarieties are
found in her, according to some turne or remov-
ing; and in some fashion or other. Shamefast,
bashfull, insolent, chaste, luxurious, peevish,
pratling, silent, fond, doting, labourious, nice,
delicate, ingenious, slow, dull, froward, humorous,
debonaire, wise, ignorant, false in words, true-
speaking, both liberall, covetous, and prodigall.
All these I perceive in some measure or other
to bee in mee, according as I stirre or turne
my selfe; And whosoever shall heedfully survey
and consider himselfe, shall finde this volubility
and discordance to be in himselfe, yea and in
his very judgement. I have nothing to say en-
tirely, simply, and with soliditie of my selfe,
without confusion, disorder, blending, mingling;
and in one word, Distinguo is the most universall
part of my logike. Although I ever purpose to
speake good of good, and rather to enterpret
those things, that will beare it, unto a good
sense; yet is it that, the strangenesse of our con-
dition adverteth that we are often urged to do
dowell by vice it selfe, if well doing were not
judged by the intention only. Therefore may
not a couragious act conclude a man to be valiant.
He that is so, when just occasion serveth, shall
ever be so, and upon all occasions. If it were
an habitude of vertue, and not a sudden humour,
it would make a man equally resolute at all
assayes, in all accidents: Such alone, as in com-
pany; such in a single combat, as in a set battel;
For, whatsoever some say, valour is all alike,
and not one in the street or towne, and another
in the campe or field. As couragiously should
a man beare a sickenesse in his bed, as a hurt in
the field and feare death no more at home in his
house, than abroad in an assault. We should
not then see one same man enter the breach, or
charge his enemie with an assured and undoubted
fiercenesse, and afterward having escaped that,
to vexe, to grive and torment himselfe like unto
a seely woman, or faint-hearted milke-sop for
the losse of a sute, or death of a childe. If one
chance to be carelessly base-minded in his in-
fancie, and constantly-resolute in povertie; if he
be timorously-fearefull at sight of a Barbers
razor, and afterward stowtly-undismayed against
his enemies swords: The action is commend-
able, but not the man. Divers Græcians (saith
Cicero) cannot endure to looke their enemy in
the face, yet are they most constant in their
sicknesses; whereas the Cimbrians, and Celti-
berians, are meere contrary. Nihil enim potest
esse aquabile, quod non à certa ratione proficiscatur
(Cic. Tusc. Qu. ii. f.): For nothing can beare
it selfe even, which procedeth not from resolved
reason. There is no valor more extreme in
his kinde, than that of Alexander; yet it is but
in species, nor every where sufficiently full and
universall. As incomparable as it is, it hath his
blemishes, which is the reason that in the idlest
suspicions, he apprehendeth at the conspiracies
of his followers against his life, we see him so
earnestly to vex, and so desperately to trouble
himselfe: In search and pursuit whereof he de-
meaneth himselfe with so vehement and indis-
creet an injustice, and with such a demisse feare,
that even his naturall reason is thereby subverted.
Also the superstition, wherewith he is so throughly
tainted, beareth some shew of pusilanimitie. And
the unlimited excesse of the repentance he shewed
for the murther of Clitus, is also a witnesse of
the inequalitie of his courage. Our matters are
but parcels hudled up, and peeces patched to-
gether, and we endeavour to acquire honour by false
meanes, and untrue tokens. Vertue will not bee
followed, but by herself: And if at any time wee borrow her maske, upon some other occasion, she will as soone pull it from our face. It is a lively hew, and strong die, if the soule be once dyed with the same perfectly, and which will never fade or be gone, except it carry the skin away with it. Therefore to judge a man, we must a long time follow, and very curiously marke his steps; whether constancie doe wholy subsist and continue upon her owne foundation in him, Cui vivendi via considerata atque provisa est (Cic. Parad. v.) : Who hath forecast and considered the way of life; whether the variety of occurrences make him change his pace (I meane his way, for his pace may either be hastened or slowed) let him run-on: such a one (as sayeth the imprease of our good Talbot) goeth before the wind. It is no marvell (saith an old writer) that hazard hath such power over us, since wee live by hazard. It is impossible for him to dispose of his particular actions, that hath not in grosse directed his life unto one certaine end. It is impossible for him to range all peeces in order, that hath not a plot or forme of the totall frame in his head. What avayleth the provision of all sorts of colours unto one that knowes not what he is to draw? No man makes any certaine designe of his life, and we deliberate of it but by parcels. A skilfull archer ought first to know the marke he aimeth at, and then apply his hand, his bow, his string, his arrow and his motion accordingly. Our counsels goe a stray, because they are not rightly addressed, and have
We are all framed of flaps and patches. No wind makes for him, that hath no intended port to saile unto. As for me, I allow not greatly of that judgement, which some made of Sophocles, and to have concluded him sufficient in the managing of domesticall matters, against the accusation of his owne Sonne, only by the sight of one of his tragedies. Nor doe I commend the conjecture of the Parians, sent to reforme the Milesians, as sufficient to the consequence they drew thence. In visiting and surveying the Ile, they marked the Landes that were best husbanded, and observed the country houses that were best governed. And having registred the names of their owners; and afterward made an assembly of the Townes-men of the Citie, they named and instituted those owners as new Governours and Magistrates, judging and concluding, that being good husbands and carefull of their houshold affaires, they must consequently be so of publike matters. We are all framed of flaps and patches and of so shapelesse and diverse a contexture, that every peece and every moment playeth his part. And there is as much difference found betweene us and our selves, as there is betweene our selves and other. 

Magnam rem puta, unum hominem agere. Esteeme it a great matter, to play but one man.

Since ambition may teach men both valour, temperance, liberality, yea and justice: Sith covetousnesse may settle in the minde of a Shopprentise-boy, brought up in ease and idlenesse, a dreadlesse assurance to leave his home-bred ease, and forgoe his place of education, and in a
small barke to yeeld himselfe unto the mercy of blustering waves, mercilesse windes and wrathfull Neptune; and that it also teacheth discretion and wisdome; And that Venus her selve ministrith resolution and hardinesse unto tender youth as yet subject to the discipline of the rod, and teacheth the ruthlesse Souldier, the soft and tenderly effeminate heart of women in their mothers laps.

_Hac duce custodes furtim transgressa jacentes,_
—_Ad juvenem tenebris sola puella venit._

—Tib. ii. El. i. 75.

The wench by stealeth her lodg'd guards having stript,
By this guide, sole, i' th darke, to' th yonker skipt.

_It is no part of a well grounded judgement, simply to judge our selves by our exterioour actions: A man must thorowly sound himselfe, and dive into his heart, and there see by what wards or springs the motions stirre. But forasmuch as it is a hazardous and high enterprise, I would not have so many to meddle with it as doe._

**Chap. II**

**Of Drunkennesse**

_The world is nothing but variety, and dissemblance. Vices are all alike, inasmuch as they are all vices: And so doe haply the Stoikes meane it. But though they are equally vices,
Diversity in sins they are not equall vices; And that hee who hath started a hundred steps beyond the limits

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum,
—Hor. i. Sat. i. 107.

On this side, or beyond the which
No man can hold a right true pitch,
is not of worse condition, than he that is ten steps short of it, is no whit credible: and that sacriledge is not worse than the stealing of a Colewort out of a Garden.

Nee vincet ratio, tantundem ut pecet idemque,
Qui teneros caules alieni fregerit horti,
Et qui nocturnus divum sacra legerit.
—Sat. iii. 115.

No reason can evict, as great or same sinne taints Him that breakes in anothers Garden tender plants, And him that steales by night things consecrate to Saints.

There is as much diversity in that as in any other thing. The confusion of order and measure of crimes, is dangerous: Murtherers, Traitors and Tyrants, have too much gaine by it: it is no reason their conscience should be eased, in that some is either idle or lascivious, or lesse assiduous unto devotion. Every man poiseth upon his fellowes sinne, and elevates his owne. Even teachers doe often range it ill in my conceit. As Socrates said, that the chiefest office of wisdome, was to distinguish goods and evils. We others, to whom the best is ever in vice, should say the like of knowledge, to distinguish vices. Without which, and that very exact,
both vertuous and wicked men remaine con-
founded and unknowne. Now drunkennesse
amongst others, appeareth to mee a grose and
brutish vice. The minde hath more part else
where; and some vices there are, which (if it
may lawfully be spoken) have a kinde of I wot
not what generosity in them. Some there are,
that have learning, diligence, valour, prudence,
wit, cunning, dexterity, and subtlety joyned with
them; whereas this is meerely corporall, and
terrestriall. And the grosest and rudest nation,
that liveth amongst us at this day, is only that
which keepeth it in credit. Other vices but
alter and distract the understanding, whereas
this utterly subverteth the same, and astonieth
the body.

—cum vini vis penetravit,
Consequitur gravitas membrorum, praepediuntur
Grura vacillanti, tardescit lingua, madet mens,
Nant oculi, clamor, singultus, jurgia gliscunt.

—Lucre. iii. 479.

When once the force of wine hath inly pierst,
Limbes-heavinesse is next, legs faine would goe,
But reeling cannot, tongue drawles, mindes disperst,
Eyes swimme, cries, hickups, brables grow.

The worst estate of man, is where he loseth
the knowledge and government of himselfe. And
amongst other things, it is said, that as must
wine boyling and working in a vessell, workes
and sends upward what ever it containeth in the
bottome, so doth wine cause those that drinke
excessively of it, worke up, and breake out their
most concealed secrets.
Various effects

—tu sapientium
Curas, et arcanum jocosum
Consilium regetis Lyae.—Hor. iii. Od. xxi. 14.

Thou (wine-cup) doest by wine reveale
The cares, which wise men would conceale,
And close drifts, at a merry meale.

Josephus reporteth, that by making an Ambassador to tipple-square, whom his enemies had sent unto him, he wrested all his secrets out of him. Nevertheless Augustus having trusted Lucius Piso, that conquered Thrace, with the secretest affaires he had in hand, had never cause to be discontented with him; Nor Tiberius with Cossus, to whom he imparted all his seriousest counsels, although we know them both to have so given themselves to drinking of wine, that they were often faine to be carried from the Senat, and both were reputed notable drunkards.

—Hesterno inflatum venas de more Lyae.

Veines pufft up, as is used alway,
By wine which was drunke yesterday.

And as faithfully as the complot and purpose to kill Caesar committed unto Cimber, who would daily be drunke with quaffing of wine, as unto Cassius, that drunke nothing but water, whereupon he answered very pleasantly, What? shall I beare a Tyrant, that am not able to beare wine? We see our carowing tospot German souldeiers, when they are most plunged in their cups, and as drunke as Rats, to have perfect remem-
brance of their quarter, of the watch word, and of wine of their files.

—nec facilis victoria de madidis, et Blasis, atque mero titubantibus.—Juve. Sat. xv. 47.

Nor is the conquest easie of men sow'st,
Lisping and reeling with wine they carow'st.

I would never have beleeeued so sound, so deepe and so excessive drunkennesse, had I not read in Histories, that Attalus having envited to sup with him (with intent to doe him some notable indignity) the same Pausanias, who for the same cause killed afterward Philip King of Macedon, (a King who by the eminent faire qualities that were in him, bore a testimonie of the education he had learned in the house and company of Epaminondas) made him so dead-drunke, that insensibly and without feeling, he might prostitute his beauty as the body of a common hedge-harlot, to Mulettiers, Groomes, and many of the abject servants of his house. And what a Lady (whom I much honour and highly esteeme) told mee, protesting, that neere Burdeaux, towards Castres, where her house is, a widdow Country-woman, reputed very chaste and honest, suspecting herselfe to be with childe, told her neighbours, that had she a husband, she should verily thinke she were with childe. But the occasion of this suspition encreasing more and more, and perceiving herselfe so big-bellied, that shee could no longer conceale it, she resolved to make the Parish-priest acquainted with it, whom she entreated to publish in the
MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYES

Stoic drinkers Church, that whosoever hee were, that was guilty of the fact, and would avow it, shee would freely forgive him, and if hee were so pleased, take him to her husband. A certaine swaine or hyne-boy of hers, emboldned by this proclamation, declared, how that having one holliday found her well-tipped with wine, and so sound asleepe by the chimnie side, lying so fit and ready for him, that without a waking her he had the full use of her body. Whom she accepted for her husband, and both live together at this day. It is assured that antiquitie hath not greatly described this vice. The compositions of diverse Philosophers speake but sparingly of it. Yea, and some of the Stoikes deeme it not amisse for man sometimes to take his liquor roundely, and drinke drunke thereby to recreate his spirits.

Hoc quoque virtutum quondam certamine magnum
Socratem palmam promeru'sse ferunt.
—Cor. Gal. El. i.

They say, in this too, Socrates the wise,
And great in vertues combats, bare the prize.

Cato that strict censurer, and severe corrector of others, hath beene reproved for much drinking,

Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sæpe mero caluisse virtus.
—Hor. iii. Od. xxi. 11.

T'is said, by use of wine repeated,
Old Catoes vertue oft was heated.

Cyrus that so far-renowned King, amongst his
other commendations, meaning to preferre himselfe before his brother Artaxerxes, and get the start of him, aleageth, that he could drinke better, and tipple more than he. And amongst the best policed and formallest nations, the custome of drinking, and pledging of healths was much in use. I have heard Silvius, that excellent Phisitian of Paris affirme that to preserve the vigor of our stomake from empairing, it is not amisse once a moneth to rowze up the same by this excesse of drinking; and lest it should grow dull and stupid therby to stirre it up. And it is written, that the Persians, after they had well tipped, were wont to consult of their chiefest affaires. My taste, my rellish and my complexion, are sharper enemies unto this vice, than my discourse: For, besides that I captivate more easily my conceits under the auctoritie of ancient opinions, indeed I finde it to be a fond, a stupid and a base kinde of vice, but lesse malicious and hurtfull than others; all which shocke, and with a sharper edge wound publike societie. And if we cannot give our selves any pleasure, except (as they say) it cost us something; I finde this vice to be lesse chargeable unto our conscience than others; besides, it is not hard to be prepared, difficult to be found; a consideration not to be despised. A man well advanced in yeares and dignitie, amongst three principall commodities he told me to have remaining in life, counted this: and where shall a man more rightly finde-it, than amongst the naturall? But he tooke it ill, delicatenesse, and the choice of
wines is therein to be avoided. If you prepare your voluptuousnes to drinke it with pleasure and daintily neat, you tie your selfe unto an in- 
convenience to drinke it other than is always to be had. A man must have a milder, a loose and freer taste. To be a true drinker, a man should not have so tender and squeamish a palat. The Germans doe in a manner drinke equally of all sorts of wine with like pleasure. Their end is rather to gulpe it downe freely, than to tast it kindly. And to say truth they have it better cheape. Their voluptuousnesse is more plenteous and fuller. Secondarily, to drinke after the French manner, as two draughts and moderately, is over much to restraine the favours of that God. There is more time and constancie required thereunto. Our forefathers were wont to spend whole nights in that exercise, yea often times they joyned whole long dayes unto them. And a man must proportion his ordinarie more large and firme. I have in my dayes seene a principall Lord; a man of great employment and enter-
prises, and famous for good successe, who without straining himselfe, and eating but an ordinary meales-meat, was wont to drinke little lesse than five pottles of wine, yet at his rising seemed to be nothing distempered, but rather as we have found to our no small cost in managing of our affaires, over-wise and considerate. The pleasure of that, whereof we would make account in the course of our life ought to be employed longer space. It were necessary, as shop-boyes or labouring people, that we should refuse no occasion to drinke and
continually to have this desire in our minde. It seemeth that wee daily shorten the use of this: and that in our houses, (as I have seen in mine infancie) breakfasts, nunchions, and beavers should be more frequent and often used, than now adayes they are. And should wee thereby in any sort proceed towards amendment? No verily. But it may be, that we have much more given our selves over unto paillardise and all manner of luxurie than our fathers were. They are two occupations, that enter-hinder one another, in their vigor. On the one side, it hath empaired and weakned our stomache, and on the other, sobrietie serveth to make us more jolly-quaint, lusty, and wanton for the exercise of love matters. It is a wonder to thinke on the strange tales I have heard my father report, of the chastitie of his times. He might well speake of it, as he that was both by art and nature proper for the use and solace of Ladies. He spake little and well, few words, but to the purpose, and was ever wont to entermixe some ornament taken from vulgar bookes, and above all, Spanish, amongst his common speeches: And of all Spanish Authors, none was more familiar unto him than Marcus Aurelius. His demeanour and carriage was ever milde, meeke, gentle, and very modest, and above all, grave and stately. There is nothing he seemed to be more carefull of, than of his honesty, and observe a kinde of decencie of his person, and orderly decorum in his habits, were it on foot or on horsebacke. He was exceeding nice in performing his word or promise; And so strictly
conscientious and obsequious in religion, that generally he seemed rather to encline toward superstition, than the contrary. Though he were but a little man, his courage and vigor was great: he was of an upright, and well proportioned stature, of a pleasing, cheerefull-looking countenance, of a swarthy hue, nimbly addicted, and exquisitely nimble unto all noble and gentleman-like exercises. I have seen some hollow staves of his filled with lead, which hee wont to use and exercise his armes withall, the better to enable himselfe to pitch the barre, to throw the sledge, to cast the pole and to play at fence: and shooes with leaden soles, which he wore to enure himselfe, to leape, to vault and to run. I may without blushing say, that in memory of himselfe, he hath left certaine petie miracles amongst us. I have seen him when hee was past threescore yeares of age mocke at all our sports, and outcountenance our youthfull pastimes, with a heavy furr'd Gowne about him to leap into his saddle; to make the pompadada round about a Table upon his thumb; and soIdome to ascend any staires without skipping three or foure steps at once. And concerning my discourse, hee was wont to say, that in a whole Province there was scarce any woman of qualitie, that had an ill name. Hee would often report strange familiarities, namely of his owne, with very honest women, without any suspicion at all. And protested very religiously, that when he was married, he was yet a pure Virgine; yet had he long time followed the warres beyond the Mountaines, and
therein served long, whereof hee hath left a
Journall-Booke of his owne collecting, wherein
hee hath particularly noted, whatsoever hap-
pened day by day worthy the observation, so
long as he served, both for the publike and his
particular use. And he was well strucken in
yeares, when he tooke a wife. For returning
out of Italie, in the yeare of our Lord, one
thousand five hundred eight and twenty, and
being full three and thirty yeares old, by the
way hee chose himselfe a wife. But come we
to our drinking againe. The incommodities of
age, which need some helpe and refreshing,
might with some reason beget in me a desire
or longing of this faculty: for, it is in a man
the last pleasure, which the course of our years
stealeth upon us. Good fellowes say, that natu-
rall heat is first taken in our feet: That properly
belongeth to infancie. From thence it ascendeth
unto the middle region, where it is setled and
continueth a long time: and in mine opinion,
there produceth the only true, and moving plea-
sures of this corporall life. Other delight and
sensualities in respect of that, doe but sleepe. In
the end, like unto a vapour, which by little and
little exhaleth, and mounteth aloft, it comes unto
the throat, and there makes her last bode. Yet
could I never conceive, how any man may either
encrease or prolong the pleasure of drinking be-
yond thirst, and in his imagination frame an arti-
ficial appetite, and against nature. My stomacke
could not well reach so farre: it is very much
troubled to come to an end of that which it takes
Drink for his need. My constitution is, to make an accompt of drinking, but to succeed meat, and therefore doe I ever make my last draught the greatest. And forasmuch as in age, we have the roose of our mouthes commonly furred with rhume, or distempered, distasted and altered through some other evill constitution, wine seemeth better unto us and of a quicker relish, according as our pores be either more or lesse open and washed. At least I seldom relish the same very well, except it be the first draught I take. Anacharsis wondered to see the Græcians drinke in greater glasses at the end of their meales, than in the beginning. It was (as I imagine) for the very same reason, that the Germans doe it, who never begin to carouse, but when they have well fed. Plato forbiddeth children to drinke any wine, before they be eightene yeeres of age, and to be drunke before they come to forty. But to such as have once attained the age of fortie, he is content to pardon them, if they chance to delight themselves with it, and alloweth them somewhat largely to blend the influence of Dionysius in their banquets, that good God, who bestoweth cheerfulness upon men, and youth unto aged men, who layeth and aswageth the passions of the minde, even as yron is made flexible by the fire: and in his profitable lawes drinking-meetings or quaffing companies as necessary and commendable (alwaies provided there be a chiefe leader amongst them to containe and order them) drunkennesse being a good and certaine tryall of everie mans
nature; and therewithall proper to give aged men the courage to make merry in dancing and in musicke; things allowable and profitable, and such as they dare not undertake being sober and settled. That wine is capable to supply the mind with temperance, and the bodie with health. Notwithstanding, these restrictions, partly borrowed of the Carthaginians, please him well. Let those forbear it that are going about any expedition of warre. Let every magistrate, and all judges abstain from it at what time they are to execute their charge, and to consult of publick affairs. Let none bestow the day in drinking, as the time that is due unto more serious negotiations, nor the nights wherein a man intendeth to get children. It is reported, that Stilpo the Philosopher, finding himselfe surcharged with age, did purposely hasten his end, by drinking of pure wine. The like cause (though not wittingly) did also suffocate the vital forces, crazed through old age of the Philosopher Arcesilaus. But it is an old and pleasant question, whether a wisemans mind were like to yeeld unto the force of wine.

Si munitæ adhibet vim sapientiæ.  
—Od. xxviii. 4.

If unresisted force it bends,  
Gainst wisdome which it selfe defends.

Unto what vanity doth the good opinion we have of our selves provoke us? The most temperate and perfectest minde of the world, findes it too great a taske to keep herselfe upright, lest
What is she fall by her owne weaknesse. Of a thou-
sand there is not one perfectly righteous and
setled but one instant of her life; and ques-
tion might be made, whether according to her
naturall condition she might at any time be so.
But to joyne constancie unto it [is] her last per-
feccion: I meane if nothing should shocke her:
which a thousand accidents may doe. Lucretius
that famous Poet, may Philosophie and bandie
at his pleasure: Loe where he lieth senslesse of
an amorous potion. Thinkes any man, that an
Apoplexie cannot as soone astonish Socrates, as
a poore labouring man? Some of them have
by the force of a sickenesse forgot their owne
names, and a slight hurt have overthrowne the
judgement of others. Let him be as wise as he
can, in the end he is but a man; what is more
fraile, more miserable, or more vaine? Wis-
dome forceth not our naturall conditions.

Sudores itaque, et pallorem existere toto
Corpore, et infringi linguam vocemque aboriri
Caligare oculos, sonere aures, succidere artus,
Denique concidere ex animi terrore videmus.
—Lucr. iii. 155.

We see therefore, paleness and sweats ore-grow,
Our bodies, tongues doe falter, voyce doth breake,
Eyes dazle, eares buzze, joints doe shrinke below,
Lastly we swoune by hart-fright, terrours weake.

He must [s]eele his eyes against the blow that
threatneth him, being neere the brimme of a perci-
pise, he must cry out like a child. Nature having
purposed to reserve these light markes of her
auctoritie unto herselfe, inexpugnable unto our
reason, and to the Stoicke vertue: to teach him his mortalitie, and our insipiditie. He waxeth pale for feare, he blusheth for shame, he groaneth feeling the cholike, if not with a desperate and lowd-roaring voyce, yet with a low, smothered and hoarse-sounding noyse.

_Humani à se nihil alienum putat._
—_Ter._ _Hæaut._ act. i. sce. i. 25.

He thinkes, that nothing strange be can,
To him, that longs to any man.

Giddie-headed Poets, that faine what they list, dare not so much as discharge their _Heroes_ from teares.

_Sic fatur lachrymans, classique immittit habenas._
—_Virg._ _Æn._ vi. 1.

So said he weeping, and so saide,
Himselfe hand to the sterage laide.

Let it suffice him to bridle his affections, and moderate his inclinations; for, it is not in him to beare them away. _Plutarke_ himselfe, who is so perfect and excellent a judge of humane actions, seeing _Brutus_ and _Torquatus_ to kill their owne children, remaineth doubtfull, whether vertue could reach so farre, and whether such men were not rather moved by some other passion. _All actions beyond the ordinarie limits, are subject to some sinister interpretation:_ Forasmuch as our taste doth no more come unto that which is above it, than to that which is under it. Let us omit that other sect, which maketh open profession of fiercenes. But when in the very same
Power of mind over body sect, which is esteemed the most demisse, we heare the bragges of Metrodorus: Occupavite, Fortuna, atque cepi: omnesque aditus tuos interclusi ut ad me aspirare non posses (Metr. Cic. Tusc. Quest. 5). Fortune, I have prevented, caught, and overtaken thee: I have mured and ramd up all thy passagis, whereby thou mightest attain unto mee. When Anaxarcus, by the appointment of Nicoceon, the tyrant of Cipres, being laid along in a trough of stone, and smoten with yron sledges, ceaseth not to crie out, streeke, smite, and breake; it is not Anaxarcus, it is but his vaile you martyr so. When we heare our martyrs, in the middest of a flame crie aloud unto the Tyrant, this side is rosted enough, chop it, eat it, it is full rosted, now begin on the other. When in Josephus wee heare a childe all to rent with biting snippers, and pierced with the breath of Antiochus, to defie him to death, crie with a lowde-assured and undismaid voyce; Tyrant thou losest time, loe I am still at mine ease; where is that smarting paine, where are those torments, wherewith whilom thou didst so threaten me? My constancie doth more trouble thee, than I have feeling of thy crueltie: Oh faint hearted varlet, doest thou yeeld when I gather strength? Make mee to faint or shrinke, cause me to moane or lament, force me to yeeld and sue for grace if thou canst; encourage thy satellities, harten thy executioners; loe how they droope and have no more power; arme them, strengthen them, flesh them. Verely wee must needs confess there
is some alteration, and some furie (how holy soever) in those mindes. When we come unto these Stoick evasions; I had rather be furious than voluptuous: the saying of Antisthenes. Μαλλον ἡ ἡσθείην (Antist. Diogen. Laert. vi. c. i), Rather would I be mad, than merry. When Sextius telleth us, he had rather be surprised with paine, than sensuality; when Epicurus undertakes to have the goute, to wantonize and faune upon him, and refusing ease and health, with a hearty cheerefulness defie all evils, and scornfully despising lesse sharpe grieves, disdayning to grapple with them, he blithely desireth and calleth for sharper, more forcible, and worthy of him:

Spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
Optat aprum aut fulvum descendere monte leonem:
—Virg. Aen. iv. 158.

He wisht, mongst hartlesse beasts some foming Bore,
Or mountaine-Lyon would come downe and rore.

Who would not judge them to be pranke of a courage removed from his wonted seate? Our minde cannot out of her place attaine so high. She must quit it and raise her selfe aloft, and taking the bridle in her teeth, carry and transport her man so farre, that afterward hee wonder at himselfe, and rest amazed at his actions. As in exploits of warre, the heat and earnestnesse of the fight doth often provoke the noble minded souldiers, to adventure on so dangerous passages, that afterward being better advised, they are the first to wonder at it. As also Poets, are often
No one is exempt from folly

surprised and rapt with admiration at their own labours, and forget the trace, by which they past so happy a career. It is that, which some terme a fury or madnesse in them. And as Plato saith, that a setled and reposed man, doth in vaine knocke at Poesies gate. Aristotle likewise saith, that no excellent minde is freely exempted from some or other entermixture of folly. And he hath reason, to call any starting or extraordi- narie conceit (how commendable soever) and which exceedeth our judgement and discourse, folly. Forsomuch as wisdom, is an orderly and regular managing of the minde, and which she addresseth with measure, and conducteth with pro- portion; And take her owne word for it. Plato disputeth thus; that the facultie of prophesying and divination is far above us, and that when wee treat it, we must be besides our selves: our wisdome must be darkened and over shadowed by sleepe, by sickenesse, or by drowzinesse; or by some celestiall fury, ravished from her owne seat.

Chap. III

A custome of the Ile of Cea

IF, as some say, to philosophate be to doubt; with much more reason, to rave and fantastiquize, as I doe, must necessarily be to doubt: For, to enquire and debate, belongeth to
a scholler, and to resolve appertaines to a cathedral master. But know, my cathedrall, it is the authoritie of Gods divine will, that without any contradiction doth sway us, and hath her ranke beyond these humane and vaine contestations. *Philip* being with an armed hand entred the Countrie of *Peloponnesus*, some one told *Damidas*, the Lacedemonians were like to endure much, if they sought not to reobtaine his lost favour. Oh varlet as thou art (answered he.) And what can they suffer, who have no feare at all of death? *Agis* being demanded, how a man might do to live free, answered; *Despising and contemning to die.* These and a thousand like propositions, which concurre in this purpose, do evidently inferre some thing beyond the patient expecting of death it selfe, to be suffered in this life: witnesse the Lacedemonian child, taken by *Antigonus*, and sold for a slave, who urged by his master, to performe some abject service; Thou shalt see (said he) whom thou hast bought; for, it were a shame for me to serve, having libertie so neere at hand, and therewithall threw himselfe headlong downe from the top of the house. *Antipater*, sharply threatning the Lacedemonians, to make them yeeld to a certaine request of his; they answered, shouldest thou menace us worse than death, we will rather die. And to *Philip*, who having written unto them, that he would hinder all their enterprises; What? (say they) wilt thou also hinder us from dying? That is the reason, why some say, that the wiseman liveth as long
Death is as he ought, and not so long as he can. And that the favourablest gift, nature hath bequeathed us, and which removeth all meanes from us to complaine of our condition, is, that she hath left us the key of the fields. She hath appointed but one entrance unto life, but many a thousand wayes out of it: Well may we want ground to live upon, but never ground to die in. As Boiacatus answered the Romanes. Why dost thou complaine against this world? It doth not containe thee: If thou livest in paine and sorrow, thy base courage is the cause of it, To die there wanteth but will.

*Ubique mors est: optimè hoc cavit Deus,*

*Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest:*

*At nemo mortem: mille ad hanc aditus patent.*

—Sen. Theb. act. i. sce. i.

Each where death is: God did this well pursay,
No man but can from man life take away,
But none barr's death, to it lies many 'a way.

And it is not a receipt to one malady alone; *Death is a remedy against all evils:* It is a most assured haven, never to be feared, and often to be sought: All comes to one period, whether man make an end of himselfe, or whether he endure it; whether he run before his day, or whether he expect it: whence soever it come, it is ever his owne, where ever the threed be broken, it is all there, it's the end of the web. The voluntariest death, is the fairest. *Life dependeth on the will of others, death on ours.* In nothing should we so much accommodate our
selves to our humors, as in that. Reputation doth nothing concerne such an enterprise, it is folly to have any respect unto it. *To live is to serve, if the libertie to dye be wanting.* The common course of curing any infirmitie, is ever directed at the charge of life: we have incisions made into us, we are cauterized, we have limbes cut and mangled, we are let bloud, we are dieted. Goe we but one step further, we need no more physicke, we are perfectly whole. Why is not our jugular or throat-veine as much at our command as the mediane? To extreme sicknesse, extreme remedies. *Servius* the Grammarian being troubled with the gowt, found no better meanes to be rid of it, than to apply poison to mortifie his legs. He cared not whether they were *Podagrees* or no, so they were insensible. God giveth us sufficient privilege, when he placeth us in such an estate, as life is worse than death unto us. *It is weakness to yeeld to evils, but folly to foster them.* The Stoikes say, it is a convenient naturall life, for a wise man, to forgoe life, although he abound in all happinesse; if he doe it opportunely: And for a foole to prolong his life, albeit he be most miserable, provided he be in most part of things, which they say to be according unto nature. As I offend not the lawes made against theefes, when I cut mine owne purse, and carry away mine owne goods; nor of destroyers when I burne mine owne wood: so am I nothing tied unto lawes made against murtherers, if I deprive my selfe of mine owne life. *Hegesias* was wont to say, that even
Our lives are in God's hands as the condition of life, so should the qualitie of death depend on our election. And Diogenes meeting with the Philosopher Speusippus, long time afflicted with the dropsie, and therefore carried in a litter, who cried out unto him; All haile Diogenes: And to thee no health at all, (replied Diogenes) that endurest no health at all, that endurest to live in so wretched an estate. True it is, that a while after, Speusippus as overtired with so languishing a condition of life, compassed his owne death. But this goeth not without some contradiction: For, many are of opinion, that without the expresse commandement of him, that hath placed us in this world, we may by no meanes forsake the garrison of it, and that it is in the hands of God only, who therein hath placed us, not for our selves alone, but for his glory, and others service, when ever it shall please him to discharge us hence, and not for us to take leave: That we are not borne for our selves, but for our Countrie: The Lawes for their owne interest require an accompt at our hands for our selves, and have a just action of murther against us. Else as forsakers of our owne charge, we are punished in the other world.

Proxima deinde tenent masti loca, qui sibi lethum
Insontes peperere manu, lucémque perosi
Projecer animas.—Virg. Æn. vi. 434.

Next place they lamentable hold in hell,
Whose hand their death caus'd causelesse, (but not well)
And hating life did thence their soules expell.

There is more constancie in using the chaine
that holds us, than in breaking the same; and more triall of stedfastnesse in *Regulus*, than in *Cato*. It is indiscretion and impatience that hastneth our way. *No accidents can force a man to turne his backe from lively vertue:* She seeketh out evils and sorrowes as her nourishment. The threats of fell tyrants, tortures and torments; executioners and torturers, doe animate and quicken her.

*Duris ut ilex tonsa bipennibus*  
*Nigra feraci frondis in Algido*  
*Per damna, per caedes, ab ipso*  
*Ducit opes animumque ferro.*—*Hor. iv. Od. iv. 57.*

As holme-tree doth with hard axe lopt  
On hils with many holme-trees topt,  
From losse, from cuttings it doth feele,  
Courage and store rise ev'n from steele.

And as the other saith.

*Non est ut putas virtus, pater,*  
*Timere vitam, sed magis ingentibus*  
*Obstare, nec se vertere ac retro dare.*  
—*Sen. Theb. act. i. sce. i.*

Sir, ti's not vertue, as you understand,  
To seare life, but grosse mischiefe to withstand,  
Not to retire, turne backe, at any hand.

*Rebus in adversis facilè est contemnere mortem.*  
*Fortius ille facit, qui miser esse potest.*  
—*Mart. xi. Epi. lvii. 15.*

'Tis easie in crosse chance death to despise:  
He that can wretche be, doth stronger rise.

It is the part of cowardlinessse, and not of vertue, to seek to squat it selfe in some hollow-lurking hole, or to hide her selfe under some
Folly of the fear of death massie tombe, thereby to shun the strokes of fortune. She never forsakes her course, nor leaves her way, what stormie weather soever crosse-her.

Si fractus illabatur orbis,
Impavidam ferient ruinae.—Hor. iii. Od. iii. 7.

If the world broken should upon her fall,
The ruines may her strike, but not appall.

The avoyding of other inconveniences doth most commonly drive us into this, yea, sometimes the shunning of death, makes us to run into it.

Hic, rogo, non furor est, ne moriare, mori?
—Mart. ii. Epig. lxxx. 2.

Madnesse is 't not, say I,
To dye, lest you should dye?

As those who for feare of a break-necke downefall, doe headlong cast themselves into it.

—multos in summa pericula misit
Venturi timor ipse mali: fortissimus ille est,
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,
Et differre potest.—Lucan. vii. 104.

The very feare of ils to come, hath sent
Many to mighty dangers: strongest they,
Who fearfull things t'endure are ready bent,
If they confront them, yet can them delay.

—usque adeo mortis formidine, vitae
Percepit humanos odium, lucisque videndae,
Ut sibi consciscant marenti pectore lthum,
Obliti fontem curarum hunc esse timorem.
—Lucr. iii. 79.

So far by feare of death, the hate of life,
And seeing-light, doth men as men possesse,
They grieving kill themselves to end the strife,
Forgetting, feare is spring of their distresse.
Plato in his lawes, alots him that hath deprived his neerest and deerest friend of life (that is to say, himselfe) and abridged him of the destinies course, not constrained by any publike judgement, nor by any lewd and inevitable accident of fortune, nor by any intolerable shame or infamy, but through basenesse of minde, and weakness of a faint-fearfull courage, to have a most ignominious, and ever-reproachfull buriall. And the opinion which disdaineth our life, is ridiculous: For, in fine it is our being. It is our all in all. Things that have a nobler and richer being, may accuse ours: But it is against nature, we should despise, and carelesly set our selves at naught: It is a particular infirmitie, and which is not seene in any other creature, to hate and disdaine himselfe. It is of like vanitie, that we desire to be other, than we are. The fruit of such a desire doth not concerne us, forasmuch as it contradicteth and hindereth it selfe in it selfe. He that desireth to be made of a man an Angell, doth nothing for himselfe: He should be nothing the better by it: And being no more, who shall rejoice or conceive any gladnesse of this change or amendment for him?

Debet enim miserè cui forte ægreque futurum est,
Ipse quoque esse in eo tum tempore, cum male possit
Accidere.—Ib. 905.

For he, who shall perchance prove miserable,
And speed but ill, should then himselfe be able
To be himselfe, when ils may chance unstable.

The security, indolencie, impassibility, and pri-
Furious desire of death vation of this lives evils, which we purchase at the price of death, bring us no commoditie at all. In vaine doth he avoid warre, that cannot enjoy peace; and bootlesse doth he shun paine, that hath no meanes to seele rest. Amongst those of the first opinion, great questioning hath beene, to know what occasions are sufficiently just and lawfull to make a man undertake the killing of himselfe, they call that εὐλόγον ἔχωγκν (Alex. Aphrod.), a reasonable orderly out-let. For, although they say, a man must often dye for slight causes, since these that keepe us alive, are not very strong; yet is some measure required in them. There are certaine fantastical and braine-sicke humors, which have not only provoked particular men, but whole Nations to defeat themselves. I have heretofore alleaged some examples of them: And moreover we read of certaine Milesian virgins, who upon a furious conspiracie hanged themselves one after another, untill such time as the Magistrate provided for it, appointing that such as should be found so hanged, should with their owne halters be dragged naked thorow the streets of the Citie. When Threicion perswadeth Cleomnes to kill himselfe, by reason of the bad and desperate estate his affaires stood in, and having escaped a more honourable death in the battell which he had lately lost, moveth him to accept of this other, which is second to him in honour, and give the Conqueror no leisure to make him endure, either another death, or else a shamefull life. Cleomnes with a Lacedemonian and Stoike courage, refuseth this counsell
as base and effeminate: It is a receipt, (saith he) which can never faile me, and whereof a man should make no use, so long as there remaineth but one inch of hope: That to live, is sometimes constancie and valour; That he will have his very death serve his Countrie, and by it, shew an act of honour and of vertue. Threicion then beleaved, and killed himselfe. Cleomenes did afterwards as much, but not before he had tried and assayed the utmost power of fortune. All inconveniences are not so much worth, that a man should dye to eschue them. Moreover, there being so many sudden changes, and violent alterations in humane things, it is hard to judge in what state or point we are justly at the end of our hope:

Sperat et in sæva victus gladiator arena,
—Sit licet infesto pollice turba minax.

The Fencer hopes, though downe in lists he lye,
And people with turn'd hand threat's he must dye.

All things, saith an ancient Proverb, may a man hope for, so long as he liveth: yea, but answereth Seneca, wherefore shall I rather have that in minde; that fortune can do all things for him that is living, than this; that fortune hath no power at all over him, who knoweth how to dye? Joseph is seene engaged in so an apparent-approaching danger, with a whole nation against him, that according to humane reason, there was no way for him to escape; notwithstanding being (as he saith) counselled by a friend of his, at that instant, to kill himselfe, it fell out well for
Some have out-lived their hangman him to opinionate himselfe yet in hope: for fortune, beyond all mans discourse, did so turne and change that accident, that without any inconvenience at all, he saw himselfe delivered: whereas on the contrarie Brutus and Cassius, by reason of the down-fall and rashnesse, wherewith before due time and occasion, they killed themselves; did utterly lose the reliques of the Roman libertie, whereof they were protectors. The Lord of Anguien in the battell of Serisolles, as one desperate of the combats successe, which on his side went to wracke, attempted twice to run himselfe thorow the throat with his rapier, and thought by precipitation to bereave himselfe of the enjoying of so notable a victorie. I have seene a hundred Hares save themselves even in the Grey-hounds jawes: Aliquis carnifici suo superstes fuit (Sen. Epist. xiii.). Some man hath out-lived his Hang-man.

_Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi_
_Rettulit in melius, multos alterna revisens_
_Lusit, et in solido rursus fortuna locavit._

—VIRG. Æn. xi. 426.

'Time, and of turning age the divers straine, 
Hath much to better brought, fortunes turn’d traine, 
Hath many mock’t, and set them fast againe.

Plinie saith, there are but three sorts of sicknesses, which to avoid, a man may have some colour of reason to kill himselfe. The sharpest of all is the stone in the bladder, when the urine is there stopped. Seneca, those onely, which for long time disturbe and distract the offices of the
To avoid a worse death, some are of opinion, a man should take it at his owne pleasure. Democritus chiefe of the Ætolians, being led captive to Rome, found means to escape by night: but being pursued by his keepers, rather than he would be taken againe, ran himselfe thorow with his Sword. Antinoüs and Theodotus, their Citie of Epirus being by the Romans reduced unto great extremitie, concluded, and perswaded all the people to kill themselves. But the counsell, rather to yeeld, having prevailed: they went to seeke their owne death, and rushed amidst the thickest of their enemies, with an intention, rather to strike, than to ward themselves. The Iland of Gosa, being some yeares since surprised and over-run by the Turkes, a certaine Sicilian therein dwelling, having two faire daughters ready to be married, killed them both with his owne hands, together with their mother, that came in to help them. That done, running out into the streets, with a crosse-bow in one hand, and a caliver in the other, at two shoots, slew the two first Turks that came next to his gates, then resolutely drawing his Sword, ran furiously among them; by whom he was suddenly hewn in peeces: Thus did he save himselfe from slavish bondage, having first delivered his owne from it. The Jewish women, after they had caused their children to be circumcized, to avoid the crueltie of Antiochus, did headlong precipitate themselves and them unto death. I have heard it credibly reported, that a Gentleman of good qualitie,
being prisoner in one of our Gaoles, and his parents advertized that he should assuredly be condemned, to avoid the infamie of so reproach-full a death, appointed a Priest to tell him, that the best remedy for his deliverie, was to recommend himselfe to such a Saint, with such and such a vow, and to continue eight dayes without taking any sustenance, what faintnesse or weakness soever he should feele in himselfe. He beleved them, and so without thinking on it, was delivered both of life and danger. Scribonia perswading Libo his nephew to kill himselfe, rather than to expect the stroke of justice, told him, that for a man to preserve his owne life, to put it into the hands of such as three or foure dayes after should come and seek it, was even to dispatch another mans businesse, and that it was no other, than for one to serve his enemies, to preserve his bloud, therewith to make food. We read in the Bible, that Nicanor the persecutor of Gods Law, having sent his Satellites to apprehend the good old man Rasias, for the honour of his vertue, surnamed the father of the Jetues; when that good man saw no other meanes left him, his gate being burned, and his enemies ready to lay hold on him, chose, rather than to fall into the hands of such villaines, and be so basely abused, against the honour of his place, to dye nobly, and so smote himselfe with his owne sword; but by reason of his haste, having not throughly slaine himselfe, he ran to throw himselfe downe from an high wall, amongst the throng of people, which making
him roome, he fell right upon his head. All which notwithstanding, perceiving life to remaine in him, he tooke heart againe; and getting up on his feet, all goared with bloud, and loaden with strokes, making way through the prease, came to a craggy and downe-steepy rocke, where unable to go any further, by one of his wounds, with both his hands he pulled out his guts, and tearing and breaking them, cast them amongst such as pursued him, calling and attesting the vengeance of God to light upon them. Of all violences committed against conscience, the most in mine opinion to be avoided, is that which is offered against the chastitie of women, forasmuch as there is naturally some corporall pleasure com-mixt with it: And therefore the dissent cannot fully enough be joyned thereunto: And it seem-eth, that force is in some sort, intermixed with some will. The ecclesiastical Storie hath in especiall reverence, sundry such examples of devout persons, who called for death to warrant them from the out-rages which some tyrants prepared against their religion and consciences. Pelagia and Sophronia, both canonized; the first, together with her mother and sisters, to escape the outrageous rapes of some soldiers, threw her selfe into a river; the other, to shun the force of Maxentius the Emperour, slew her selfe. It shall peradventure redound to our honour in future ages, that a wise Author of these dayes, and namely a Parisian, doth labour to perswade the Ladies of our times, rather to hazard upon any resolution, than to embrace so horrible a counsell.
Life held cheap for divers causes of such desperation. I am sorie, that to put amongst his discourses, he knew not the good saying I learnt of a woman at Tholouse, who had passed through the hands of some souldiers: God be praised (said she) that once in my life, I have had my belly-full without sinne. Verily these cruelties are not worthy of the French curtesie. And God be thanked, since this good advertisement; our ayre is infinitely purged of them. Let it suffice, that in doing it, they say, No, and take it, following the rule of Marot. The historie is very full of such, who a thousand wayes have changed a lingering-toylsome life with death. Lucius Aruntius killed himselfe (as he said) to avoid what was past, and eschue what was to come. Granius Sylvanus, and Statius Proximus, after they had beene pardoned by Nero, killed themselves, either because they scorned to live by the favour of so wicked a man, or because they would not another time be in danger of a second pardon, seeing his so easie-yeielding unto suspicions and accusations against honest men. Spargapises sonne unto Queene Tomiris, prisoner by the law of warre unto Cyrus, employed the first favour that Cyrus did him, by setting him free, to kill himselfe, as he who never pretended to reap other fruit by his liberty, than to revenge the infamie of his taking upon himselfe. Boges a Governour for King Xerxes in the country of Ionia, being besieged by the Athenians army under the conduct of Cymon, refused the composition, to returne safely, together with his goods and treasure into Asia, as one impatient to survive
the losse of what his Master had given him in charge; and after he had stoutly and even to the last extremity, defended the Towne, having no manner of victuals left him; first he cast all the gold, and treasure, with whatsoever he imagined the enemy might reap any commoditie by, into the river Strimon; Then having caused a great pile of wood to be set on fire, and made all women, children, concubines and servants to be stripped and throwne into the flames, afterward ran-in himselfe, where all were burned. Ninachetuen a Lord in the East Indies, having had an inkling of the King of Portugales Viceroyes deliberation to dispossesse him, without any apparant cause, of the charge he had in Malaca, for to give it unto the King of Campar; of himselfe resolved upon this resolution: First, he caused an high scaffold to be set up, somewhat longer than broad, underpropped with pillars, all gorgeously hanged with rich tapestrie, strewed with flowers, and adorned with pretious perfumes: Then having put-on a sumptuous long roabe of cloth of gold, richly beset with store of pretious stones of inestimable worth, he came out of the palace into the street, and by certaine steps ascended the scaffold, in one of the corners whereof, was a pile of aromaticall wood set afire. All the people of the Citie were flocked together, to see what the meaning of such unaccustomed preparation might tend unto. Ninachetuen with an undanted-bold, yet seeming-discontented countenance, declared the manifold obligations, which the Portugal Nation was endebted unto
Death for the sake of husband or country him for; expostulated how faithfully and truly he had dealt in his charge; that having so often witnessed, armed at all assayes for others; that his honour was much dearer unto him than life, he was not to forsake the care of it for himselfe; that fortune refusing him all meanes to oppose himselfe against the injurie intended against him, his courage, at the least willed him to remove the feeling thereof, and not become a laughing stocke unto the people, and a triumph to men of lesse worth than himselfe: which words as he was speaking, he cast himselfe into the fire. Sextilia the wife of Scaurus and Praxea wife unto Labeo, to encourage their husbands, to avoid the dangers, which pressed them, wherein they had no share (but in regard of the interest of their conjugal affection) voluntarily engaged their life, in this extreme necessitie, to serve them, as an example to imitate, and company to regard. What they performed for their husbands; Cocceius Nerva acted for his countrie, and though lesse profitable, yet equall in true love. That famous Interpreter of the lawes, abounding in riches, in reputation, in credit, and flourishing in health about the Emperour, had no other cause to rid himselfe of life, but the compassion of the miserable estate, wherein he saw the Romane common-wealth. There is nothing can be added unto the daintiesse of Fulvius wives death, who was so inward with Augustus. Augustus perceiving he had blabbed a certaine secret of importance, which he on trust had revealed unto him; one morning com-
ming to visit him, he seemed to frowne upon him for it; whereupon as guilty, he returneth home, as one full of despaire, and in piteous sort told his wife, that sithence he was falne into such a mischiefe, he was resolved to kill himselfe; shee as one no whit dismaied, replied unto him; Thou shalt doe but right, since having so often experienced the incontinence of my tongue, thou hast not learnt to beware of it, yet give me leave to kill my selfe first, and without more adoe, ran her selfe thorow with a sword. Vibius Virius despairing of his Cities safetie, besieged by the Romans, and mistrusting their mercie; in their Senates last consultation, after many remonstrances employed to that end, concluded, that the best and fairest way, was to escape fortune by their owne hands. The very enemies should have them in more honour, and Hanniball might perceive what faithfull friends he had forsaken: Enviting those that should allow of his advice, to come, and take a good supper, which was prepared in his house, where after great cheere, they should drinke together whatsoever should be presented unto him: a drinke that shall deliver our bodies from torments, free our mindes from injuries, and release our eyes and eares from seeing and hearing so many horrible mischiefes, which the conquered must endure at the hands of most cruell and offended conquerors: I have (quoth he) taken order, that men fit for that purpose shall be ready, when we shall be expired, to cast us into a great burning pile of wood. Diverse
approved of his high resolution, but few did imitate the same. Seven and twentie Senators followed him; who after they had attempted to stifle so irksome, and suppress so terror-moving a thought, with quaffing and swilling of wine, they ended their repast by this deadly messe: and entre-embracing one another, after they had in common deplored and bewailed their countries mis-fortunes; some went home to their owne houses, oothersome stayed there, to be entombed with Vibius in his owne fire; whose death was so long and lingring, forsomuch as the vapor of the wine having possessed their veines, and slowed the effect and operation of the poyson, that some lived an houre after they had seene their enemies enter Capua, which they caried the next day after, and incurred the miseries, and saw the calamities, which at so high a rate they had sought to eschue. Taurea Jubellius, another citizen there, the Consull Fulvius returning from that shameful slaughter, which he had committed of 225. Senators, called him churlishly by his name, and having arrested him; Command (quoth he) unto him, that I also be massacred after so many others, that so thou maist brag to have murthered a much more valiant man than ever thou wast. Fulvius, as one enraged, disdainning him; forasmuch as he had newly received letters from Rome contrarie to the inhumanitie of his execution, which inhibited him to proceed any further; Jubellius continuing his speech, said; sitthence my Countrie is taken, my friends butchered, and having with mine owne hands
slaine my wife and children, as the onely meane to free them from the desolation of this ruine; I may not dye the death of my fellow-citizens, let us borrow the vengeance of this hatefull life from vertue: And drawing a blade, he had hidden under his garments, therewith ran himselfe thorow, and falling on his face, died at the Consuls feet. Alexander besieged a Citie in India, the inhabitants whereof, perceiving themselves brought to a very narrow pinch, resolved obstinately to deprive him of the pleasure he might get of his victorie, and together with their Citie, in despite of his humanitie, set both the Towne and themselves on a light fire, and so were all consumed. A new kinde of warring, where the enemies did all they could, and sought to save them, they to loose themselves, and to be assured of their death, did all a man can possible effect to warrant his life. Astapa a Citie in Spaine, being very weake of wals, and other defences, to withstand the Romanes that besieged the same; the inhabitants drew all their riches, and wealth into the market-place, whereof having made a heap, and on the top of it placed their wives and children, and encompassed and covered the same with drie brush wood, that it might burne the easier, and having appointed fifty lusty young men of theirs for the performance of their resolution, made a sally, where following their determined vow, seeing they could not vanquish, suffered themselves to be slaine every mothers childe. The fifty, after they had massacred every living soule remaining
in the Citie, and set fire to the heap, joyfully leaped there-into, ending their generous liberty in a state rather insensible, than dolorous and reprochfull; shewing their enemies, that if fortune had beene so pleased, they should aswell have had the course to bereave them of the victory, as they had to yeeld it them both vaine and hideous, yea, and mortall to those, who allured by the glittering of the gold, that moulten ran from out the flame, thicke and threefold approching greedily unto it, were therein smothered and burned, the formost being unable to give bake, by reason of the throng that followed them. The Abideans pressed by Philip, resolved upon the very same, but being prevented, the King whose heart yerned and abhorred to see the fond-rash precipitation of such an execution (having first seized-upon and saved the treasure, and moveables, which they had diversly condemned to the flames and utter spoyle) retiring all the Souldiers, granting them the full space of three dayes to make themselves away, that so they might doe it with more order and pleasure; which three dayes they replenished with bloud and murther beyond all hostile crueltie: And which is strange, there was no one person saved, that had power upon himselfe. There are infinite examples of such-like popular conclusions, which seeme more violent, by how much more the effect of them is more universall. They are lesse than severall, what discourse would not doe in every one, it doth in all: The vehemence of societie, ravishing particular judge-
ments. Such as were condemned to dye in the time of Tiberius, and delaid their execution any while, lost their goods, and could not be buried; but such as prevented the same, in killing themselves, were solemnly entered, and might at their pleasure, bequeath such goods as they had to whom they list. But a man doth also sometimes desire death, in hope of a greater good. I desire (saith Saint Paul) to be out of this world, that I may be with Jesus Christ: and who shall release me out of these bonds? Cleom- brotus Ambrciota having read Platoes Phaton, was so possessed with a desire and longing for an after-life, that without other occasion or more adoe, he went and headlong cast himselfe into the sea. Whereby it appeareth how improperly we call this voluntarie dissolution, desire; unto which the violence of hope doth often transport us, and as often a peaceful and settled inclination of judgement. Jaques du Castell Bishop of Soissons, in the voyage which Saint Leues undertooke beyond the Seas, seeing the King and all his Army ready to returne into France, and leave the affaires of Religion imperfect, resolved with himselfe rather to goe to heaven; And having bidden his friends farewell, in the open view of all men, rushed alone into the enemies troops of whom he was forthwith hewn in pieces. In a certaine kingdome of these late-discovered Indies, upon the day of a solemn procession, in which the Idols they adore, are publikeely carried up and downe, upon a chariot of exceeding greatness; besides that, there are many seen to cut
Legal suicide in Marseille and slice great mammocks of their quicke flesh, to offer the said Idols; there are numbers of others seene, who prostrating themselves amongst
upon the ground, endure very patiently to be mouldred and crushed to death, under the Chariots wheeles, thinking thereby to purchase after their death, a veneration of holinesse, of which they are not defrauded. The death of this Bishop, armed as we have said, argueth more generositie, and lesse sence: the heat of the combat ammusing one part of it. Some common-wealths there are, that have gone about to sway the justice, and direct the opportunitie of voluntarie deaths. In our Citie of Marseille, they were wont in former ages, ever to keepe some poison in store, prepared and compounded with hemlocke, at the Cities charge, for such as would upon any occasion shorten their daies, having first approved the reasons of their enterprise unto the six hundred Elders of the Towne, which was their Senate: For, otherwise it was unlawfull for any body, except by the Magistrates permission, and for very lawfully-urgent occasions, to lay violent hands upon himselfe. The very same law was likewise used in other places. Sextus Pompeius going into Asia, passed thorow the Iland of Cea, belonging to Negropont; it fortuned whilst he abode there, (as one reporteth that was in his companie) that a woman of great authority, having first yeelded an accompt unto her Citizens, and shewed good reasons why she was resolved to end her life, earnestly entreated Pompey to be an assistant at
her death, that so it might be esteemed more
honourable, which he assented unto; and having
long time in vaine sought, by vertue of his elo-
quence (wherein he was exceeding ready) and
force of perswasion, to alter her intent, and re-
move her from her purpose, in the end yeelded
to her request. She had lived foure score and
ten yeares in a most happy estate of minde and
body, but then lying on her bed, better adorned
than before she was accustomed to have it, and
leaning on her elbow, thus she bespake: The
Gods, Oh Sextus Pompeius, and rather those I
forgoe, than those I goe unto, reward and appay
thee, for that thou hast vouchsafed to be both a
counseller of my life, and a witnesse of my death.
As for my part, having hitherto ever tasted the
favourable visage of fortune, for feare the desire
of living overlong should make me taste of her
frownes, with an happy and successfull end, I
will now depart, and licence the remainder of my
soule, leaving behind me two daughters of mine,
with a legion of grand-children and nephewes.
That done, having preached unto, and exhorted
all her people and kinsfolks to an unitie and
peace, and divided her goods amongst them,
and recommended her houshold Gods unto her
eldest daughter, with an assuredly-staide hand she
tooke the cup, wherein the poyson was, and hav-
ing made her vowes unto Mercurie, and prayers,
to conduct her unto some happy place in the other
world, roundly swallowed that mortall potion;
which done, she intertained the company with
the progresse of her behaviour, and as the parts
of her body were one after another possessed with the cold operation of that venom; until such time as shee said, shee felt-it worke at the heart and in her entrals, shee called her daughter to doe her the last office, and close her eyes. Plinie reporteth of a certaine Hiperborean nation, wherein, by reason of the milde temperature of the aire, the inhabitants thereof, commonly never dye, but when they please to make themselves away, and that being weary and tired with living, they are accustomed at the end of a long-long age; having first made merry and good cheare with their friends, from the top of an high-steepy rocke, appointed for that purpose, to cast themselves headlong into the Sea. Grieving-smart, and a worse death seeme to me the most excusable incitations.

Chap. IV

To morrow is a new day

I do with some reason, as me seemeth, give pricke and praise unto Jaques Amiot above all our French writers, not only for his natural purity, and pure elegancie of the tongue, wherein he excelleth all others, nor for his indefatigable constancie of so long and toyle-some a labour, nor for the unsearchable depth of his knowledge, having so successefully-happy been able to explaine an Author so close and thorny, and unfold a writer so mysterious and entangled
(for, let any man tell me what he list; I have no skill of the Greeke, but I see thorowout al his translation a sense so closely-joynted, and so pithily-continued, that either he hath assuredly understood and inned the very imagination, and the true conceit of the Author, or having through a long and continuall [conversation], lively planted in his minde a generall Idea of that of Plutarke, he hath at least lent him nothing that doth belye him, or mis-seeme him) but above all, I kon him thanks that he hath had the hap to chuse, and knowledge to cull-out so worthy a worke, and a booke so fit to the purpose, therewith to make so unvaluable a present unto his Countrie. We that are in the number of the ignorant had beeene utterly confounded, had not his booke raised us from out the dust of ignorance: God-a-mercy his endeavours we dare [now] both speake and write: Even Ladies are therewith able to confront Masters of arts: It is our breviarie. If so good a man chance to live, I bequeath Xenophon unto him, to doe as much. It is an easier peece of worke, and so much the more agreeing with his age. Moreover, I wot not how me seemeth, although he roundly and clearly disintangle himselfe from hard passages, that notwithstanding his stile is more close and neerer it selfe, when it is not laboured and wrested, and that it glideth smoothly at his pleasure. I was even now reading of that place, where Plutarke speaketh of himselfe, that Rusticus being present at a declamation of his in Rome, received a packet from the Emperour,
which he temporized to open until he had made an end: wherein (saith he) all the assistants did singularly commend the gravitie of the man. Verily, being on the instance of curiousitie, and on the greedy and insatiate passion of newes, which with such indiscreet impatience, and impatient indiscretion, induceth us to neglect all things, for to entertaine a new-come guest, and forget al respect and countenance, whersoever we be, suddenly to break up such letters as are brought us; he had reason to commend the gravitie of Rusticus: to which he might also have added the commendation of his civilitie and curtesie, for that he would not interrupt the course of his declamation; But I make a question, whether he might be commended for his wisdome: for, receiving unexpected letters, and especially from an Emperour, it might very well have fortuned, that his deferring to read them, might have caused some notable inconvenience. Recklesnes is the vice contrarie unto curiousitie; towards which I am naturally enclined, and wherein I have seen many men so extremely plunged, that three or foure dayes after the receiving of letters, which hath beeene sent them, they have beeene found in their pockets yet unopened. I never opened any, not only of such as had beeene committed to my keeping, but of such as by any fortune came to my hands. And I make a conscience, standing neare some great person, if mine eyes chance, at unwares, to steale some knowledge of any letters of importance that he readeth. Never was man lesse inquisitive, or
pryed lesse into other mens affaires, than I. In our fathers time; the Lord of Boutieres was like to have lost Turwin, forsomuch as being one night at supper in very good company, he deferred the reading of an advertisement, which was delivered him of the treasons that were practised and complotted against that Citie, where he commanded. And Plutarke himselfe hath taught me, that Julius Caesar had escaped death, if going to the Senate-house, that day wherein he was murthered by the Conspirators, he had read a memorial which was presented unto him. Who likewise reporteth the storie of Archias, the Tyrant of Thebes, how the night fore-going the execution of the enterprise that Pelopidas had complotted to kill him, thereby to set his Countrie at libertie: another Archias of Athens writ him a letter, wherein he particularly related unto him all that was conspired and complotted against him; which letter being delivered him whilst he sate at supper, he deferred the opening of it, pronouncing this by-word: To morrow is a new day, which afterward was turned to a Proverb in Greece. A wise man may, in mine opinion, for the interest of others, as not unmanerly to breake companie, like unto Rusticus, or not to discontinue some other affaire of importance, remit and defer to understand such newes as are brought him: but for his owne private interest or particular pleasure, namely, if he be a man having publike charge, if he regard his dinner so much, that he will not break it off, or his sleepe, that he will not interrupt it: to
It is hard to prescribe rules for conduct doe it, is inexcusable. And in former ages was the Consulare-place in Rome, which they named the most honourable at the table, because it was more free and more accessible for such as might casually come in, to entertaine him that should be there placed. Witnesse, that though they were sitting at the board, they neither omitted nor gave over the managing of other affaires, and following of other accidents. But when all is said, it is very hard, chiefly in humane actions, to prescribe so exact rules by discourse of reason, that fortune doe not sway, and keepe her right in them.

CHAP. V

Of Conscience

My brother the Lord of Brouze and my selfe, during the time of our civill warres, traveling one day together, we fortuned to meet upon the way with a Gentleman, in outward semblance, of good demeanour: He was of our contrarie faction, but forasmuch as he counterfeited himselfe otherwise; I knew it not. And the worst of these tumultuous intestine broyles, is, that the cards are so shuffled (your enemie being neither by language nor by fashion, nor by any other apparent marke distinguished from you; nay, which is more, brought up under the same lawes and customs, and breathing the same ayre) that it is a very hard matter to avoid confusion and shun
disorder. Which consideration, made me not a little fearefull to meet with our troopes, especially where I was not knowne, lest I should be urged to tell my name, and haply doe worse. As other times before it had befalne me; for, by such a chance, or rather mistaking, I fortuned once to lose all my men and horses, and hardly escaped my selfe: and amongst other my losses, and servants that were slaine, the thing that most grieved me, was the untimely and miserable death of a young Italian Gentleman, whom I kept as my Page, and very carefully brought up, with whom dyed, as forward, as budding and as hopefull a youth as ever I saw. But this man seemed so fearfully-dismaid, and at every encounter of horsemen, and passage, by, or thorow any Towne that held for the King, I observed him to be so strangely distracted, that in the end I perceived, and ghesed they were but guiltyalarums that his conscience gave him. It seemed unto this seely man, that all might apparently, both through his blushing selfe-accusing countenance, and by the crosses he wore upon his upper garments, read the secret intentions of his faint heart. Of such marvailous-working power is the sting of conscience: which often induceth us to bewray, to accuse, and to combat our selves; and for want of other evidences shee produceth our selves against our selves.

Occultum quatiente animo tortore flagellum.
—Juven. Sat. xiii. 195.
Their minde, the tormentor of sinne,
Shaking an unseeene whip within.
The storie of Bessus the Pœnian is so common, that even children have it in their mouths, who being found fault withall, that in mith he had beaten downe a nest of young Sparrowes, and then killed them, answered, he had great reason to doe it; forsomuch as those young birds ceased not falsely to accuse him to have murthered his father, which parricide was never suspected to have beene committed by him; and untill that day had layen secret; but the revengefull furies of the conscience, made the same partie to reveale it, that by all right was to doe penance for so hatefull and unnaturall a murther. 

Hesiodus correcteth the saying of Plato, That punishment doth commonly succeed the guilt, and follow sinne at hand: for, he affirmeth, that it rather is borne at the instant, and together with sinne it selfe, and they are as twinnes borne at one birth together. Whosoever expects punishment, suffereth the same, and whosoever deserveth it, he doth expect it. Impietie doth invent, and iniquitie doth frame torments against it selfe.

Malum consilium consultori pessimum.  
—Eras. Chil. i. cent. ii. ad. 14

Bad counsell is worst for the counsellor that gives the counsell.

Even as the Waspe stingeth and offendeth others, but her selfe much more; for, in hurting others, she loseth her force and sting for ever.

— Itasque in ulnere ponunt.  

They, while they others sting,  
Death to themselves doe bring
The Cantharides have some part in them, which by a contrarietie of nature serveth as an antidot or counterpoison against their poison: so likewise, as one taketh pleasure in vice, there is a certaine contrarie displeasure engendred in the conscience, which by sundry irksome and painfull imaginations, perplexeth and tormenteth us, both waking and asleepe.

Quippe ubi se multi per somnia sape loquentes, Aut morbo delirantes procraxe serantur, Et celata diu in medium peccata dedisse.— Lucr. v. 1168.

Many in dreames oft speaking; or unhealed, In sickness raving have themselves revealed, And brought to light their sinnes long time concealed.

Apollodorus dreamed he saw himselfe first flead by the Scythians, and then boyled in a pot, and that his owne heart murmured, saying; I only have caused this mischiefe to light upon thee. Epicurus was wont to say, that no lurking hole can shroud the wicked; for, they can never assure themselves to be sufficiently hidden, sithence conscience is ever ready to disclose them to themselves.

—prima est haec ultio, quod se Judic nemo nocens absolvtur.—Juven. Sat. xiii. 2.

This is the first revenge, no guilty mind Is quitted, though it selfe be judge assign'd.

Which as it doth fill us with feare and doubt, so doth it store us with assurance and trust. And I may boldly say, that I have waded thorow many dangerous hazards, with a more untired
pace, only in consideration of the secret knowledge I had of mine owne will, and innocence of my desseignes.

Conscia mens ut cuique sua est, ita concipit intra
   Pectora pro facto spemque metumque suo.

—Ovid. Fast. i. 485.

As each mans minde is guiltie, so doth he
Inlie breed hope and feare, as his deeds be.

Of examples, there are thousands; It shall suffice us to allege three only, and all of one man. Scipio being one day accused before the Romane people, of an urgent and capitall accusation; in stead of excusing himselfe, or flattering the Judges; turning to them, he said. It will well beseeme you to undertake to judge of his head, by whose meanes you have authoritie to judge of all the world. The same man, another time, being vehemently urged by a Tribune of the people, who charged him with sundry imputations, in lieu of pleading or excusing his cause, gave him this sudden and short answer. Let us goe (quoth he) my good Citizens; let us forthwith goe (I say) to give hartie thankes unto the Gods for the victorie, which even upon such a day as this is, they gave me against the Carthaginians. And therewith advancing himselfe to march before the people, all the assembly, and even his accuser himselfe did undelayedly follow him towards the Temple. After that, Petilius having beene animated and stirred up by Cato to solictie and demand a strict accomplt of him, of the money he had managed, and which was
committed to his trust, whilst he was in the Province of Antioch; Scipio being come into the Senate-house, of purpose to answer for himselfe, pulling out the booke of his accompts from under his gowne, told them all, that that booke contained truly, both the receipt and laying out thereof; and being required to deliver the same unto a Clarke to register it, he refused to doe it, saying he would not doe himselfe that wrong or indignitie; and thereupon with his owne hands, in presence of all the Senate, tore the booke in pieces. I cannot apprehend or beleev, that a guiltie-cauterized conscience could possibly dissemble or counterfet such an undismayed assurance: His heart was naturally too great, and enured to overhigh fortune (saith Titus Livius) to know how to be a criminall offender, and stoopingly to yeeld himselfe to the basenesse, to defend his innocencie. Torture and racking are dangerous inventions, and seeme rather to be trials of patience than Essayes of truth. And both he that can, and he that cannot endure them, conceale the truth. For wherefore shall paine or smart, rather compell me to confesse that, which is so indeed, than force me to tell that which is not? And contrariwise, if he who hath not done that whereof he is accused, is sufficiently patient to endure those torments; why shall not he be able to tolerate them, who hath done it, and is guilty indeed; so deare and worthy a reward as life being proposed unto him? I am of opinion, that the ground of his invention, proceedeth from the consideration of
the power and facultie of the conscience. For, to the guilty, it seemeth to give a kinde of furtherance to the torture, to make him confesse his fault, and weakneth and dismayeth him: and on the other part, it encourageth and strengtheneth the innocent against torture. To say truth, it is a meane full of uncertainty and danger. What would not a man say; nay, what not doe, to avoid so grievous paines, and shun such torments?

Etiam innocentes cogit mentiri dolor.—Sen. Prover.

Torment to lye sometimes will drive, Ev’n the most innocent alive.

Whence it followeth, that he whom the Judge hath tortured, because he shall not dye an innocent, he shall bring him to his death, both innocent and tortured. Many thousands have thereby charged their heads with false confessions. Amongst which I may well place Phylotas, considering the circumstances of the endictment that Alexander framed against him, and the progresse of his torture. But so it is, that (as men say) it is the least evill humane weaknesse could invent: though, in my conceit, very inhumanely, and therewithall most unprofitably. Many Nations lesse barbarous in that, than the Græcian, or the Romane, who terme them so, judge it a horrible and cruell thing, to racke and torment a man for a fault whereof you are yet in doubt. Is your ignorance long of him? What can he doe withall? Are not you unjust, who because you will not put him
to death without some cause, you doe worse than kill him? And that it is so, consider but how often he rather chuseth to dye guiltlesse, than passe by this information, much more painfull, than the punishment or torment; and who many times, by reason of the sharpnesse of it, preventeth, furthereth, yea, and executeth the punishment. I wot not whence I heard this story, but it exactly hath reference unto the conscience of our Justice. A countrie woman accused a souldier before his Generall, being a most severe Justicer, that he, with violence, had snatched from out her poore childrens hands, the small remainder of some pap or water-gruell, which shee had onely left to sustaine them, for-somuch as the Army had ravaged and wasted all. The poore woman had neither witnesse nor proove of it; It was but her yea, and his no; which the Generall perceiving, after he had summoned her to be well advised what shee spake, and that shee should not accuse him wrongfully; for, if shee spake an untruth, shee should then be culpable of his accusation: But shee constantly persisting to charge him, he forthwith, to discover the truth, and to be throughly resolved, caused the accused Souldiers belly to be ripped, who was found faulty, and the poore woman to have said true; where-upon shee was discharged. A condemnation instructive to others.
It is a hard matter (although our conceit doth willingly apply it selfe unto it) that Discourse and Instruction, should sufficiently be powerful, to direct us to action, and address us to performance, if over and besides that, we doe not by experience exercise and frame our minde, to the traine whereunto we will range it: otherwise, when we shall be on the point of the effects, it will doubtlesse finde it selfe much engaged and empeached. And that is the reason why amongst Philosophers, those that have willed to attaine to some greater excellence, have not beene content, at home, and at rest to expect the rigors of fortune, for feare she should surprise them unexperienced and finde them novices, if she should chance to enter fight with them; but have rather gone to meet and front her before, and witting-earnestly cast themselves to the triall of the hardest difficulties. Some have thereby voluntarily forsaken great riches, onely to practise a voluntarie povertie: others have willingly found out labour, and an austeritie of a toylesome life, thereby to harden and enure themselves to evill, and travell: othersome have frankly deprived themselves of the dearest and best parts of their body, as of their eyes, and members of generation, lest their over-pleasing, and too-too wanton service, might in any sort mollifie
and distract the constant resolution of their minde.
But to dye, which is the greatest worke we have to doe, exercise can nothing availe us thereunto.
A man may, by custome and experience, fortifie himselfe against griefe, sorrow, shame, want, and such like accidents: But concerning death, we can but once feele and trie the same. We are all novices, and new to learne when we come unto it. There have, in former times, beene found men so good husbands and thrifty of time, that even in death they have assayed to taste and [savour] it; and bent their minde to observe and see, what manner of thing that passage of death was; but none did ever yet come backe againe to tell us tidings of it.

—nemo expergitus extat
Frigida quem semel est vitai pausa sequuta.
—Lucr. iii. 973.

No man doth ever-after wake,
Whom once his lifes cold rest doth take.

_Canius Julius_, a noble Romane, a man of singular vertue and constancie, having beene con-
demned to death by that lewdly-mischievous monster of men, _Caligula_: besides many mar-
velous evident assurances he gave of his match-
lesse resolution, when he was even in the nicke to endure the last stroke of the executioner; a Philosopher, being his friend, interrupted him with this question, saying: _Canius_, in what state is your soule now; what doth she; what thoughts possesse you now? I thought (answered he) to keepe me ready and prepared with all my
Sleep is a foretaste of death

force, to see whether in this instant of death, so short and so neere at hand, I might perceive some dislodging or distraction of the soule, and whether it will shew some feeling of her sudden departure; that (if I apprehend or learne any thing of her) I may afterward, if I can, returne, and give advertisement thereof unto my friends. Loe-here a Philosopher, not only untill death, but even in death it selfe: what assurance was it, and what fiercenes of courage, to will that his owne death should serve him as a lesson, and have leasure to thinke else where in a matter of such consequence;

—jus hoc animi morientis habebat.
—Lucan. viii. 636.

This power of minde had he, When it from him did flee.

Me seemeth nevertheless, that in some sort there is a meane to familiarize our selves with it, and to assay it. We may have some experience of it, if not whole and perfect, at least such as may not altogether be unprofitable, and which may yelde us better fortified and more assured. If we cannot attaine unto it, we may at least approch it, and discerne the same: And if we cannot enter her fort, yet shal we see and frequant the approches unto it. It is not without reason we are taught to take notice of our sleepe, for the resemblance it hath with death. How easily we passe from waking to sleeping; with how little interest we lose the knowledge of light, and of our selves. The facultie of sleepe
might haply seeme unprofitable, and against nature, sithence it depriveth us of all actions, and barreth us of all sense, were it not that nature doth thereby instruct us, that she hath equally made us, as well to live, as to die; and by life presenteth the eternal state unto us, which she after the same reserveth for us, so to accus-tome us thereunto, and remove the feare of it from us. But such as by some violent accident are falne into a faintnes of heart, and have lost all senses, they, in mine opinion, have well-nigh beene, where they might behold her true and naturall visage: For, touching the instant or moment of the passage, it is not to be feared, it should bring any travell or displeasure with it, forasmuch as we can have, nor sense, nor feeling without leasure. Our sufferances have need of time, which is so short, and plunged in death, that necessarily it must be insensible. It is the approches that lead unto it we should feare; and those may fall within the compasse of mans experience. Many things seeme greater by imagination, than by effect. I have passed over a good part of my age in sound and per-fect health. I say, not only sound, but blithe and wantonly-lustfull. That state full of lust, of prime and mirth, made me deeme the considera-tion of sicknesses so yrkesome and horrible, that when I came to the experience of them, I have found their fits but weake, and their assaults but faint, in respect of my apprehended feare. Lo here what I daily prove. Let me be under a roofe, in a good chamber, warme-clad, and well
Montaigne relates at ease in some tempestuous and stormy night. I am exceedingly perplexed, and much grieved for such as are abroad, and have no shelter: But let me be in the storme my selfe, I doe not so much as desire to be else-where. Only to be continually pent up in a chamber, seemed intolerable to me. I have now enured my selfe to live a whole weeke, yea a moneth in my chamber full of care, trouble, alteration and weaknesse; and have found, that in the time of my best health I moaned such as were sicke, much more than I can well moane my selfe when I am ill at ease: and that the power of my apprehension did well-nigh halfe endeare the essence and truth of the thing it selfe. I am in good hope the like will happen to me of death: and that it is not worth the labour I take for so many preparations as I prepare against her; and so many helps as I call to sustaine, and assemble to endure the shocke and violence of it. But hab or nab we can never take too much advantage of it. During our second or third troubles (I doe not well remember which) I fortuned one day, for recreation sake, to goe forth and take the ayre, about a league from my house, who am seated even in the bowels of all troubles of our civill warres of France, supposing to be most safe, so neere mine owne home and [r]etreite, that I had no need of better attendance or equipage. I was mounted upon a very easie-going nag, but not very sure. At my returning home againe, a sudden occasion being offered me, to make use of this nag in a peece of service,
WHERETO HE WAS NEITHER TRAINED NOR ACCUSTOMED, one of my men (a strong sturdy fellow) mounted upon a young strong-headed horse, and that had a desperate hard mouth, fresh, lusty and in breath; to shew his courage, and to out-goe his fellowes, fortuned with might and maine to set spurrens unto him, and giving him the bridle, to come right into the path where I was, and as a Colossus with his weight riding over me and my nag, that were both very little, he overthrew us both, and made us fall with our heeles upward: so that the nag lay along astonied in one place, and I in a trance groveling on the ground ten or twelue paces wide of him; my face all torne and brused, my sword which I had in my hand a good way from me, my girdle broken, with no more motion or sense in me than a stocke. It is the only swowning that ever I felt yet. Those that were with me, after they had assayed all possible meanes to bring me to my selfe againe, supposing me dead, tooke me in their armes, and with much adoe were carying me home to my house, which was about halfe a french league thence: upon the way, and after I had for two houres space, by all, beene supposed dead and past all recoverie, I began to stir and breathe: for, so great abundance of bloud was falne into my stomake, that to discharge it, nature was forced to rowze up her spirits. I was immediately set upon my feet, and bending forward, I presently cast up, in quantitie as much clottie pure bloud, as a bucket will hold, and by the way was constrained to doe the like divers times before I
His sensations thereat could get home, whereby I began to recover a little life, but it was by little and little, and so long adoing, that my chiefe senses were much more enlining to death than to life.

Perche dubbiosa ancor del suo ritorno
Non s'assicura attonita la mente.

For yet the minde doubtfull it's returne
Is not assured, but astonished.

The remembrance whereof (which yet I beare deeply imprinted in my minde) representing me her visage and Idea so lively and so naturally, doth in some sort reconcile me unto her. And when I began to see, it was with so dim, so weake and so troubled a sight, that I could not discerne anything of the light.

—come quel c'hor' apre, hor chiude
Gli occhii, mezzo tral sonno el esser desto.

As he that sometimes opens, sometimes shuts
His eyes, betweene sleepe and awake.

Touching the function of the soule, they started up and came in the same progresse as those of the body. I perceived my selfe all bloudy; for my doublet was all sullied with the bloud I had cast. The first conceit I appre-hended, was, that I had received some shot in my head; and in truth, at the same instant, there were divers that shot round about us. Me thought, my selfe had no other hold of me, but of my lips-ends. I closed mine eyes, to helpe (as me seemed) to send it forth, and tooke a kinde of pleasure to linger and languishingly to
let my selfe goe from my selfe. It was an imagination swimming superficially in my minde, as weake and as tender as all the rest: but in truth, not only exempted from displeasure, but rather commixt with that pleasant sweetnesse, which they feele that suffer themselves to fall into a soft-slambring and sense-entrancing sleepe. I beleive it is the same state, they find themselves in, whom in the agony of death we see to droop and faint thorow weaknesse: and am of opinion, we plaine and moane them without cause, esteeming that either they are agitated with grievous pangs, or that their soule is pressed with painfull cogitations. It was ever my conceit, against the opinion of many, yea and against that of Stephanus la Boetie, that those whom we see, so overwhelmed, and faintly-drooping at the approches of their end, or utterly cast downe with the lingring tediousnesse of their deseases, or by accident of some apoplexie, or falling-evill, 

—(vi morbi sæpe coactus
    Ante oculos aliquid nostros ut fulminis icu,
    Concidit, et spumas agit, ingemit, et fremit artus,
    Desipit, extentat nervos, torquetur, anhelat,
    Inconstant et in jactando membra fatigat)
—Lucr. iii. 490.

(Some man by force of sickness driv'n doth fall,
As if by thunder stroke, before our eyes;
He fomes, he grones, he trembles over all,
He raves, he stretches, he's vex't, panting lyes,
He tyr's his limmes by tossing,
Now this now that way crossing.)
or hurt in the head, whom we heare throb and rattle, and send forth grones and gaspes, although
we gather some tokens from them, whereby it seemeth, they have yet some knowledge left and certaine motions we see them make with their body: I say, I have ever thought, they had their soule and body buried and asleepe.

\[Vivat et est vita nescius ipse sue.\]

\[—Ovid. Trist. i. El. iii. 12.\]

He lives yet knowes not he,  
That he alive should be.

And I could not beleeve, that at so great an astonishment of members, and deffailance of senses, the soule could maintaine any force within, to know herselfe; and therefore had no manner of discourse tormenting them, which might make them judge and feele the misery of their condition, and that consequently they were not greatly to be moaned. As for my selfe, I imagine no state so intolerable nor condition so horrible, as to have a feelingly-afflicted soule, void of meanes to disburthen and declare her selfe: As I would say of those we send to execution, having first caused their tongue to be cut out, were it not that in this manner of death, the most dumbe seemes unto me the fittest, namely, if it be accompanied with a resolute and grave countenance. And as those miserable prisoners which light in the hands of those hard-harted and villenous Souldiers of these times, of whom they are tormented with all manner of cruell entreatie, by compulsion to drawe them unto some excessive and unpossible ransome, keeping them al that while in so hard a condi-
tion and place, that they have no way left them to utter their thoughts and expresse their miserie. The Poets have fained, there were some Gods, that favoured the release of such as sufferd so languishing deaths.

—hunc ego Diti
Sacrum jussa fero, teque isto corpore solvo.
—Virg. Æn. iv. 703, Iris.

This to death sacred, I, as was my charge, Doe beare, and from this body thee enlarge.

And the faltering speeches and uncertaine answers, that by continuall ringing in their eares and incessant urging them, are somtimes by force wrested from them or by the motions which seeme to have some simpathy with that whereof they are examined, is notwithstanding no witnes that they live at least a perfect sound life. We do also in yawning, before sleep fully seize upon us, apprehend as it were in a slumber, what is done about us, and with a troubled and uncertaine hearing, follow the voyces, which seeme to sound but on the outward limits of our soule; and frame answers according to the last words we heard, which taste more of chance than of sense: which thing now I have proved by experience, I make no doubt, but hitherto, I have well judged of it. For, first lying as in a trance, I laboured even with my nailes to open my doublet (for I was unarmed) and well I wot, that in my imagination I felt nothing did hurt me. For, there are severall motions in us, which proceed not of our free wil.
Involuntary actions

Semianimesque micant digiti, ferrumque retractant.
—x. 396.

The halfe-dead fingers stirre, and feele,
(Though it they cannot stirre) for steele.

Those that fall, doe commonly by a naturall impulsion cast their armes abroad before their falling, which sheweth, that our members have certaine offices, which they lend one to another, and possesse certaine agitations, apart from our discourse:

Falciferos memorant currus abscindere membra,
Ut tremere in terra videatur ab artibus, id quod
Decidit abscissum, cum mens tamen atque hominis vis
Mobilitate mali non quit sentire dolorem.—LuCR. iii. 648.

They say, sith-bearing chariots limbes bereave,
So as on earth, that which cut-off they leave,
Doth seeme to quake; when yet mans force and minde
Doth not the paine, through so quicke motion, finde.

My stomacke was surcharged with clotted bloud, my hands of themselves were still running to it, as often they are wont (yea against the knowledge of our will) where we feele it to itch. There are many creatures, yea and some men, in whom after they are dead, we may see their muskles to close and stirre. All men know by experience, there be some parts of our bodies, which often without any consent of ours doe stirre, stand and lye downe againe. Now these passions, which but exterioyrly touch us, cannot properly be termed ours; For, to make them ours, a man must wholy be engaged unto
them: And the paines that our feet or hands 
feele whilst we sleepe, are not ours. When I 
came neere my house, where the tidings of my 
fall was already come, and those of my housshold 
met me, with such outcryes as are used in like 
times, I did not only answer some words, to 
what I was demanded, but some tell me, I had 
the memory to command my men to give my 
wife a horse, whom I perceived to be over-tired, 
and labouring in the way, which is very hilly, 
foule, and rugged. It seemeth this considera-
tion proceeded from a vigilant soule: yet was I 
cleane distracted from it, they were but vaine 
conceits, and as in a cloud, only moved by the 
sence of the eyes and eares: They came not 
from my selfe. All which notwithstanding, I 
knew neither whence I came, nor whither I 
go, nor could I understand or consider what 
was spoken unto me. They were but light 
effects, that my senses produced of themselves, 
as it were of custome. Whateuer the soule 
did assist it with, was but a dreame, being lightly 
touched, and only sprinkled by the soft impres-
sion of the senses. In the meane time my state 
was verily most pleasant and easefull. I felt no 
manner of care or affliction, neither for my selfe 
nor others. It was a slumbering, languishing 
and extreme weaknesse, without any paine at all. 
I saw mine owne house and knew it not; when 
I was laid in my bed, I felt great ease in my 
rest, For I had beene vilely hurred and haled 
by those poore men, which had taken the paines 
to carry me upon their armes a long and weary-

Montaigne reflects upon his accident
some way, and to say truth, they had all beene wearied twice or thrice over, and were faine to shift severall times. Many remedies were presently offered me, but I tooke none, supposing verily I had beene deadly hurt in the head. To say truth, it had beene a very happy death: For, the weaknesse of my discourse hinderd me from judging of it, and the feeblenesse of my body from feeling the same. Me thought I was yeelding up the ghost so gently, and after so easie and indolent a manner, that I feele no other action lesse burthensome than that was. But when I began to come to life againe and recover my former strength,

*It had beene a very happy death*

Ut tandem sensus convaluer e mi,
—OVID. Trist. i. El. iii. 14.

At last when all the sprites I beare,
Recall'd and recollected were,

which was within two or three houres after, I presently felt my selfe full of aches and paines all my body over; for, each part thereof was with the violence of the fall much brused and tainted; and for two or three nights after I found my self so ill, that I verily supposed I shold have had another fit of death: But that a more lively, and sensible one: (and to speak plaine) I feele my bruses yet, and feare me shall do while I live: I will not forget to tell you, that the last thing I could rightly fall into againe, was the remembrance of this accident, and I made my men many times to repeat me over and over againe, whither I was going, whence I came, and at what houre that chance
befell me, before I could throughly conceive it. Concerning the manner of my falling, they in favour of him who had beene the cause of it, concealed the truth from me, and told me other flim flam tales. But a while after, and the morrow next when my memorie began to come to it selfe againe, and represent the state unto me, wherein I was at the instant, when I perceived the horse riding over me (for being at my heeles, I chanced to espy him, and helde my selfe for dead; yet was the conceit so sudden, that feare had no leasure to enter my thoughts) me seemed it was a flashing or lightning, that smote my soule with shaking, and that I came from another world. This discourse of so slight an accident, is but vaine and frivolous, were not the instructions I have drawne from thence for my use: For truly, for a man to acquaint himselfe with death, I finde no better way than to approch unto it. Now as Plinie saith, every man is a good discipline unto himselfe, alwayes provided he be able to prie into himselfe. This is not my doctrine, it is but my study; And not another mans lesson, but mine owne; Yet ought no man to blame me if I impart the same. What serves my turne, may haply serve another mans; otherwise I marre nothing; what I make use of, is mine owne; And if I play the foole, it is at mine owne cost, and without any other bodies interest. For it is but a kind of folly, that dyes in me, and hath no traine. We have notice but of two or three former ancients, that have trodden
this path; yet can we not say, whether altogether like unto this of mine, for we know but their names. No man since hath followed their steps: it is a thorny and crabbed enterprise, and more than it makes shew of, to follow so strange and vagabond a path, as that of our spirit: to penetrate the shady, and enter the thicke-covered depths of these internall winding crankes; To chuse so many, and settle so severall aires of his agitations: And tis a new extraordinary ammusing, that distracts us from the common occupation of the world, yea and from the most recommended: Many yeares are past since I have no other aime, whereto my thoughts bend, but my selfe, and that I controule and study nothing but my selfe. And if I study any thing else, it is immediatly to place it upon, or to say better, in my selfe. And me thinkes I erre not, as commonly men doe in other sciences, without all comparison lesse profitable. I impart what I have learn’t by this, although I greatly content not my selfe with the progresse I have made therein. There is no description so hard, nor so profitable, as is the description of a mans owne life; Yet must a man handsomely trimme-up, yea and dispose and range himselfe to appeare on the Theatre of this world. Now I continually tricke up my selfe; for I uncessantly describe my selfe. Custome hath made a mans speech of himselfe vicious. And obstinately forbids it in hatred of boasting, which ever seemeth closely to follow ones selfe witnesses, whereas a man should wipe a childes
nose, that is now called to un-nose himself.

_in vicium ducit culpa fuga._—Hor. Art. Poet. 31.

Some shunning of some sinne,
Doe draw some further in.

I finde more evill than good by this remedy: But suppose it were true, that for a man to entertaine the company with talking of himselfe, were necessarily presumption: I ought not following my generall intent, to refuse an action that publisheth this crazed quality, since I have it in my selfe: and I should not conceale this fault, which I have not only in use, but in profession. Nevertheless to speake my opinion of it, this custome to condemne wine is much to blame, because many are therewith made drunke. Only good things may be abused. And I beleeve this rule hath only regard to popular defects: They are snaffles wherewith neither Saints, nor Philosophers, nor Divines, whom we heare so gloriously to speake of themselves, will in any sort be bridled. No more doe I, though I be no more the one than other. If they write purposely or directly of it, yet when occasion doth conveniently leade them unto it, faine they not, headlong to cast themselves into the lists? Whereof doth _Socrates_ treat more at large, than of himselfe? To what doth he more often direct his Disciples discourses, than to speake of themselves, not for their bookes lesson, but of the essence and moving of their soule? We religiously shrive our selves to God and our Confessor, as our neighbours to all the people.
But will some answer me, we report but accusation; wee then report all: For, even our vertue it selfe is faulty and repentable; My art and profession, is to live. Who forbids me to speake of it, according to my sense, experience, and custome; Let him appoint the Architect to speake of buildings, not according to himselfe, but his neighbours, according to another's skill, and not his owne. If it be a glory, for a man to publish his owne worth himselfe, why doth not Cicero prefer the eloquence of Hortensius, and Hortensius that of Cicero? Some may peradventure suppose that by deeds and effects, and not simply by words, I witnesse of my selfe. I principally set forth my cogitations; a shapelesse subject, and which cannot fall within the compasse of a worke-manlike production; with much ado can I set it downe in this ayrie body of the voice. Wiser men, and more learned and devout, have lived avoiding all apparent effects. Effects would speake more of fortune, than of me. They witnesse their part, and not mine; unlesse it be conjecturally and uncertainly: Parcels of a particular shew: I wholy set forth and expose my selfe: It is a Sceletos; where at first sight appeare all the vaines, muskles, gristles, sinnewes, and tendons, each severall part in his due place. The effect of the cough produceth one part, that of palenesse or panting of the heart another, and that doubtfully. I write not my gests, but my selfe and my essence. I am of opinion that a man must be very wise to esteeme himselfe,
and equally consciencious to give testimony of it: be it low, be it high indifferently. If I did absolutely seeme good and wise unto my selfe, I would boldly declare it. To speake lesse of himselfe than he possesseth, is folly and not modesty. To pay himselfe for lesse than he is worth, is basenesse and pusilanimity, saith Aristotle. No vertue aids it selfe with false-hood; and truth is never a matter of errour. And yet for a man to say more of him selfe, than he can well prove, is not ever presumption, though often sottishnesse. For a man to over-weene, and please himselfe exceedingly with what he is, and fall into indiscreet love with himselfe, is in my conceit, the substance of this vice. The best remedy to cure him, is to doe cleane contrary to that which those appoint, who in forbidding men to speake of themselves, doe consequently also inhibit more to thinke of themselves. Pride consisteth in conceit: The tongue can have no great share in it. For one to ammuse on himselfe, is in their imagination to please himselfe: And for a man to frequent and practise himselfe, is at an over-deare rate to please himselfe. But this excessse doth only breed in them, that but superficially feele and search themselves, that are seene to follow their affaires, which call idlenesse and fondnesse, for a man to entertaine, to applaud and to endeare himselfe, and frame Chimeraes, or build Castles in the ayre; deeming themselves as a third person and strangers to themselves. If any be besotted with his owne knowledge, looking upon
himselfe, let him cast his eyes towards former ages, his pride shall be abated, his ambition shall be quailed; for there shall he finde many thousands of spirits, that will cleane supprese and tread him under. If he fortune to enter into any selfe-presumption of his owne worth, let him but call to remembrance the lives of Scipio and Epaminondas; so many armies, and so many Nations, which leave him so far behind them. No particular quality shall make him proud, that therewith shall reckon so many imperfect and weake qualities that are in him, and at last the nullity of humane condition. Forso-much as Socrates had truly only nibled on the precept of his God, to know himselfe, and by that study had learned to contemne himselfe, he alone was esteemed worthy of the name of Wise. Whosoever shall so know himselfe, let him boldly make himselfe knowne by his owne mouth.

Chap. VII

Of the recompences or rewards of Honour

Those which write the life of Augustus Cesar, note this in his military discipline, that he was exceeding liberall and lavish in his gifts to such as were of any desert; but as sparing and strait-handed in meere re-compences of honour. Yet is it that himselfe had beene liberally gratified by his Unkle with
militarie rewards, before ever he went to warres. It hath beene a witty invention, and received in most parts of the worlds Common-wealths, to establish and ordaine certaine vaine and worthles markes, therewith to honor and recompence vertue: As are the wreathes of Lawrell, the Chaplets of Oake, and the Garlands of Myrtle, the forme of a certaine pecu- liar garment; the privilege to ride in Coach thorow the City; or by night to have a Torch carried before one: Some particular place to sit-in in common as- semblies; the prerogatives of certaine surnames and titles, and proper additions in armes, and such like things; the use whereof hath beene diversly received according to the opinions of Nations, which continueth to this day. We have for our part, together with divers of our neighbour-Nation, the orders of Knight-hood, which only were established to this purpose. Verily it is a most laudable use, and profitable custome, to finde meanes to reward the worth, and acknowledge the valour of rare and excel- lent men, to satisfie and content them with such payments, as in no sort charge the common- wealth, and put the Prince to no cost at all. And that which was ever knowne by ancient experience, and at other times we have plainely perceived amongst our selves, that men of quali- tie, were ever more jealous of such recom- pences, than of others, wherein was both gaine and profit: which was not without reason and great apparence. If to the prize, which ought simply to be of honour, there be other commo-
Money is a less noble reward.

Dities and riches joined, this kind of commixing, in stead of encreasing the estimation thereof, doth empaque, dissipate, and abridge it. The order of the Knights of Saint Michael in France, which of so long continuance hath beene in credit amongst us, had no greater commoditie than that it had no manner of communication with any other advantage or profit, which hath heretofore beene the cause, that there was no charge or state of what quality soever, whereeto the nobilitie pretended with so much desire, or aspired with more affection, as it did to obtaine that order; nor calling, that was followed with more respect or greatnesse. Vertue embracing with more ambition, and more willingly aspiring after a recompence, that is meerly and simply her owne, and which is rather glorious, than profitable. For, to say truth, other gifts have no use so worthy; inasmuch, as they are impoyed to all manner of occasions. With riches a man doth reward the service of a groome, the diligence of a messenger, the hopping of a dancer, the tricks of a vaulter, the breath of a Lawyer, and the basest offices a man may receive; yea, with the same poultry pelfe mony, vice is payed and sinne requited, as flatterey, murther, treason, Maguorelage, and what not? It is then no marvell, if vertue doth lesse willingly desire this kind of common trash, mony, than that which is onely proper and peculiar to her selfe, and is altogether noble and generous. Augustus had therefore reason, to be much more niggardly and sparing of this last, than of the former,
forasmuch as honour is a privilege which drawes
his principal essence from rarenesse: And so
doth vertue itselpe.

_Cui malus est nemo, quis bonus esse potest?_

—MART. xii. _Epig._ lxxxii. 2.

To him who good can see me,
Who doth none bad esteeme?

We shall not see a man highly regarded, or
extraordinarily commended, that is curiously
carefull to have his children well nurtured,
because it is a common action, how just and
worthy praise soever it be: no more than one
great tree, where the forest is full of such.
I doe not thinke that any Spartane Citizen
did boastingly glorifie himselfe for his valor,
because it was a popular vertue in that Na-
tion : And as little for his fidelity, and con-
tempt of riches. There is no recompence fals
unto vertue, how great soever it be, if it once
have past into custome: And I wot not whether
we might call it great, being common. Since
then the rewards of honour, have no other prize
and estimation than that few enjoy it, there is
no way to disannull them, but to make a largesse
of them. Were there now more men found
deserving the same than in former ages, yet
should not the reputation of it be corrupted.
And it may easily happen that more deserve
it: For, there is no vertue, doth so easily spread
it selfe as military valiancie. There is another,
true, perfect, and Philosophicall, whereof I
speake not (I use this word according to our
custome) farre greater and more full than this,
The Order of S. Michael which is a force and assurance of the soule, equally contemning all manner of contrarie accidents, upright, uniforme, and constant, whereof ours is but an easie and glimmering raie. Custome, institution, example and fashion, may effect what ever they list in the establishing of that I speake of, and easily make it vulgare, as may plainly bee seene by the experience our civill warres give us of it. And whosoever could now joyne us together, and eagerly flesh all our people to a common enterprise, we should make our ancient military name and chivalrous credit to flourish againe. It is most certaine that the recompence of our order did not in former times only concerne provis, and respect valour; it had a further aime. It was never the reward or payment of a valiant souldier; but of a famous Captaine. The skill to obey could not deserve so honorable an hire: for, cast we backe our eyes to antiquity, we shall perceive, that for the worthy obtaining thereof, there was required more universall warre-like expertnesse, and which might imbrace the greatest part, and most parts of a military man; *Neque enim cadem militares et imperatoriae artes sunt*; *For the same arts and parts belong not to a generall and common Souldier*; and who besides that, should also bee of a fit and accommodable condition for such a dignitie. But I say, that if more men should now adayes be found worthy of it, than have beene heretofore, yet should not our Princes be more liberall of it: and it had beene much better, not to bestow it
upon all them to whom it was due, than for ever to lose, (as of late we have done) the use of so profitable an invention. *No man of courage vouch-safeth to advantage himselfe of that which is common unto many.* And those which in our dayes, have least merited that honourable recompence, seeme, in all apparence, most to disdaine it, by that meanes to place themselves in the ranke of those to whom the wrong is offered by unworthy bestowing and vilifying of that badge, which particularly was due unto them. Now by de-facing and abolishing this to suppose, suddenly to be able to bring into credit, and renue a semblable custome, is no convenient enterprise, in so licentious, so corrupted, and so declining an age, as is this wherein we now live. And it will come to passe that the last shall even from her birth incur the incommodities, which have lately ruined and overthrowne the other. The rules of this new orders-dispensation had need to be otherwise wrested and constrained, for to give it authority: and this tumultuous season is not capable of a short and ordered bridle. Besides, before a man is able to give credit unto it, it is requisite a man lose the memory of the first, and of the contempt whereinto it is fallen. This place might admit some discourse upon the consideration of valour, and difference betweene this vertue and others: But *Plutarch* having often spoken of this matter, it were in vaine here for mee to repeat what he sayes of it. This is worthy to be considered, that our nation giveth the chiefe preheminence of all vertue unto vali-
ancie, as the Etymology of the word sheweth, which commeth of valour, or worth: and that according to our received custome, when after the phrase of our court and nobility we speake of a worthy man, or of an honest man, we thereby inferre no other thing than a valiant man; after the usuall Roman fashion. For, the generall denomination of vertue doth amongst them take her Etymology, of force or might. The only proper and essentiaall forme of our nobility in France, is military vocation. It is very likely, that the first vertue that ever appeared amongst men, and which to some hath given preheminence over others, hath beene this by which the strongest and more couragious have become masters over the weakest, and purchased a particular ranke and reputation to themselves: Whereby this honour and dignity of speech is left unto it: or else these nations being very warlike, have given the price unto that of vertues, which was the worthiest and more familiar unto them. Even as our passion, and this heart-panting, and mind-vexing carefull diligence, and diligent carefulnesse, which we continually apprehend about womens chastity, causeth; also that a good woman, an honest woman, a woman of honour and vertue, doth in effect and substance, signifie no other thing unto us, than a chaste wife or woman; as if to bind them to this duty, we did neglect all others, and gave them free liberty to commit any other fault, to covenant with them, never to quit or forsake this one.
Of the affection of fathers to their children
To the Lady of Estissac

MADAME, if strangenesse doe not save, or novelty shield mee, which are wont to give things reputation, I shall never, with honesty, quit my selfe of this enterprise; yet is it so fantastical, and beares a shew so different from common custome, that that may haply purchase it free passage. It is a melancholy humor, and consequently a hatefull enemy to my naturall complexion, bred by the anxietie, and produced by the anguish of carking care, whereinto some yeares since I cast my selfe, that first put this humorous conceipt of writing into my head. And finding my selfe afterward wholly unprovided of subject, and void of other matter; I have presented my selfe unto my selfe for a subject to write, and argument to descant upon. It is the only booke in the world of this kinde, and of a wilde extravagant designe. Moreover, there is nothing in it worthy the marking but this fantasticalnesse. For, to so vaine a ground and base a subject, the worlds best workman, could never have given a fashion deserving to be accompted of. Now (worthy Lady) sithence I must pourtray my selfe to the life, I should have forgotten a part of importance, if therewithall I had not represented the honour I have ever yeelded to your deserts,
which I have especially beene willing to declare in the forefront of this Chapter; Forasmuch as amongst your other good parts, and commendable qualities, that of loving amity, which you have shewen to your children, holdeth one of the first rankes. Whosoever shall understand and know the age, wherein your late husband the Lord of Estissac left you a Widdow, the great and honorable matches have beene offered you (as worthy and as many as to any other Lady in France of your condition) the constant resolution, and resolute constancie, wherewith so many yeares you have sustained, and even in spight, or athwart so manifold thorny difficulties; the charge and conduct of their affaires, which have tossed, turmoyled and removed you in all corners of France, and still hold you besieged; the happy and successfull forwardnes you, which only through your wisdome or good fortune, have given them, he will easily say with mee, that in our age we have no patterne of motherly affection more exemplare, than yours. I praise God (Madam) it hath beene so well employed: For, the good hopes, which the young Lord of Estissac, your sonne giveth of himselfe, fore-shew an undoubted assurance, that when he shall come to yeares of discretion, you shall reap the obedience of a noble, and finde the acknowledgement of a good childe. But because, by reason of his child-hood, he could not take notice of the exceeding kindnesse and many-fold offices he hath received from you, my meaning is, that if ever these my compo-
sitions shall haply one day come into his hands (when peradventure I shall neither have mouth nor speech to declare it unto him) he receive this testimonie in all veritie from me; which shall also more lively be testified unto him by the good effects, (whereof, if so it please God, he shall have a sensible feeling) that there is no Gentleman in France, more endebted to his mother, than he; and that hereafter he cannot yeeld a more certaine profe of his goodnes, and testimonie of his vertue, than in acknowledging and confessing you for such. If there be any truly-naturall law, that is to say, any instinct, universally and perpetually imprinted, both in beasts and us, (which is not without controversy) I may, according to mine opinion, say, that next to the care, which each living creature hath to his preservation, and to flie what doth hurt him; the affection which the engenderer beareth his off-spring, holds the second place in this ranke. And forasmuch as nature seemeth to have recommended the same unto us, ayming to extend, encrease, and advance, the successive parts or parcels of this her frame. It is no wonder if back-againe it is not so great from children unto fathers. This other Aristotelian consideration remembred: That hee who doth benefit another, loveth him better than hee is beloved of him againe: And hee to whom a debt is owing, loveth better, than hee that oweth: And every workman loveth his worke better, than hee should bee beloved of it againe, if it had sense or feeling. Forasmuch as we love
It is more blessed to give than to receive to be; and being consisteth in moving and action. Therefore is every man, in some sort or other in his owne workmanship. *Whosoever doth a good deed, exerciseth a faire and honest action:* *Whosoever receiveth, exerciseth only a profitable action.* And profit is nothing so much to be esteemed or loved as honesty. Honesty is firme and permanent, affording him that did it, a constant gratification. Profit is very slipperie, and easily lost, nor is the memorie of it so sweet, or so fresh. Such things are dearest unto us, that have cost us most: And to give, is of more cost than to take. Since it hath pleased God to endow us with some capacitie of discourse, that as beasts we should not servily be subjected to common lawes, but rather with judgement and voluntary liberty apply our selves unto them; we ought somewhat to yeeld unto the simple auctoritie of Nature: but not suffer her tyrannically to carry us away: only reason ought to have the conduct of our inclinations. As for me, my tast is strangely distasted to it's propensions, which in us are produced without the ordinance and direction of our judgement. As upon this subject I speak of, I cannot receive this passion, wherewith some embrace children scarsly borne, having neither motion in the soule, nor forme well to be distinguished in the body, whereby they might make themselves lovely or amiable. And I could never well endure to have them brought up or nursed neere about me. A true and well ordred affection ought to be borne
and augmented, with the knowledge they give us of themselves; and then, if they deserve it (naturall inclination marching hand in hand with reason) to cherish and make much of them, with a perfect fatherly love and loving friendship, and conformably to judge of them if they be otherwise, alwayes yeelding our selves unto reason, notwithstanding natural power. For the most part, it goeth cleane contrary, and commonly we feele our selves more moved with the sports, idlenesse, wantonnesse, and infant-trifles of our children, than afterward we do with all their actions, when they bee men: As if we had loved them for our pastimes, as we do apes, monkies, or perokitoes, and not as man. And some that liberally furnish them with sporting bables while they be children, will miserably pinch it in the least expence for necessaries when they grow men. Nay, it seemeth that the jelousie we have to see them appeare into, and injoy the world, when we are ready to leave them, makes us more sparing and close-handed toward them. It vexeth and grieveth us when we see them following us at our heeles, supposing they solicite us to be gone hence: And if we were to feare that since the order of things beareth, that they cannot indeed, neither be, nor live, but by our being and life, we should not meddle to be fathers. As for mee, I deeme it a kind of cruelty and injustice, not to receive them into the share and society of our goods, and to admit them as Partners in the understanding of our domestical affaires (if they
be once capable of it) and not to cut off and shut-up our commodities to provide for theirs, since we have engendred them to that purpose. It is meere injustice to see an old, crazed, sinnow-shronken, and nigh dead father sitting alone in a Chimny-corner, to enjoy so many goods as would suffice for the preferment and entertainment of many children, and in the meane while, for want of meanes, to suffer them to lose their best dayes and yeares, without thrusting them into publike service and knowledge of men; whereby they are often cast into despaire, to seeke, by some way how unlawfull soever to provide for their necessaries. And in my dayes, I have seene divers yong-men, of good houses so given to stealing and filching, that no correction could divert them from it. I know one very well ailed, to whom, at the instance of a brother of his (a most honest, gallant, and vertuous Gentleman) I spake to that purpose, who boldly answered and confessed unto me, that only by the rigor and covetise of his father he had beeene forced and driven to fall into such lewdnesse and wickednesse. And even at that time he came from stealing certaine jewels from a Lady, in whose bed-chamber he fortuned to come with certaine other Gentlemen when she was rising, and had almost beeene taken. He made me remember a tale I had heard of another Gentleman, from his youth so fashioned and inclined to this goodly trade of pilfering, that comming afterward to be heire and Lord of his owne goods,
resolved to give over that manner of life, could notwithstanding (if he chanced to come neere a shop, where he saw any thing he stood in need of) not chuse but steale the same, though afterward he would ever send mony and pay for it. And I have seene diverse so inured to that vice, that amongst their companions, they would ordinarily steale such things, as they would restore againe. I am a Gascoine, and there is no vice wherein I have lesse skill: I hate it somewhat more by complexion, than I accuse it by discourse. I doe not so much as desire another mans goods.

And although my Countrey-men be indeed somewhat more taxed with this fault, than other Provinces of France, yet have we seene of late dayes, and that sundry times, men well borne and of good parentage in other parts of France, in the hands of justice, and lawfully convicted of many most horrible robberies. I am of opinion that in regard of these debauches and lewd actions, fathers may, in some sort, be blamed, and that it is only long of them. And if any shall answer mee, as did once a Gentleman of good worth and understanding, that he thriftily endeavoured to hoard up riches, to no other purpose, nor to have any use and commodity of them, than to be honoured, respected and suingly sought unto by his friends and kinsfolkes, and that age having bereaved him of all other forces, it was the onely remedy he had left to maintaine himselfe in authority with his houshold, and keepe him from falling into con-
tempt and disdaine of all the world. And truly according to Aristotle, not only old-age, but each imbecillity, is the promoter, and motive of covetousnesse. That is something, but it is a remedy for an evill, whereof the birth should have beene hindered, and breeding avoyded. That father may truly be said miserable, that holdeth the affection of his children tied unto him by no other meanes than by the need they have of his helpe, or want of his assistance, if that may be termed affection: A man should yeeld himselfe respectable by vertue and sufficiency, and amiable by his goodnesse, and gentilenesse of manners. The very cinders of so rich a matter, have their value: so have the bones and reliques of honourable men, whom we hold in respect and reverence. No age can be so crazed and drooping in a man that hath lived honourably, but must needs prove venerable, and especially unto his children, whose mindes ought so to be directed by the parents, that reason and wisdome, not necessity and need, nor rudenesse and compulsion, may make them know and performe their dutie.

—et errat longe, mea quidem sententia,
Qui imperium credat esse gravius aut stabilius,
Vi quod fit, quam illud quod amicitia adjungitur.

—Ter. Adelph. act. i. sce. i. 39.

In mine opinion he doth much mistake,
Who, that command more grave, more firme doth take,
Which force doth get, than that which friendships make.
I utterly condemn all manner of violence in the education of a young spirit, brought up to honour and liberty. There is a kind of slavishnesse in churlish-rigor, and servility in compulsion; and I hold, that that which cannot be compassed by reason, wisdome and discretion, can never be attained by force and constraint. So was I brought up: they tell mee, that in all my youth, I never felt rod but twice, and that very lightly. And what education I have had my selfe, the same have I given my children. But such is my ill hap, that they dye all very yong: yet hath Leonora my only daughter escaped this misfortune, and attained to the age of six yeares, and somewhat more: for the conduct of whose youth, and punishment of her childish faults (the indulgence of her mother applying it selfe very mildly unto it) was never other meanes used but gentle words. And were my desire frustrate, there are diverse other causes to take hold of, without reproving my discipline, which I know to be just and naturall. I would also have beene much more religious in that towards male-children, not borne to serve as women, and of a freer condition. I should have loved to have stored their minde with ingenuity and liberty. I have seene no other effects in rods, but to make childrens mindes more remisse, or more maliciously head-strong. Desire we to be loved of our children? Will we remove all occasions from them to wish our death? (although no occasion of so horrible and unnaturall wishes,
Early marriage disapproved can either be just or excusable) *nullum scelus rationem habet*, no ill deed hath a good reason. 

Let us reasonably accommodate their life, with such things as are in our power. And therefore should not we marry so young, that our age do in a manner confound it selfe with theirs. For, this inconvenience doth unavoidably cast us into many difficulties, and encumbrances. This I speake, chiefly unto nobility, which is of an idle disposition, or loitering condition, and which (as we say) liveth only by her lands or rents: for else, where life standeth upon gaine; plurality and company of children is an easefull furtherance of husbandry. They are as many new implements to thrive, and instruments to grow rich. I was married at thirty yeares of age, and commend the opinion of thirty-five, which is said to be *Aristotles*. *Plato* would have no man married before thirty, and hath good reason to scoffe at them that will defer it till after fifty-five, and then marry; and condemneth their breed as unworthy of life and sustenance. *Thales* appointed the best limits, who by his mother, being instantly urged to marry whilst he was young, answered that it was not yet time; and when he came to be old, he said, it was no more time. A man must refuse opportunity to every importunate action. The ancient *Gaules* deemed it a shamefull reproach, to have the acquaintance of a woman before the age of twenty yeares; and did especially recommend unto men that sought
to be trained up in warres, the carefull preservation of their maiden-head, until they were of good yeares, forsomuch as by losing it in youth, courages are therby much weakned and greatly empaired, and by copulation with women, diverted from all vertuous action.

Ma hor cogiunto à giovinetta sposa,
Lieto homai de' figli' era invilito
Ne gli affetti di padre et di marito.

But now conjoyn'd to a fresh-springing spouse, Joy'd in his children, he was thought-abased, In passions twixt a Sire, and husband placed.

Muleasses King of Thunes, he whom the Emperour Charles the fifth restored unto his owne state againe, was wont to upbraid his fathers memorie, for so dissolutely-frequenting of women, terming him a sloven, effeminate, and a lustfull engenderer of children. The Greeke story doth note Icus the Tarentine, Chryso, Astylus, Diopomus and others, who to keep their bodies tough and strong for the service of the Olympick courses, wrestlings and such bodily exercises, they did, as long as they were possessed with that care, heedfully abstaine from all venerian acts, and touching of women. In a certaine country of the Spanish Indies, no man was suffered to take a wife, before he were fortie yeares old, and women might marry at ten yeares of age. There is no reason, neither is it convenient, that a Gentleman of five and thirtie yeares, should give place to his sonne, that is but twenty: For then
is the father as seemely, and may aswell appeare, and set himselfe forward, in all manner of voyages of warres, aswell by land as sea, and doe his Prince as good service, in court, or elsewhere, as his sonne: He hath need of all his parts, and ought truly to impart them, but so, that he forget not himselfe for others: And to such may justly that answer serve, which fathers have commonly in their mouthes: *I will not put off my clothes before I be ready to goe to bed.* But a father over-burthend with yeares, and crazed through sicknesse, and by reason of weaknesse and want of health, barred from the common societie of men, doth both wrong himselfe, injure his, idely and to no use to hoord up, and keepe close a great heape of riches, and deale of pelfe. He is in state good enough, if he be wise to have a desire to put off his clothes to goe to bed. *I will not say to his shirt, but to a good warme night-gowne:* As for other pompe and trash whereof hee hath no longer use or need; hee ought willingly to distribute and bestow them amongst those, to whom by naturall decree they ought to belong. It is reason he should have the use, and bequeath the fruition of them, since nature doth also deprive him of them, otherwise without doubt there is both envy and malice stirring. The worthiest action, that ever the Emperour Charles the fifth performed was this, in imitation of some ancients of his quality, that he had the discretion to know, that reason commanded us, to strip or shift our selves when our cloathes trouble and
are too heavy for us, and that it is high time to
go to bed, when our legs faile us. He re-
signed his meanes, his greatnesse and King-
dome to his Sonne, at what time he found
his former undanted resolution to decay, and
force to conduct his affaires, to droope in him-
selxe, together with the glory he had thereby
acquired

_Solve senescentem mature sanus equum, ne_
_Pecet ad extremum ridendus, et ilia ducat._

—Hor. i. Ep. i. 8.

If you be wise, the horse growne-old betimes
cast-off,
Lest he at last fall lame, foultier, and breed a
skoffe.

This fault, for a man not to be able to know
himselxe betimes, and not to seele the impuis-
sance and extreme alteration, that age doth
naturally bring, both to the body and the minde
(which in mine opinion is equall, if the minde
have but one halfe) hath lost the reputation of
the most part of the greatest men in the world.
I. have in my dayes both seene and familiarly
knownen some men of great authority, whom a
man might easily discerne, to be strangely fallen
from that ancient sufficiency, which I know by
the reputation they had thereby attained unto in
their best yeares. I could willingly for their
honors sake have wisht them at home about
their owne businesse, discharged from all nego-
tiations of the commonwealth and employments
of war, that were no longer fit for them. I
have sometimes beene familiar in a Gentlemans house, who was both an old man and a widdower, yet lusty of his age. This man had many daughters marriageable, and a sonne growne to mans state, and ready to appeare in the world; a thing that drew-on, and was the cause of great charges, and many visitations, wherein he tooke but little pleasure, not only for the continuall care hee had to save, but more by reason of his age, hee had betaken himselfe to a manner of life farre different from ours. I chanced one day to tell him somewhat boldly (as my custome is) that it would better beseeme him to give us place, and resigne his chiefe house to his sonne (for he had no other mannor-house conveniently well furnished) and quietly retire himselfe to some farme of his, where no man might trouble him, or disturbe his rest, since he could not otherwise avoid our importunitie, seeing the condition of his children; who afterward followed my counsell, and found great ease by it. It is not to be said, that they have any thing given them by such a way of obligation, which a man may not recall againe: I, that am ready to play such a part, would give over unto them the full possession of my house, and enjoying of my goods, but with such libertie and limited condition, as if they should give me occasion, I might repent my selfe of my gift, and revoke my deed. I would leave the use and fruition of all unto them, the rather because it were no longer fit for me to weald the same. And touching the disposing of all matters in
grosse, I would reserve what I pleased unto my selfe. Having ever judged, that it must be a great contentment to an aged father, himselfe to direct his children in the government of his household affaires, and to be able whilst himselfe liveth, to checke and controule the demeanors, storing them with instruction and advised counsell, according to the experience he hath had of them, and himselfe to addresse the ancient honour and order of his house in the hands of his successours, and that way warrant himselfe of the hopes hee may conceive of their future conduct and after success. And to this effect, I would not shun their company. I would not be far from them, but as much as the condition of my age would permit, enjoy and be a partner of their sports, mirths, and feasts. If I did not continually live amongst them (as I could not wel without offending their meetings and hindering their recreation, by reason of the peevish frowardnesse of my age, and the trouble of my infirmitie, and also without forcing their rules, and resisting the forme of life, I should then follow) I would at least live neere them, in some corner of my house, not the best and fairest in shew, but the most easefull and commodious. And not as some yeares since, I saw a Deane of S. Hillarie of Poictiers, reduced by reason and the incommoditie of his melancholy to such a continuall solitarinesse, that when I entered into his chamber he had never removed one step out of it in two and twenty yeares before: yet had all his faculties free and
I06

MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYES

The easie, onely a rheume excepted that fell into his stomache. Scarse once a weeke would he suffer any body to come and see him. Hee would ever be shut up in his chamber all alone, where no man should come, except a boy, who once a day brought him meat, and who might not tarry there, but as soone as he was in, must goe out againe. All his exercise was sometimes to walke up and downe his chamber, and now and then reade on some booke (for he had some understanding of letters) but obstinately resolved to live and dye in that course, as he did shortly after. I would endevour by a kinde of civill demeanour and milde conversation, to breede and settle in my children a true-harty-loving friendship, and unfained good will towards me. A thing easily obtained amongst well-borne mindes; For, if they prove, or be such surly-furious beasts, or given to churlish disobedience, as our age bringeth forth thousands, they must as beasts be hated, as churls neglected, and as degenerate avoided. I hate this custome, to forbid children to call their fathers father, and to teach them another strange name, as of more reverence: As if nature had not sufficiently provided for our authoritie. We call God-almighty by the name of father, and disdaine our children should call us so. I have reformed this fault in mine owne houshold. It is also folly and injustice to deprive children, especially being of competent age, of their fathers familiaritie, and ever to shew them a surly, austere, grim, and disdainefull countenance, hoping there-
by to keepe them in awfull feare and duteous obedience. For, it is a very unprofitable proceeding, and which maketh fathers yrkesome unto children; and which is worse, ridiculous. They have youth and strength in their hands, and consequently, the breath and favour of the world; and doe with mockerie and contempt receive these churlish fierce, and tyrannicall countenances, from a man that hath no lusty bloud left him, neither in his heart, nor in his vaines; meere bug-beares, and scar-crowes, to scare birdes with all. If it lay in my power to make my selfe feared, I had rather make my selfe beloved. There are so many sorts of defects in age, and so much impuissance: It is so subject to contempt, that the best purchase it can make, is the good will, love and affection of hers. Commandement and feare are no longer her weapons. I have knowen one whose youth had beene very imperious and rough, but when he came to mans age, although hee live in as good plight and health as may be, yet he chafeth, he scoldeth, he brawleth, he fighteth, he sweareth, and biteth, as the most boistrous and tempestuous master of France, he frets and consumes himselfe with carke and care and vigilancy (al which is but a jugling and ground for his [familie] to play upon, and cozen him the more) as for his goods, his garners, his cellers, his coffers, yea his purse, whilst himselfe keepes the keyes of them close in his bosome, and under his boulster, as charily as he doth his eyes, other enjoy and command the better part
of them; whilst he pleaseth and flattereth himselfe, with the niggardly sparing of his table, all goth to wracke, and is lavishly wasted in divers corners of his house, in play, in riotous spending, and in soothingly entertaining the accompts or tales of his vaine chafing, foresight and providing. Every man watcheth and keepeth sentinell against him, if any silly or heedlesse servant doe by fortune apply himselfe unto it, he is presently made to suspect him: A quality on which age doth immediately bite of it selfe. How many times hath he vaunted and applauding himselfe told me of the strict orders of his house, of his good husbandry, of the awe he kept his houehold in, and of the exact obedience, and regardfull reverence he received of all his family, and how cleare-sighted he was in his owne businesse:

Ille solus nescit omnia.
—Ter. Adel. act. iv. scen. ii. 9.

Of all things none but he,
Most ignorant must be,

I know no man that could produce more parts, both naturall and artificiall, fit to preserve his masterie, and to maintaine his absolutenesse, than he doth; yet is hee cleane falne from them like a childe. Therefore have I made choice of him, amongst many such conditions that I know, as most exemplare. It were a matter beseeming a scholasticall question, whether it be better so, or otherwise. In his presence all things give place unto him. This
vaine course is ever left unto his authority, that he is never gaine-said. He is had in awe, he is feared, he is beleived, he is respected his belly-full. Doth he discharge any boy or servant? he presently trusseth up his packe, then is he gone; but whither? onely out of his sight, not out of his house. The steps of age are so slow, the senses so troubled, the minde so distracted, that he shall live and doe his office, a whole yeare in one same house, and never be perceived. And when fit time or occasion serveth, Letters are produced from farre places, humbly suing, and pitifully complayning, with promises to doe better, and to amend, by which he is brought into favour and office againe. Doth the master make any bargaine, or dispatch that pleaseth not? it is immediatly smothered and suppressed, soone after forging causes, and devising colourable excuses, to excuse the want of execution or answer. No forraine Letters being first presented unto him, he seeth but such as are fit for his knowledge. If peradventure they come unto his hands, as he that trusteth some one of his men to reade them unto him, he will presently devise what he thinketh good, whereby they often invent, that such a one seemeth to aske him forgivenesse, that wrongeth him by his Letter. To conclude, he never lookes into his owne businesse, but by a disposed, designed and as much as may be pleasing image, so contrived by such as are about him, because they will not stirre up his choler, move his impatience, and exasperate his frowardnesse. I
have seen under different forms, many long
and constant, and of like effect economies. It
is ever proper unto women, to be readily bent
to contradict and cross their husbands. They
will with might and maine hand over head, take
hold of any colour to thwart and withstand
them: the first excuse they meet with, serves
them as a plenary justification. I have seen
some, that would in grosse steale from their
husbands, to the end (as they told their Conf-
fessors) they might give the greater almes.
Trust you to such religious dispensations. They
thinke no liberty to have, or managing to pos-
sesse sufficient authority, if it come from their
husbands consent: They must necessarily usurpe
it, either by wily craft or maine force, and ever
injuriously, thereby to give it more grace and
authoritie. As in my Discourse, when it is
against a poore old man, and for children, then
take they hold of this Title, and therewith
gloriously serve their turning and passion, and as
in a common servitude, easily usurpe and mono-
polize against his government and domination.
If they be men-children, tall, of good spirit and
forward, then they presently suborne, either by
threats, force or favour, both Steward, Bailiffe,
Clarke, Receiver, and all the Fathers Officers,
and Servant. Such as have neither wife nor
children, doe more hardly fall into this mis-
chiefe: but yet more cruelly and unworthily.
Old Cato was wont to say, So many servants, so
many enemies. Note whether according to the
distance, that was betweene the purity of his age,
and the corruption of our times, he did not fore-warne us, that *Wives, Children, and Servants are to us so many enemies.* Well fits it decrepitude to store us with the sweet benefit of ignorance and unperceiving facility wherewith we are deceived.

If we did yeeld unto it, what would become of us? Doe we not see that even then, if we have any suits in law, or matters to be decided before Judges, both Lawyers and Judges, will commonly take part with, and favour our children's causes against us, as men interested in the same? And if I chance not to spy, or plainely perceive how I am cheated, cozoned and beguiled, I must of necessitie discover in the end, how I am subject and maybe cheated, beguiled, and cozoned. And shall the tongue of man ever bee able to expresse the unvaluable worth of a friend, in comparison of these civill bonds? The lively image and Idea whereof, I perceive to be amongst beasts so unspotted. Oh with what religion doe I respect and observe the same! If others deceive me, yet do I not deceive my selfe, to esteeme my selfe capable, and of power to looke unto my selfe, nor to trouble my braines to yeeld my selfe unto it. I doe beware and keepe my selfe from such treasons, and cunny-catching in mine owne bosome, not by an unquiet, and tumultuary curiosity, but rather by a diversion and resolution. When I heare the state of any one reported or discoursed of, I ammuse not my selfe on him, but presently cast mine eyes on
my selfe, and all my wits together, to see in what state I am, and how it goeth with me. Whatsoever concerneth him, the same hath relation to me. His fortunes forewarne me, and summon up my spirits that way. There is no day nor houre, but we speake that of others, we might properly speake of our selves, could we as well enfold, as we can unfold our consideration. And many Authours doe in this manner wound the protection of their cause, by over-rashly running against that which they take hold-of, thirling such darts at their enemies, that might with much more advantage be cast at them. The Lord of Monluc, late one of the Lord Marshals of France, having lost his sonne, who died in the Iland of Madera a worthy, forward and gallant young gentleman, and truely of good hope; amongst other his griefes and regrets, did greatly move me to condole, the infinite displeasure and hearts-sorrow that he felt, inasmuch as he had never communicated and opened himselfe unto him; for, with his austere humour and continuall endeavoring to hold a grimmestern-fatherly gravity over him, he had lost the meanes, perfectly to finde and throughly to know his sonne, and so to manifest unto him the extreme affection he bare him, and the worthy judgement he made of his vertue. Alas (was he wont to say) the poore lad saw never any thing in me, but a severe-surdy-countenance, full of disdaine, and haply was possessed with this conceit, that I could neither love nor esteeme him according to his merits. Ay-me,
to whom did I reserve, to discover that singular and loving affection, which in my soule I bare unto him? Was it not he that should have had all the pleasure and acknowledgement thereof? I have forced and tormented my selfe to main-
taine this vaine maske, and have utterly lost the pleasure of his conversation, and therewithal his good will, which surely was but faintly cold towards me, forsomuch as he never received but rude entertainment of mee, and never felt but a tyrannicall proceeding in me towards him. I am of opinion, his complaint was reasonable and well grounded. For, as I know by certaine experience, there is no comfort so sweet in the losse of friends, as that our owne knowledge or conscience tells us, we never omitted to tell them everything, and expostulate all matters unto them, and to have had a perfect and free communication with them. Tell me my good friend, am I the better or the worse by having a taste of it? Surely I am much the better. His griefe doth both comfort and honour mee. Is it not a religious and pleasing office of my life, for ever to make the obsequies thereof? Can there be any pleasure worth this privation? I doe un-
fold and open my self as much as I can to mine owne people, and willingly declare the state of my will and judgment toward them, as commonly I doe towards all men: I make haste to pro-
duce and present my selfe, for I would have no man mistake me, in what part soever. Amongst other particular custumes, which our ancient Gaules had, (as Cæsar affirmeth) this was one,
Unequal testamentary distribution that children never came before their fathers, nor were in any publike assembly seene in their company, but when they began to beare armes; as if they would infer, that then was the time, fathers should admit them to their acquaintance and familiarity. I have also observed another kinde of indiscretion in some fathers of our times, who during their owne life, would never be induced to acquaint or impart unto their children, that share or portion, which by the Law of Nature, they were to have in their fortunes: Nay, some there are, who after their death bequeath and commit the same auctority, over them and their goods, unto their wives, with full power and law to dispose of them at their pleasure. And my selfe have knownen a Gentleman, a chiefe officer of our crowne, that by right and hope of succession (had he lived unto it) was to inherit above fifty thousand crownes a yeere good land, who at the age of more then fifty yeeres fell into such necessity and want, and was run so farre in debt, that he had nothing left him, and as it is supposed died for very need; whilsts his mother in her extreme decrepitude, enjoyed all his lands and possessed all his goods, by vertue of his fathers will and testament, who had lived very neere four-score years. A thing (in my conceit) no way to be commended, but rather blamed. Therefore doe I thinke, that a man but little advantaged or bettered in estate, who is able to live of himselfe, and is out of debt, especially if he have children, and goeth about
to marry a wife, that must have a great joynter
out of his lands, assuredly there is no other
debt, that brings more ruine unto houses then
that. My predecessors have commonly followed
this counsell, and so have I, and all have found
good by it. But those that dissuade us from
marrying of rich wives, lest they might proove
over disdainefull and peevish, or lesse tractable
and loving, are also deceived to make us neglect
and for-goe a reall commoditie, for so frivolous
a conjecture. To an unreasonable woman, it is
all one cost to her, whether they passe under
one reason, or under another. They love to be
where they are most wronged. Injustice doth
allure them; as the honour of their vertuous
actions enticeth the good. And by how much
richer they are, so much more milde and gentle
are they: as more willingly and gloriously
chaste, by how much fairer they are. Some
colour of reason there is, men should leave the
administration of their goods and affaires unto
mothers, whilst their children are not of com-
petent age, or fit according to the lawes to
manage the charge of them: And ill hath their
father brought them up, if he cannot hope, these
comming to yeares of discretion, they shal have
no more wit, reason, and sufficiencie, than his
wife, considering the weaknesse of their sexe.
Yet truly were it as much against nature, so
to order things, that mothers must wholly de-
pend of their childrens discretion. They ought
largely and competently to be provided, where-
with to maintaine their estate, according to the
quality of their house and age: because need and want is much more unseemely and hard to be indured in women, than in men: And children rather than mothers ought to be charged therewith. In generall, my opinion is, that the best distribution of goods, is when we die, to distribute them according to the custome of the Country. The Lawes have better thought upon them than we: And better it is to let them erre in their election, than for us rashly to hazard to faile in ours. They are not properly our owne, since without us, and by a civil prescription, they are appointed to certaine successours. And albeit we have some further liberty, I thinke it should be a great and most apparant cause to induce us to take from one, and barre him from that, which Fortune hath allotted him, and the common Lawes and Justice hath called him unto: And that against reason wee abuse this liberty, by suting the same unto our private humours and frivolous fantasies. My fortune hath beene good, inasmuch as yet it never presented mee with any occasions, that might tempt or divert my affections from the common and lawful ordinance. I see some, towards whom it is but labour lost, carefully to endeavour to doe any good offices. A word ill taken defacesthe merit of ten yeeres. Happy he, that at this last passage is ready to sooth and applaud their will. The next action transporteth him; not the best and most frequent offices, but the freshest and present worke the deed. They are people that play with their wils and testaments, as with
apples and rods, to gratifie or chastize every action of those who pretend any interest thereunto. It is a matter of over-long pursuite, and of exceeding consequence, at every instance to be thus dilated, and wherein the wiser sort establish themselves once for all, chiefly respecting reason, and publike observance. We somewhat over-much take these masculine substitutions to hart, and propose a ridiculous eternity unto our names. We also over-weight such vaine future conjectures, which infant-spirits give-us. It might peradventure have beene deemed injustice, to displace me from out my rancke, because I was the dullest, the slowest, the unwillingest, and most leaden-pated to learne my lesson or any good, that ever was, not onely of all my brethren, but of all the children in my Countrie; were the lesson concerning any exercise of the minde or body. It is follie to trie anie extraordinarie conclusions upon the trust of their divinations, wherein we are so often deceived. If this rule may be contradicted, and the des- tinies corrected, in the choice they have made of our heires, with so much more apparence, may it be done in consideration of some remarkable and enormous corporall deformitie; a constant and incorrigible vice; and according to us great esteemers of beautie; a matter of important prejudice. The pleasant dialogue of Plato the law-giver, with his citizens, will much honor this passage. Why then (say they) perceiving their end to approch, shall we not dispose of that which is our owne, to whom and
Advice of the Law-giver

according as we please? Oh Gods what cruelty is this? That it shall not be lawfull for us, to give or bequeath more or lesse according to our fantasies, to such as have served us, and taken paines with us in our sicknesses, in our age, and in our busines? To whom the Law-giver answereth in this manner; My friends (saith he) who doubtlesse shall shortly die, it is a hard matter for you, both to know your selves, and what is yours, according to the Delphike inscription: As for me, who am the maker of your lawes, I am of opinion that neither your selves are your owne, nor that which you enjoy. And both you and your goods, past and to come, belong to your familie; and moreover both your families and your goods are the common wealths: Wherfore, lest any flatterer, either in your age, or in time of sickness, or any other passion, should unadvisedly induce you to make any unlawfull conveyance or unjust will and testament, I will looke to you and keepe you from it. But having an especiall respect both to the universall interest of your Citie, and particular state of your houses, I will establish lawes, and by reason make you perceive and confesse that a particular commoditie ought to yeeld to a publike benefit. Follow that course meerely, whereto humane necessitie doth call you. To me it belongeth, who have no more regard to one thing, than to another, and who as much as I can, take care for the general, to have a regardfull respect of that which you leave behind you. But to returne to my former discourse, me thinkes, we
seldome see that woman borne, to whom the
superioritie or majestie over men is due, except
the motherly and naturall; unless it be for the
chastisement of such, as by some fond-febricitant
humor have voluntarily submitted themselves
unto them: But that doth nothing concerne old
women, of whom we speake here. It is the
aparance of this consideration, hath made us to
frame, and willingly to establish this law (never
seen elsewhere) that barreth women from the
succession of this crowne, and there are few
principalities in the world, where it is not
alleged, aswel as here, by a likely and apparant
reason, which authoriseth the same. But for-
tune hath given more credit unto it in some
places, than in other some. It is dangerous to
leave the dispensation of our succession unto
their judgement, according to the choyse they
shall make of their children, which is most
commonly unjust and fantasticall. For, the
same unrulie appetite, and distasted relish, or
strange longings, which they have when they
are great with child, the same have they at all
times in their minds. They are commonly
seen to affect the weakest, the simplest and
most abject, or such (if they have any) that had
more need to sucke. For, wanting reasonable
discourse to chuse, and embrace what they ought,
they rather suffer themselves to be directed,
where natures impressions are most single, as
other creatures, which take no longer knowledge
of their young ones, than they are sucking.
Moreover, experience doth manifestly shew unto
Goats as foster-mothers us, that the same naturall affection, to which we ascribe so much authoritie, hath but a weake foundation. For a very small gaine, we daily take mothers owne children from them and induce them to take charge of ours; Doe we not often procure them to bequeath their children to some fond, filthie, sluttish, and unhealthie nurce, to whom we would be very loth to commit ours, or to some brutish Goat, not onely forbidding them to nurce and feed their owne children (what danger soever may betide them) but also to have any care of them, to the end they may the more diligently follow, and carefully attend the service of ours? Whereby wee soone see through custome a certaine kinde of bastard-affection to be engendred in them, more vehement than the naturall, and to be much more tender and careful for the welfare and preservation of other mens children, than for their owne. And the reason why I have made mention of Goats, is, because it is an ordinarie thing round about me where I dwell, to see the countrie women, when they have not milke enough to feed their infants with their owne breasts, to call for Goats to helpe them. And my selfe have now two lackies wayting upon me, who except it were eight daies never suck’t other milke than Goats; They are presently to come at call, and give young infants sucke, and become so well acquainted with their voice, that when they heare them crie, they runne forthwith unto them. And if by chance they have any other child put to their teats, than their nurseling, they refuse and reject
him, and so doth the childe a strange Goat. My selfe saw that one not long since, from whom the father tooke a Goat, which he had sucked two or three daies, because he had but borrowed it of one of his neighbours, who could never be induced to sucke any other, whereby he shortly died; and as I verily thinke, of meere hunger. Beasts as well as we doe soone alter, and easily bastardize their naturall affection. I beleeeve, that in that, which Herodotus reporteth of a certaine province of Libia, there often followeth great error and mistaking. He saith, that men doe indifferently use, and as it were in common frequent women; And that the childe as soone as he is able to goe, comming to any solemne meetings and great assemblies, led by a naturall instinct, findeth out his owne father: where being turned loose in the middest of the multitude, looke what man the childe doth first addresse his steps unto, and then goe to him, the same is ever afterward reputed to be his right father. Now if we shall duly consider this simple occasion of loving our children, because we have begotten them, for which we call them our other selves. It seemes there is another production comming from us, and which is of no lesse recommendation and consequence. For what we engender by the minde, the fruits of our courage, sufficiencie, or spirit, are brought forth by a far more noble part, than the corporall, and are more our owne. We are both father and mother together in this generation: such fruits cost us much dearer, and bring us more honour, and chiefly if they have any
good or rare thing in them. For the value of our other children, is much more theirs, than ours. The share we have in them is but little; but of these all the beautie, all the grace, and all the worth is ours. And therefore doe they represent, and resemble us much more lively than others. *Plato* addeth moreover, that these are immortall issues, and immortalize their fathers, yea and deifie them, as *Licurgus, Solon*, and *Minos*. All histories being full of examples of this mutuall friendship of fathers toward their children, I have not thought it amisse to set downe some choice one of this kinde. *Heliodorus* that good Bishop of *Tricea*, loved rather to lose the dignity, profit and devotion of so venerable a Prelateship, than to for-goe his daughter, a young woman to this day commended for hir beautie, but haply somewhat more curiously and wantonly pranked-up than beseemed the daughter of a churchman and a Bishop, and of over-amorous behaviour. There was one *Labienus* in *Rome*, a man of great worth and authority, and amongst other commendable qualities, most excellent in all maner of learning, who (as I think) was the sonne of that great *Labienus*, chiefe of all the captaines that followed and were under *Cæsar* in the warres against the Gaules, and who afterward taking great *Pompeys* part, behaved himselfe so valiantly and so constantly, that he never forsooke him until *Cæsar* defeated him in *Spaine*. This *Labienus* of whom I spake, had many that envied his vertues; But above all (as it is likely) courtiers,
and such as in his time were favored of the Em-
perors, who hated his franknesse, his fatherly
humors, and distaste he bare still against tyrannie;
wherewith it may be supposed he had stuffed his
bookes and compositions. His adversaries vehe-
mently pursued him before the Magistrate of Rome,
and prevailed so far, that many of his works which
he had published were condemned to be burned.
He was the first on whom this new example of
punishment was put in practice, which after con-
tinued long in Rome, and was executed on divers
others, to punish learning, studies, and writings
with death and consuming fire. There were
neither meanes enough, or matter sufficient of
crueltie, unlesse we had entermengled amongst
them things, which nature hath exempted from
all sense and sufferance, as reputation, and the
inventions of our minde: and except we com-
municated corporall mischiefes unto disciplines
and monuments of the Muses. Which losse
Labienus could not endure, nor brooke to sur-
vive those his deare, and highly-esteemed issues:
And therefore caused himselfe to be carried,
and shut up alive within his auncestors monument,
where, with a dreadlesse resolution, he at once
provided, both to kill himselfe and be buried to-
gether. It is hard to shew any more vehement
fatherly affection, than that. Cassius Severus, a
most eloquent man, and his familiar friend, see-
ing his Bookes burnt, exclaimed, that by the same
sentence hee should therewithall be condemned
to be burned alive, for hee still bare and kept
in minde, what they contained in them. A like
The accident happened to *Geruntius Cordus*, who was accused to have commended *Brutus* and *Cassius* in his Bookes. That base, servile, and corrupted Senate, and worthie of a farre worse master than *Tiberius*, adjudged his writings to be consumed by fire. And he was pleased to accompany them in their death; for, he pined away by abstaining from all manner of meat. That notable man, *Lucane*, being adjudged by that lewd varlet *Nero* to death; at the latter end of his life, when all his bloud was well-nigh spent from out the veines of his arme, which by his Physitian he had caused to be opened, to hasten his death, and that a chilling cold began to seize the uttermost parts of his limbes, and approch his vital spirits, the last thing he had in memory, was some of his owne verses, written in his booke of the *Pharsalian* warres, which with a distinct voice hee repeated, and so yeeldon up the ghost, having those last words in his mouth. What was that but a kinde, tender, and fatherly farwell which he tooke of his children? representing the last adiewes, and parting imbracements, which at our death we give unto our dearest issues? And an effect of that naturall inclination, which in that last extremity puts us in minde of those things, which in our life-time we have held dearest and most precious? Shall we imagine that *Epicurus*, who (as himselfe said) dying tormented with the extreme paine of the chollik, had all his comfort in the beauty of the doctrine which he left behinde him in the world, would have received as much contentment of a number of well-borne,
and better-bred children (if he had had any) as he did of the production of his rich compositions? And if it had beene in his choice, to leave behind him, either a counterfeit, deformed, or ill-borne childe, or a foolish, triviall, and idle booke, not onely he, but all men in the world besides of like learning and sufficiency, would much rather have chosen to incurre the former than the later mischiefe. It might peradventure be deemed impiety, in Saint Augustine (for example-sake) if on the one part one should propose unto him, to bury all his bookes, whence our religion receiveth so much good, or to interre his children (if in case he had any) that he would not rather chuse to bury his children, or the issue of his loynes, than the fruits of his minde. And I wot not well, whether my selfe should not much rather desire to beget and produce a perfectly-well-shaped, and excellently-qualited infant, by the acquaintance of the Muses, than by the copulation of my wife. Whatsoever I give to this, let the world allow of it as it please, I give it as purely and irrevocable, as any man can give to his corporal children. That little good which I have done him, is no longer in my disposition. He may know many things, that my selfe know no longer, and hold of me what I could not hold my selfe: and which (if need should require) I must borrow of him as of a stranger. If I be wiser than he, he is richer than I. There are few men given unto Poesie, that would not esteeme it for a greater honour, to be the fathers of Virgil's Æneidos,
than of the goodliest boy in Rome, and that would not rather endure the losse of the one than the perishing of the other. For, according to Aristotle, Of all workemen, the Poet is principally the most amorous of his productions and conceited of his Labours. It is not easie to be beleeved, that Epaminondas, who wanted to leave some daughters behind him, which unto all posterity, should one day highly honour their father (they were the two famous victories, which he had gained of the Lacedemonians) would ever have given his free consent, to change them, with the best-borne, most gorgeous, and goodliest damsels of all Greece: or that Alexander, and Caesar, did ever wish to be deprived of the greatness of their glorious deeds of warre, for the commodity to have children and heires of their owne bodies, how absolutely-perfect, and well-accomplished so ever they might be. Nay, I make a great question, whether Phidias or any other excellent Statuary, would as highly esteeme, and dearely love the preservation, and successefull continuance of his naturall children, as he would an exquisite and match-lesse-wrought Image, that with long study, and diligent care he had perfected according unto art. And as concerning those vicious and furious passions, which sometimes have inflamed some fathers to the love of their daughters, or mothers towards their sonnes; the very same, and more partially-earnest is also found in this other kinde of childe-bearing and alliance. Witnesse that which is reported of Pigmalion, who having curiously framed a
goodly statue, of a most singularly-beauteous
woman, was so strange-fondly, and passionately
surprised with the lustfull love of his owne
workmanship, that the Gods through his raging
importunity were faine in favour of him to give
it life.

Tentatum mollescit ebur, positoque rigore
Subsidit digitis. —Ovid. Metam. x. 283.
As he assaid it, th' yvorie softned much,
And (hardnesse left) did yeeld to fingers touch.

Chap. IX
Of the Parthians Armes

IT is a vitious, fond fashion of the Nobility
and Gentry of our age, and full of nicetendernesse, never to betake themselves to armes,
except upon some urgent and extreme necessitie;
and to quit them as soone as they perceive the
least hope or apparance, that the danger is past:
Whence ensue many disorders, and inconveniences: For, every one running and calling
for his armes when the alarum is given, some
have not yet buckled their cuirace, when their
fellowes are already defeated. Indeed our fore-
fathers would have their Caske, Lance, Gantlets,
and Shields carried, but so long as the service
lasted, themselves would never leave-off their
other peeces. Our troopes are now all con-
founded and disordered, by reason of bag and

Vol. III.
baggage, or carriages, of lackies, and foot-boies, which because of their masters armes they carry, can never leave them. *Titus Livius*, speaking of the French, saith, *Intolerantissima laboris corpora vix arma humeris gerebant* (Liv. dec. i. 10). Their bodies most impatient of labour could hardly beare armour on their backes. Divers Nations, as they did in former times, so yet at this day, are seene to goe to the warres, without any thing about them, or if they had, it was of no defence; but were all naked and bare.

*Tegmina queis capitum raptus de subere cortex.*


Whose caske to cover all their head,
Was made of barke from Corke-tree flea’d.

*Alexander* the most daring and hazardous Captain that ever was, did very seldom arme himselfe: And those which amongst us neglect them, doe not thereby much empaire their reputation. If any man chance to be slaine for want of an armour, there are as many more that miscarry with the over-heavy burthen of their armes, and by them are engaged, and by a counterbuffe are brused, or otherwise defeated. For in truth to see the unweildy weight of our and their thickness, it seemeth we but endeavour to defend our selves, and we are rather charged than covered by them. We have enough to doe, to endure the burthen of them, and are so engived and shackled in them, as if we were to fight but with the shocke or brunt of our armes: And as if we were as much bound to defend them, as
they to shield us. *Cornelius Tacitus* doth pleasantly quip and jest at the men of war of our ancient Gaules, so armed, only to maintaine themselves, as they that have no meane, either to offend or to be offended, or to raise themselves being overthrowne. *Lucullus* seeing certaine Median men at armes, which were in the front of *Tigranes* Army, heavily and unweildily armed, as in an iron prison, apprehended thereby an opinion, that he might easily defeat them, and began to charge them first, and got the victory. And now that our Muskettiers, are in such credit, I thinke we shall have some invention found to immure us up, that so we may be warranted from them, and to traine us to the warres in Skonces and Bastions, as those which our fathers caused to be carried by Elephants. A humour farre different from that of *Scipio* the younger, who sharply reprooved his souldiers, because they had scattered certaine Calthrops under the water alongst a dike, by which those of the Towne that he besieged might sally out upon him, saying; *that those which assaulted, should resolve to enterprise and not to feare*: And had some reason to feare, that this provision might secure and lull their vigilancy asleepe to guard themselves. Moreover he said to a young man, that shewed him a faire shield he had; Indeed good youth, it is a faire one, but a Roman souldier ought to have more confidence in his right hand, than in his left. It is onely custome that makes the burthen of our armes intolerable unto us.
Ancient
military
discipline

L’ usbergo in dosso haveano, e l’ elmo in testa,
Duo di quelli guerrier de i quali io canto.
Ne notte o di dopo ch’ entraro in questa
Stanza, gl’ havean mai messi da canto;
Che facile à portar come la vesta
Era lor, perche in uso l’ havean tanto.

—Ariosto, Orl. can. xii. stan. 30.

Cuirasse on backe did those two warriors beare,
And caske on head, of whom I make report,
Nor day, nor night, after they entred there,
Had they them laid aside from their support:
They could with ease them as a garment weare,
For long time had they usde them in such sort.

The Emperour Caracalla in leading of his
Army was ever wont to march afoot armed
at all assaies. The Roman footmen caried not
their morions, sword and target only, as for
other armes (saith Cicero) they were so accus-
tomed to weare them continually, that they
hindered them no more than their limbs: *Arma
enim, membra militis esse dicunt:* for they say
armor and weapon, are a souldiers limbs. But
therewithal such victuals as they should need
for a fortnight and a certaine number of stakes,
to make their rampards or palisadoes with;
so much as weighed threescore pound weight.
And Marius his souldiers thus loden, marching
in battal-array, were taught to march five leagues
in five houres, yea six if need required. Their
military discipline was much more laboursome
than ours: So did it produce far different effects.
Scipio the yonger reforming his army in Spaine,
appointed his souldiers to eat no meat but stand-
ing, and nothing sodden or rosted. It is worth
the remembrance how a Lacedemonian souldier
being in an expedition of warre, was much noted and blamed, because hee was once seen to seeke for shelter under a house: They were so hardened to endure all manner of labour and toyle, that it was counted a reprochfull infamy for a souldier to be seen under any other roose than that of heavens-vault, in what weather soever: Were we to doe so, we should never lead our men far. Marcellinus a man well trained in the Roman wars, doth curiously observe the manner which the Parthians used to arme themselves, and noteth it so much the more, by how much it was far different from the Romans. They had (saith he) certaine armes so curiously enterwrought as they seemed to be made like feathers, which nothing hindered the stirring of their bodies, and yet so strong, that our darts hitting them, did rather rebound, or glance by, than hurt them (they be the scales our ancestors were so much wont to use). In another place, they had (saith he) their horses stiffe and strong, covered with thicke hides and themselves armed from head to foot, with massie iron plates so artificially contrived, that where the joynts are, there they furthered the motion, and helped the stirring. A man would have said, they had been men made of yron: For they had peeces so handsomly fitted and so lively representing the forme and parts of the face; that there was no way to wound them, but at certaine little holes before their eyes, which served to give them some light, and by certaine chinckes about their nostrils, by which they hardly drew breath.
Mon-taigne justifies his

The bending plate is hook't on limbes ore-spread,
Fearefull to sight, steele images seem'd lead,
And men to breathe in mettall with them bred,
Like furniture for horse, with steeled head,
They threat, and safe from wound,
With barr'd limbs tread the ground.

Loe-heere a description, much resembling the equipage of a compleat French-man at armes, with all his bards. Plutarke reporteth that Demetrius caused two Armours to be made, each one weighing six score pounds, the one for himselfe, the other for Alcinus, the chiefe man of war, that was next to him, whereas all common Armours weighed but threescore.

**Chap. X**

**Of Bookes**

I MAKE no doubt but it shall often befall me to speake of things, which are better, and with more truth handled by such as are their crafts-masters. Here is simply an Essay of my naturall faculties, and no whit of those I have acquired. And he that shall tax me with ignorance, shall have no great victory at my
hands; for hardly could I give others reason for my discourses, that give none unto my selfe, and am not well satisfied with them. He that shall make search after knowledge, let him seeke it where it is: there is nothing I professe lesse. These are but my fantasies, by which I endeavour not to make things known, but my selfe. They may haply one day be known unto me, or have bin at other times, according as fortune hath brought me where they were declared or mani-fested. But I remember them no more. And if I be a man of some reading, yet I am a man of no remembring, I conceive no certainty, except it bee to give notice, how farre the knowledge I have of it, doth now reach. Let no man busie himselfe about the matters, but on the fashion I give them. Let that which I borrow be survaied, and then tell me whether I have made good choice of ornaments, to beautifie and set forth the invention, which ever comes from mee. For, I make others to relate (not after mine owne fantasies, but as it best falleth out) what I cannot so well expresse, either through unskill of language, or want of judgement. I number not my borrowings, but I weigh them. And if I would have made their number to pre-vaile, I would have had twice as many. They are all, or almost all of so famous and ancient names, that me thinks they sufficiently name themselves without mee. If in reasons, com-parisons and arguments, I transplant any into my soile, or confound them with mine owne, I purposely conceale the Author, thereby to
bridle the rashnesse of these hastie censures, that are so head long cast upon all manner of compositions, namely young writings, of men yet living; and in vulgare, that admit all the world to talke of them, and which seemeth to convince the conception and publike designe alike. I will have them to give Plutarch a bob upon mine owne lips, and vex themselves, in wronging Seneca in mee. My weakenesse must be hidden under such great credits. I will love him that shal trace, or unfeather me; I meane through clearenesse of judgement, and by the onely distinction of the force and beautie of my Discourses. For my selfe, who for want of memorie, am ever to seeke, how to trie and refine them, by the knowledge of their country, knowe perfectly, by measuring mine owne strength, that my soyle is no way capable, of some over-pre-tious flowers, that therin I find set, and that all the fruits of my encrease could not make it amends. This am I bound to answer-for, if I hinder my selfe, if there be either vanitie, or fault in my Discourses, that I perceive not or am not able to discerne, if they be shewed me. For, many faults doe often escape our eyes; but the infirmitie of judgement consisteth in not being able to perceive them, when another discovereth them unto us. Knowledge and truth may be in us without judgement, and we may have judgement without them: Yea, the acknowledgement of ignorance, is one of the best and surest testimonies of judgement that I can finde. I have no other Sergeant of band to marshall
my rapsodies, than fortune. And looke how my humours or conceites present them-selves, so I shuffle them up. Sometimes they prease out thicke and three-fold, and other times they come out languishing one by one. I will have my naturall and ordinarie pace seene as loose, and as shuffling as it is. As I am, so I goe on plodding. And besides, these are matters, that a man may not be ignorant of, and rashly and casually to speake of them. I would wish to have a more perfect understanding of things, but I will not purchase it so deare, as it cost. My intention is to passe the remainder of my life quietly, and not laboriously, in rest, and not in care. There is nothing I will trouble or vex my selve about, no not for Science it selfe, what esteeme soever it be-of. I doe not search and tosse over Books, but for an honester recreation to please, and pastime to delight my selve: or if I studie, I onely endeavour to find out the knowledge that teacheth or handleth the knowledge of my selfe, and which may instruct me how to die well, and how to live well.

_Has meus ad metas sudet oportet equus._

—Propert. iv. El. i. 70.

My horse must sweating runne,
That this goale may be wonne.

If in reading I fortune to meet with any difficult points, I fret not my selve about them, but after I have given them a charge or two, I leave them as I found them. Should I earnestly plod upon them I should loose both time and my
MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYES

Montaigne

Monselfe; for I have a skipping wit. What I see not at the first view, I shall lesse see it, if I opinionate my selfe upon it. I doe nothing without blithnesse; and an over obstinate con-
tinuation and plodding contention, doth daze, dul and weary the same: My sight is thereby confounded and diminished. I must therefore withdraw-it, and at fittes goe to it againe. Even as to judge well of the lustre of scarlet we are taught to cast our eyes over it, in running it over by divers glances, sodaine glimpses, and reiterated reprisings. If one booke seeme tedious unto me, I take another, which I follow not with any earnestnesse, except it be at such hours as I am idle, or that I am weary with doing nothing. I am not greatly affected to new books, because ancient Authors are in my judgement more full and pithy: nor am I much addicted to Greeke books, forasmuch as my understanding can[not] well rid his worke with a childish and apprentice intelligence. Amongst moderne booke meerly pleasant, I esteeme Bocace his Decameron, Rabelais, and the kisses of John the second (if they may be placed under this title) worth the paines-taking to reade them. As for Amadis and such like trash of writings, they had never the credit so much as to allure my youth to delight in them. This I will say more, either boldly or rashly, that this old and heavie-pased minde of mine, will no more be pleased with Aristotle, or tickled with good Ovid: his facility, and quaint inventions, which heretofore have so ravished me, they can now a dayes scarcely entertaine me.
I speake my minde freely of all things, yea of such as peradventure exceed my sufficiencie, and that no way I hold to be of my jurisdiction. What my conceit is of them, is also to manifest the proportion of my insight, and not the measure of things. If at any time I finde my selfe distasted of Platoes Axiochus, as of a forceles worke, due regard had to such an Author, my judgement doth nothing beleeeve it selfe: It is not so fond-hardy, or selfe-conceited, as it durst dare to oppose it selfe against the authority of so many other famous ancient judgements, which he reputeth his regents and masters, and with whom hee had rather erre. He chafeth with, and condemneth himselfe, either to rely on the superficiall sense, being unable to pierce into the centre, or to view the thing by some false lustre. He is pleased only to warrant himselfe from trouble and unrulinesse: As for weaknesse he acknowledgment and ingeniously avoweth the same. He thinkes to give a just interpretation to the apparences which his conception presents unto him, but they are shallow and imperfect. Most of Æsopes fables have divers senses, and severall interpretations: Those which Mythologize them, chuse some kinde of colour well-suting with the fable; but for the most part, it is no other than the first and superficiall glosse: There are others more quicke, more sinnowie, more essentiall and more internall, into which they could never penetrate; and thus thinke I with them. But to follow my course; I have ever deemed that in Poesie, Virgil, Lucretius, Catullus, and Horace,
doe doubtles by far hold the first ranke: and especially Virgil in his Georgiks, which I esteeme to be the most accomplished peece of worke of Poesie: In comparison of which one may easily discerne, that there are some passages in the Aeneidos, to which the Author (had he lived) would no doubt have given some review or correction: The fifth booke whereof is (in my mind) the most absolutely perfect. I also love Lucan, and willingly read him, not so much for his stile, as for his owne worth, and truth of his opinion and judgement. As for good Terence, I allow the quaintnesse and grace of his Latine tongue, and judge him wonderfull conceited and apt, lively to represent the motions and passions of the minde, and the condition of our manners: our actions make me often remember him. I can never reade him so often, but still I discover some new grace and beautie in him. Those that lived about Virgils time, complained that some would compare Lucretius unto him. I am of opinion, that verily it is an unequall comparison; yet can I hardly assure my selfe in this opinion whensoever I finde my selfe entangled in some notable passage of Lucretius. If they were moved at this comparison, what would they say now of the fond, hardy and barbarous stupiditie of those which now adayes compare Ariosto unto him? Nay what would Ariosto say of it himselfe?

O saeculum insipiens et infacetum.—Catul. Epig. xl. 8.

O age that hath no wit,
And small conceit in it.
I thinke our ancestors had also more reason to cry out against those that blushed not to equall Plautus unto Terence (who makes more shew to be a Gentleman) than Lucretius unto Virgil. This one thing doth greatly advantage the estimation and preferring of Terence, that the father of the Roman eloquence, of men of his quality doth so often make mention of him; and the censure, which the chiefe Judge of the Roman Poets giveth of his companion. It hath often come unto my minde, how such as in our dayes give themselves to composing of comedies (as the Italians who are very happy in them) employ three or foure arguments of Terence and Plautus to make up one of theirs. In one onely comedy they will huddle up five or six of Bocaces tales. That which makes them so to charge themselves with matter, is the distrust they have of their owne sufficiency, and that they are not able to undergoe so heavie a burthen with their owne strength. They are forced to finde a body on which they may rely and leane themselves: and wanting matter of their owne where-with to please us, they will have the story or tale to busie and ammuse us: where as in my [Author] it is cleane contrary: The elegancies, the perfections and ornaments of his manner of speech, make us neglect and lose the longing for his subject. His quaintnesse and grace doe still retaine us to him. He is every where pleasantly conceited,

Liquidus puroque simillimus amni;—Hor, ii. Epist. ii. 120.
So clearely-neate, so neatly-cleare,
As he a fine-pure River were.
and doth so replenish our minde with his graces, that we forget those of the fable. The same consideration drawes me somewhat further. I perceive that good and ancient Poets have shunned the affectation and enquest, not only of fantasticall, new fangled, Spagniolized, and Petrarchisticall elevations, but also of more sweet and sparing inventions, which are the ornament of all the Poeticall workes of succeeding ages. Yet is there no competent Judge, that findeth them wanting in those Ancient ones, and that doth not much more admire that smoothly equall neatnesse, continued sweetnesse, and flourishing comelinesse of Catullus his Epigrams, than all the sharpe quips, and witty girds, wherewith Martial doth whet and embellish the conclusions of his. It is the same reason I spake of erewhile, as Martial of himselfe. Minus illi ingenio laborandum fuit, in cuius locum materia successerat (Mart. pref. viii.). He needed the lesse worke with his wit, in place whereof matter came in supply; The former without being moved or pricked cause themselves to be heard lowd enough: they have matter to laugh at every where, and need not tickle themselves; where as these must have foraine helpe: according as they have lesse spirit, they must have more body. They leape on horse-backe: because they are not sufficiently strong in their legs to march on foot. Even as in our dances, those base conditioned men that keepe dancing-schooles, because they are unfit to represent the port and decencie of our nobilitie, endeavour to get com-
mendation by dangerous lofty trickes, and other strange tumbler-like friskes and motions. And some Ladies make a better shew of their countenances in those dances, wherein are divers changes, cuttings, turnings, and agitations of the body, than in some dances of state and gravity, where they need but simply to tread a naturall measure, represent an unaffected cariage, and their ordinary grace; And as I have also seene some excellent Lourdans, or Clownes attired in their ordinary worky-day clothes, and with a common homely countenance, afford us all the pleasure that may be had from their art: Prettises and learners that are not of so high a forme, to besmear their faces, to disguise themselves, and in motions to counterfeit strange visages, and antickes, to enduce us to laughter. This my conception is no where better discerned, than in the comparison betwene Virgils Æneidos, and Orlando Furioso. The first is seen to soare aloft with full-spread wings, and with so high and strong a pitch, ever following his point; the other faintly to hover and flutter from tale to tale, and as it were skipping from bough to bough, alwayes distrusting his owne wings, except it be for some short flight, and for feare his strength and breath should faile him, to sit downe at every fields-end.

*Exeuxusque breves tentat.—Virg. Æn. iv. 194.*

Out-lopes sometimes he doth assay,
But very short, and as he may.

Loe here then, concerning this kinde of sub-
Plutarch and Seneca projects, what Authors please me best: As for my other lesson, which somewhat more mixeth profit with pleasure, whereby I lea"rne to range my opinions, and addressse my conditions; the Bookes that serve me thereunto, are Plutarke (since he spake French,) and Seneca; Both have this excellent commodity for my humour, that the knowledge I seeke in them, is there so scatteringly and loosely handled, that whosoever readeth them is not tied to plod long upon them, whereof I am uncapable. And so are Plutarkes little workes, and Senecaes Epistles, which are the best and most profitable parts of their writings. It is no great matter to draw mee to them, and I leave them where I list. For, they succeed not, and depend not one of another. Both jumpe and suit together, in most true and profitable opinions: And fortune brought them both into the world in one age. Both were Tutors unto two Roman Emperours: Both were strangers, and came from farre Countries; both rich and mighty in the common-wealth, and in credit with their masters. Their instruction is the prime and creame of Philosophy, and presented with a plaine, unaffected, and pertinent fashion. Plutarke is more uniforme and constant; Seneca more waving and diverse. This doth labour, force, and extend himselfe, to arme and strengthen vertue against weaknesse, feare, and vitious desires; the other seemeth nothing so much to feare their force or attempt, and in a manner scorneth to hasten or change his pace about them, and to put himselfe upon his guard.
Plutarkeres opinions are Platonickall, gentle and accommodable unto civill societie: Senecaes Stoi-call and Epicurian, further from common use, but in my conceit, more proper, particular, and more solid. It appeareth in Seneca, that he somewhat inclineth and yeeldeth to the tyrannie of the Emperors which were in his daies; for, I verily beleeve, it is with a forced judgement, he condemneth the cause of those noblie-minded murtherers of Caesar: Plutarke is every where free and open-hearted; Seneca, full-fraught with points and sallies, Plutarke stuf with matters. The former doth move and enflame you more; the latter, content, please, and pay you better: This doth guide you, the other drive you on. As for Cicero, of all his works, those that treat of Philosophie (namely morall) are they which best serve my turne, and square with my intent. But boldly to confesse the trueth, (For, Since the bars of impudencie were broken downe, all curbing is taken away) his manner of writing semeth verie tedious unto me, as doth all such-like stuffe. For, his prefaces, definitions, divisions, and Etymologies, consume the greatest part of his Works; whatsoever quick, wittie, and pithie conceit is in him, is surcharged, and confounded by those his long and far-fetcht preambles. If I bestow but one houre in reading him, which is much for me; and let me call to minde what substance, or juice I have drawne from him, for the most part, I find nothing but wind and ostentation in him: for he is not yet come to the arguments, which make for his purpose, and
reasons that properly concerne the knot or pith I seek-after. These Logicall and Aristotelian ordinances are not availfull for me, who onely endeavour to become more wise and sufficient, and not more wittie or eloquent. I would have one begin with the last point: I understand sufficiently what death and voluptuousnesse are: let not a man busie himselfe to anatomize them. At the first reading of a Booke, I seeke for good and solid reasons, that may instruct me how to sustaine their assaults. It is neither grammaticall subtilties, nor logickall quiddities, nor the wittie contexture of choice words, or arguments, and syllogismes, that will serve my turne. I like those discourses that give the first charge to the strongest part of the doubt; his are but flourishes, and languish every where. They are good for Schooles, at the barre, or for Orators and Preachers, where we may slumber: and though we wake a quarter of an houre after, we may find and trace him soone enough. Such a manner of speech is fit for those Judges, that a man would corrupt by hooke or crooke, by right or wrong, or for children and the common people, unto whom a man must tell all, and see what the event will be. I would not have a man go about, and labour by circumlocutions, to induce and win me to attention, and that (as our Herolds or Criers do) they shall ring out their words. Now heare me, now listen, or ho-yes. The Romanes in their Religion were wont to say, Hoc age; which in ours we say, Sursum corda. These are so many lost words for me.
I come readie prepared from my house. I need no allurement nor sawce; my stomacke is good enough to digest raw meat: And whereas with these preparatives and flourishes, or preambles, they thinke to sharpen my taste, or stir my stomacke, they cloy and make it wallowish. Shall the priviledge of times excuse me from this sacrilegious boldnesse, to deeme Platoes Dialogismes to be as languishing, by over-filling and stuffing his matter? And to bewaile the time that a man, who had so many thousands of things to utter, spends about so many, so long, so vaine, and idle interloqutions, and preparatives? My ignorance shall better excuse me, in that I see nothing in the beautie of his language. I generally enquire after Bookes, that use sciences, and not after such as institute them. The two first, and Plinie, with others of their ranke, have no Hoc age in them, they will have to doe with men, that have forewarned themselves; or if they have, it is a materiall and substantiall Hoc age, and that hath his bodie apart. I likewise love to read the Epistles and ad Atticum, not onely because they containe a most ample instruction of the Historie, and affaires of his times, but much more because in them I descrie his private humours. For, (as I have said elsewhere) I am wonderfull curious, to discover and know, the minde, the soule, the genuine disposition, and naturall judgement of my Authors. A man ought to judge their sufficiencie, and not their customes, nor them by the shew of their writings, which they
set forth on this worlds Theatre. I have sorrowed a thousand times, that ever we lost the booke, that Brutus writ of Vertue. Oh it is a goodly thing to learne the Theorike of such as understand the practice well. But forsomuch as the Sermon is one thing, and the Preacher an other: I love as much to see Brutus in Plutarke, as in himselfe: I would rather make choice to know certainly, what talke he had in his Tent with some of his familiar friends, the night foregoing the battel, than the speech he made the morrow after to his Armie: and what he did in his chamber or closet, than what in the Senate or market place. As for Cicero, I am of the common judgement, that besides learning, there was no exquisite excellencie in him: He was a good Citizen, of an honest-gentle nature, as are commonly fat and burly men; for so was he: But to speake truely of him, full of ambitious vanitie and remisse nicenesse. And I know not well how to excuse him, in that hee deemed his Poesie worthy to be published. It is no great imperfection, to make bad verses, but it is an imperfection in him, that he never perceived how unworthy they were of the glorie of his name. Concerning his eloquence, it is beyond all comparison, and I verily beleeve, that none shall ever equall it. Cicero the younger, who resembled his father in nothing, but in name, commanding in Asia, chanced one day to have many strangers at his board, and amongst others, one Castius sitting at the lower end, as the manner is to thrust in at great mens tables: Cicero
inquired of one of his men what he was, who told him his name, but he dreaming on other matters, and having forgotten what answere his man made him, asked him his name twice or thrice more: the servant, because he would not be troubled to tell him one thing so often, and by some circumstance make him to know him better, It is, said he, the same Castius, of whom some have told you, that in respect of his owne, maketh no accompt of your fathers eloquence: Cicero being suddainly mooved, commaunded the said poore Castius to be presently taken from the table, and well whipt in his presence: Lo-heere an uncivill and barbarous host. Even amongst those, which (all things considered) have deemed his eloquence matchlesse and incomparable others there have been, who have not spared to note some faults in it: As great Brutus said, that it was an eloquence, broken, halting, and disjoynted, fractam et elumbem: Incoherent and sinnowlesse. Those Orators that lived about his age, reproved also in him the curious care he had of a certaine long cadence, at the end of his clauses, and noted these words, Esse videatur, which he so often useth. As for me, I rather like a cadence that falleth shorter, cut like Iambikes: yet doth he sometimes confound his numbers; but it is seldom: I have especially observed this one place. Ego vero me minus diu senem esse mallem, quam esse senem, antequam essem (Cic. De Senect.). But I had rather, not be an old man so long as I might be, than to be old before I should be. Historians are
Caesar and Sallust my right hand; for they are pleasant and easie: and therewithall, the man with whom I desire generally to be acquainted, may more lively and perfectly be discovered in them, than in any other composition: the varietie and truth of his inward conditions, in grosse and by retale: the diversitie of the meanes of his collection and composing, and of the accidents that threaten him. Now, those that write of mens lives, forasmuch as they ammuse and busie themselves more about counsels than events, more about that which com-meth from within, than that which appeareth outward; they are fittest for me: And that's the reason why Plutarke above all in that kind, doth best please me. Indeed I am not a little grieved that we have not a dozen of Laertii, or that he is not more knowne, or better understood: for, I am no lesse curious to know the fortunes and lives of these great masters of the world, than to understand the diversitie of their decrees and conceits. In this kind of studie of Historie, a man must, without distinction, tosse and turne over all sorts of Authors, both old and new, both French and others, if he will learde the things they so diversly treat-of. But me thinks that Caesar above all doth singularly deserve to be studied, not onely for the understanding of the Historie, as of himselfe; so much perfection and excellencie is there in him more than in others, although Salust be reckoned one of the number. Verily I read that Author with a little more reverence and respect, than commonly men reade profane and humane Workes:
sometimes considering him by his actions, and wonders of his greatnesse, and other times weighing the puritie and inimitable polishing and elegancie of his tongue, which (as Cicero saith) hath not onely exceeded all Historians, but haply Cicero himselfe: with such sinceritie in his judgement. Speaking of his enemies, that except the false colours, wherewith he goeth about to cloake his bad cause, and the corruption and filthinesse of his pestilent ambition, I am perswaded there is nothing in him to be found fault-with: and that he hath been over-sparing to speak of himselfe: for, so many notable and great things could never be executed by him, unlesse he had put more of his owne unto them, than he setteth downe. I love those Historians that are either verie simple, or most excellent. The simple who have nothing of their owne to adde unto the storie, and have but the care and diligence to collect whatsoever come unto their knowledge, and sincerely and faithfully to register all things, without choice or culling, by the naked truth leave our judgement more entire, and better satisfied.

Such amongst others (for example sake) plaine and well-meaning Froisard, who in his enterprize, hath marched with so free and genuine a puritie, that having committed some over-sight, he is neither ashamed to acknowledge, nor afraid to correct the same, whersoever he hath either notice or warning of it: and who representeth unto us the diversitie of the newes then currant, and the different reports,
An ideal

of history

that were made unto him. The subject of
an historie should be naked, bare, and forme-
lesse; each man according to his capacitie or
understanding may reap commoditie out of it.
The curious and most excellent have the suffi-
ciencie to cull and chuse that, which is worthie
to be knowne, and may select of two relations,
that which is most likely: of the condition of
Princes, and of their humors, therby they con-
clude their counsels, and attribute convenient
words unto them: they have reason to assume
authoritie unto them, to direct and shapen our
beliefe unto theirs. But truly that belongs not
to many. Such as are betweene both (which
is the most common fashion) it is they that
spoile all; they will needs chew our meat for
us, and take upon them a law to judge, and
by consequence to square and encline the storie
according to their fantasie; for, where the
judgement bendeth one way, a man cannot
chuse but wrest and turne his narration that
way. They undertake to chuse things worthy
to bee knowne, and now and then conceal
either a word or a secret action from us,
which would much better instruct us: omit-
ting such things as they understand not, as in-
credible: and haply such matters, as they know
not how to declare, either in good Latin, or
tolerable French. Let them boldly enstall
their eloquence, and discourse: Let them cen-
sure at their pleasure, but let them also give
us leave to judge after them: And let them
neither alter nor dispence by their abridge-
ments and choice, any thing belonging to the substance of the matter; but let them rather send it pure and entire with all her dimensions unto us. Most commonly (as chiefly in our age) this charge of writing histories is committed unto base, ignorant, and mechanical kind of people, only for this consideration that they can speak well; as if we sought to learne the Grammer of them; and they have some reason, being only hyred to that end, and publishing nothing but their tittle-tattle to aime at nothing else so much. Thus with store of choice and quaint words, and wyre-drawne phrases they huddle up, and make a hodge-pot of a laboured contexture of the reports, which they gather in the market-places, or such other assemblies. The only good histories are those that are written by such as commanded, or were imploied themselves in weighty affaires, or that were partners in the conduct of them, or that at least have had the fortune to manage others of like qualitie. Such in a manner are all the Græcians and Romans. For, many eye-witnesses having written of one same subject (as it hapned in those times, when Greatnese and Knowledge did commonly meet) if any fault or over-sight have past them, it must be deemed exceeding light, and upon some doubtfull accident. What may a man expect at a Phisitions hand, that discourseth of warre, or of a bare Scholler, treating of Princes secret designes? If we shall but note the religion, which the Romans had in that, we need no
Nothing so hard to find as truth

other example: Asinius Polio found some mistaking or oversight in Casars Commentaries, whereinto he was falne, only because he could not possiblie oversee all things with his owne eyes, that hapned in his Armie, but was faine to relie on the reports of particular men, who often related untruths unto him; or else because he had not been curiously advertised, and distinctly enformed by his Lieutenants and Cap-taines, of such matters as they in his absence had managed or effected. Whereby may be seen, that nothing is so hard, or so uncertaine to be found-out, as the certaintie of a Truth, sithence no man can put any assured confidence concerning the truth of a battel, neither in the knowledge of him, that was Generall, or com-manded over it, nor in the soldiers that fought, of any thing, that hath hapned amongst them; except after the manner of a strict point of law, the severall witnesses are brought and examined face to face, and that all matters be nicely and thorowly sifted by the objects and trials of the successe of every accident. Verily the know ledge we have of our own affaires is much more barren and feeble. But this hath suffi-ciently been handled by Bodine, and agreeing with my conception. Somewhat to aid the weaknesse of my memorie, and to assist her great defects; for it hath often been my chance to light upon bookes, which I supposed to be new, and never to have read, which I had not understanding diligently read and run-over many yeares before, and all bescribled with my notes:
I have a while since accustomed my selfe, to note at the end of my booke (I meane such as I purpose to read but once) the time I made an end to read it, and to set downe what censure or judgement I gave of it; that so, it may at least, at another time represent unto my mind, the aire and generall Idea, I had conceived of the Author in reading him. I will here set downe the Copie of some of mine annotations, and especially what I noted upon my Guicciardine about ten yeares since: (For what language soever my bookes speake unto me, I speake unto them in mine owne.) He is a diligent Historiographer, and from whom in my conceit, a man may as exactly learne the truth of such affaires as passed in his time, as of any other writer whatsoever: and the rather because himselfe hath been an Actor of most part of them, and in verie honourable place. There is no signe or apparence, that ever he disguised or coloured any matter, either through hatred, malice, favour, or vanitie; whereof the free and impartiall judgements he giveth of great men, and namely of those by whom he had been advanced or imployed in his important charges, as of Pope Clement the seaventh, beareth undoubted testimonie. Concerning the parts wherewith he most goeth about to prevaile which are his digressions and discourses, many of them are verie excellent, and enriched with faire ornaments, but he hath too much pleased himselfe in them: for, endevouring to omit nothing that might be spoken, having so full and
large a subject, and almost infinite, he proveth somewhat languishing, and giveth a tast of a kind of scholasticall tedious babling. Moreover, I have noted this, that of so severall and divers armes, successes, and effects he judgeth of; of so many and variable motives, alterations, and counsels, that he relateth, he never referreth any one unto vertue, religion, or conscience: as if they were all extinguished and banished the world: and of all actions, how glorious soever in apperance they be of themselves, he doth ever impute the cause of them, to some vicious and blame-worthie occasion, or to some commoditie and profit. It is impossible to imagine, that amongst so infinite a number of actions, whereof he judgeth, some one have not been produced and compassed by way of reason. No corruption could ever possesse men so universally, but that some one must of necessity escape the contagion; which makes me to feare, he hath had some distaste or blame in his passion, and it hath haply for- tuned, that he hath judged or esteemed of others according to himselfe. In my Philip de Comines, there is this: In him you shall find a pleasing-sweet, and gently-gliding speech, fraught with a purely-sincere simplicitie, his narration pure and unaffected, and wherein the Authours un-spotted-good meaning doth evidently appeare, void of all manner of vanitie or ostentation speaking of himselfe, and free from all affec- tion or envie speaking of others: his discourses and perswasions, accompanied more with a well-
meaning zeale, and meere veritie, than with any laboured and exquisit sufficiencie, and all-through, with gravitie and authoritie, representing a man well-borne, and brought up in high negotiations. Upon the memories and historie of Monsieur du Bellay: It is ever a well-pleasing thing, to see matters writen by those, that have assaid how, and in what manner they ought to be directed and managed: yet can it not be denied, but that in both these Lords, there will manifestly appeare a great declination from a free libertie of writing, which clearely shineth in ancient writers of their kind: as in the Lord of Jonville, familiar unto Saint Lewis, Eginard, Chancellor unto Charlemaine; and of more fresh memorie in Philip de Comines. This is rather a declamation or pleading for king Francis against the Emperour Charles the fifth, than an Historie. I will not beleve, they have altered or changed any thing concerning the generalitie of matters, but rather to wrest and turne the judgement of the events, many times against reason, to our advantage, and to omit whatsoever they supposed, to be doubtfull or ticklish in their masters life: they have made profession of it: witnesse the recoylings of the Lords of Momorancy and Byron, which therein are forgotten; and which is more, you shall not so much as find the name of the Ladie of Estampes mentioned at all. A man may sometimes colour, and haply hide secret actions, but absolutely to conceal that which all the world knoweth, and especially such things as have
drawne-on publike effects, and of such consequence, it is an inexcusable defect, or as I may say unpardonable oversight. To conclude, who-soever desireth to have perfect information and knowledge of King Francis the first, and of the things hapned in his time, let him addresse himself elsewhere, if he will give any credit unto me. The profit he may reap here, is by the particular [deduction] of the battels and exploits of warre, wherein these Gentlemen were present; some privie conferences, speeches, or secret actions of some Princes, that then lived, and the practices managed, or negotiations directed by the Lord of Langeay, in whom doubtlesse are verie many things, well-worthie to be knowne, and diverse discourses not vulgare.

Chap. XI

Of Crueltie

E thinks vertue is another manner of thing, and much more noble than the inclinations unto goodnesse, which in us are ingendered. Mindes well borne, and directed by themselves, follow one same path, and in their actions represent the same visage, that the vertuous doe. But vertue importeth, and soundeth somewhat I wot not what greater and more active, than by an happy complexion, gently and peaceably, to suffer it selfe to be led or drawne, to follow
reason. He that through a naturall facilitie, and genuine mildnesse, should neglect or con-
temne injuries received, should no doubt per-
forme a rare action, and worthy commendation: But he who being toucht and stung to the quicke, with any wrong or offence received, should arme himselfe with reason against this furiously-blind desire of revenge, and in the end after a great conflict, yeeld himselfe master over-it, should doubtlesse doe much more. The first should doe well, the other vertuously: the one action might be termed goodnesse, the other vertue. For, It seemeth, that the verie name of vertue presupposeth difficultie, and inferret resistance, and cannot well exercise it selfe without an enemie. It is peradventure the reason why we call God good, mightie, liberall, and just, but we terme him not vertuous. His workes are all voluntarie, unforced, and without compulsion. Of Philosophers, not onely Stoicks, but also Epicurians (which endearing I borrow of the common-received opinion, which is false whatsoever the nimble saying or wittie quipping of Arcesilaus implieth, who answered the man that upbraided him, how divers men went from his schoole to the Epicurian, but none came from thence to him: I easily beleev-e-it (said he) for, Of cocks are many capons made, but no man could ever yet make a cocke of a capon. For truly, in constancie, and rigor of opinions, and strictnesse of precepts, the Epicurian Sect doth in no sort yeeld to the Stoicke. And a Stoike acknowledg-ling a better faith, than those disputers, who
Stoic and Epicurean sects to contend with Epicurus, and make sport with him, make him to infer and say what he never meant, wrestling and wyre-drawing his words to a contrarie sense, arguing and silogizing by the Grammarians privilege, another meaning, by the manner of his speech, and another opinion, than that they know he had, either in his minde, or manners, saith, that he left to be an Epicurian, for this one consideration amongst others, that he findeth their pitch to be over-high and inaccessible: *Et ii qui φιλόδονοι vocantur, sunt φιλόκαλοι et φιλοδίκαιοι omnésque virtutes et colunt et retinent* (Sen. Epist. xiii.). And those that are called lovers of pleasure, are lovers of honestie and justice, and doe both reverence and retaine all sorts of vertue.) Of Stoicke and Epicurian Philosophers, I say, there are divers, who have judged, that it was not sufficient to have the minde well placed, well ordered, and well disposed unto vertue; it was not enough to have our resolutions and discourse beyond all the affronts and checks of fortune; but that moreover, it was verie requisite, to seeke for occasions, whereby a man might come to the triall of it: They will diligently quest and seek out for paine, smart, necessitie, want, and contempt, that so they may combat them, and keep their minde in breath: *Multum sibi adjicit virtus lacesita.* Vertue provoked addes much to it selfe. It is one of the reasons why Epaminondas (who was of a third sect) by a verie lawfull way refuseth some riches, fortune had put into his hands, to the end (as he saith) he might have cause to strive and resist povertie,
in which want and extremity he ever continued after.

Socrates did in my minde more undauntedly enure himselfe to this humor, maintaining for his exercise the peevish frowardnesse of his wife, than which no essay can be more vex-full, and is a continuall fighting at the sharpe. Metellus of all the Romane Senators (he onely having undertaken with the power of vertue, to endure the violence of Saturninus Tribune of the people in Rome, who by maine force went about to have a most unjust law passe in favor of the Communaltie: by which opposition, having incurred all the capital paines, that Saturninus had imposed on such as should refuse it) intertained those that led him to the place of execution, with such speeches: That to doe evill was a thing verie easie, and too demisely base: and to doe well where was no danger, was a common thing; but to doe well, where was both peril and opposition, was the peculiar office of a man of vertue. These words of Metellus doe clearely represent unto us, what I would have verified; which is, that vertue rejecteth facilitie to be her companion: And that an easefull, pleasant, and declining way, by which the regular steps of a good inclination of nature, are directed, is not the way of true vertue. She requireth a craggie, rough, and thornie way; She would either have strange difficulties to wrestle withall (as that of Metellus) by whose meanes fortune her selfe is pleased to breake the roughnesse of his course; or inward encombrances, as the
disordinate appetites and imperfections of our soul bring unto her. Hitherto I have come at good ease; but at the end of this discourse, one thing commeth into my minde, which is, that the soule of Socrates, which is [absolutely] the perfectest that ever came to my knowledge, would, according to my accompt, prove a soule deserving but little commendation: For, I can perceive no manner of violence or vicious concupisence in him: I can imagine no manner of difficultie or compulsion in the whole course of his vertue. I know his reason so powerfull, and so absolute mistresse over him, that she can never give him way to any vicious desire, and will not suffer it so much as to breed in him. To a vertue so exquisit, and so high-raised as his is, I can persuade nothing. Me thinkes I see it march with a victorious and triumphant pace, in pompe, and at ease, without let or disturbance. If vertue cannot shine but by resisting contrarie appetites, shall we then say, it cannot passe without the assistance of vice, and oweth him this, that by his means it attaineth to honour and credit? What should also betide of that glorious and generous Epicurian voluptuousnesse, that makes accompt, effeminately to pamper vertue in her lap, and there wantonly to entertaine it, allowing it for her recreation, shame, reproch, agues, povertie, death, and tortures? If I presuppose, that perfect vertue is knowne by combating sorrow, and patiently under-going paine, by tolerating the fits and agonies of the gout, without stirring out
of his place; if for a necessarie object, I appoint her sharpnesse and difficultie; what shall become of that vertue, which hath attained so high a degree, as it doth not onely despise all manner of paine, but rather rejoyceth at-it, and when a strong fit of the collike shall assaile-it, to cause it selfe to be tickled; as that is which the Epicurians have established, and whereof divers amongst them have by their actions left most certaine proofes unto us? As also others have, whom in effect I finde to have exceeded the verie rules of their discipline; witnesse Cato the younger; when I see him die, tearing and mangling his entrails; I cannot simply content my selfe to beleve, that at that time, he had his soule wholly exempted from all trouble, or free from vexation: I cannot imagine, he did onely maintaine himselfe in this march or course, which the rules of the Stoike sect had ordained unto him, setled, without some alteration or motion, and impassibilitie. There was, in my conceit, in this mans vertue overmuch cheerefulnessse, and youthfulnessse to stay there. I verily beleve, he felt a kind of pleasure and sensualitie in so noble an action, and that therein he more pleased himselfe, than in any other, he ever performed in his life. Sic abiiit è vita, ut causam moriendi nactum se esse gauderet (Cic. Tusc. Qu. i.). So departed he his life, that he rejoiced to have found an occasion of death. I doe so constantly beleve-it, that I make a doubt, whether he would have had the occasion of so noble an exploit taken from
him. And if the goodnesse which induced him to embrace publike commodities more than his owne, did not bridle me, I should easily fall into this opinion, that he thought himselfe greatly beholding unto fortune, to have put his vertue unto so noble a triall, and to have favoured that robber, to tread the ancient libertie of his Countrie under foot. In which action me thinks I read a kinde of unspeakable joy in his minde, and a motion of extraordinarie pleasure, joyned to a manlike voluptuousnesse, at which time it beheld the worthinesse, and considered the generositie and haughtinesse of his enterprise,

_Deliberata morte ferocior._

—Hor. i. Od. xxxvii. 29. Cleopatra.

Then most in fiercenesse did he passe
When he of death resolved was.

not urged or set-on by any hope of glorie, as the popular and effeminate judgements have judged: For, that consideration is over base, to touch so generous, so haughtie, and so constant a heart; but for the beautie of the thing it selfe in it selfe, which he, who managed all the springs, and directed all the wards thereof, saw much more clearer, and in it's perfection, than we can doe. Philosophie hath done me a pleasure to judge, that so honorable an action, had been undescently placed in any other life, than in _Catoes_, and that onely unto his it appertained to make such an end. Therefore did he with reason persuade both his sonne, and the Senators that accompanied him, to provide otherwise for them-
selves. *Catoni quum incredibilem natura tribuisset gravitatem, eamque ipse perpetua constantia roboravit, semperque in proposito consilio permansisset: moriendum potius quam tyranni vultus aspiciendus erat.* Whereas nature had afforded Cato an incredible gravitiie, and he had strengthened it by continuall constancie, and ever had stood firme in his purposed desseignes, rather to die than behold the Tyrants face. Each death should be such as the life hath been. By dying we become no other than we were. I ever interpret a mans death by his life. And if a man shall tell me of any one undanted in apperance, joyned unto a weake life; I imagine it to proceed of some weake cause, and sutable to his life. The ease therefore of his death, and the facilitie he had acquired by the vigor of his minde, shall we say, it ought to abate something of the lustre of his vertue? And which of those, that have their spirits touched, be it never so little, with the true tincture of Philosophie, can content himselfe to imagine *Socrates,* onely, free from feare and passion, in the accident of his imprisonment, of his fetters, and of his condemnation? And who doth not perceive in him, not onely constancie and resolution (which were ever his ordinarie qualities) but also a kinde of I wot not what new contentment, and carelesse rejoyning in his last behaviour, and discourses? By the startling at the pleasure, which he feeleth in clawing of his legges, after his fetters were taken-off; doth he not manifestly declare an equall glee and joy in his soule, for being rid of
To struggle against evil is better than to succumb to it. Cato shall pardon me (if he please) his death is more tragicall, and further extended, whereas this in a certaine manner is more faire and glorious. Aristippus answered those, that bewailed the same; when I die, I pray the Gods send me such a death. A man shall plainly perceive in the minds of these two men, and of such as imitate them (for I make a question whether ever they could be matched) so perfect an habitude unto vertue, that it was even converted into their complexion. It is no longer a painfull vertue, nor by the ordinances of reason, for the maintaining of which, their minde must be strengthned: It is the verie essence of their soule; it is her naturall and ordinarie habit. They have made it such, by a long exercise and observing the rules and precepts of Philosophie, having lighted upon a faire and rich nature. Those vicious passions, which breed in us, finde no entrance in them. The vigor and constancie of their soules, doth suppresse and extinguish all manner of concupiscences, so soone as they but begin to move. Now that it be not more glorious, by an undaunted and divine resolution, to hinder the growth of temptations, and for a man to frame himselfe to vertue, so that the verie seeds of vice be cleane rooted out; than by mayne force to hinder their progresse; and having suffred himselfe to be surprised by the first assaults of passions, to arme and bandie himselfe, to stay their course and to suppresse them: And that this
second effect be not also much fairer, than to be simply stored with a facile and gentle nature, and of it selfe distasted and in dislike with licentiousnesse and vice, I am perswaded there is no doubt. For, this third and last manner, seemeth in some sort, to make a man innocent, but not vertuous, free from doing ill, but not sufficiently apt to doe well. Seeing this condition is so neere unto imperfection and weaknesse, that I know not well how to cleare their confines and distinctions. The verie names of Goodnesse and innocentie, are for this respect in some sort names of contempt. I see that many vertues, as chastitie, sobrietie, and temperance, may come unto us by meanes of corporall defects and imbecilitie. Constancie in dangers (if it may be termed constancie) contempt of death, patiencie in misfortunes, may happen, and are often seen in men, for want of Good judgement in such accidents, and that they are not appre- hended for such as they are indeed. *Lacke of apprehension and stupiditie, doe sometimes counterfeit vertuous effects.* As I have often seen come to passe, that some men are commended, for things they rather deserve to be blamed. An Italian gentleman did once hold this position in my presence, to the prejudice and disadvantage of his nation; That the subtiltie of the Italians, and the vivacitie of their conceptions was so great, that they foresaw such dangers and accidents as might betide them so far-off, that it was not to be deemed strange, if in times of warre, they were often seene to provide for their safetie,
Recruits yea, before they had perceived the danger: That we and the Spaniards, who were not so warie and subtil, went further; and that before we could be frightened with any perill, we must be induced to see it with our eyes, and feel it with our hands, and that even then we had no more hold: But that the Germanes and Switzers, more shallow and leaden-headed, had scarce the sense and wit to re-advise themselves, at what time they were even overwhelmed with miserie, and the axe readie to fall on their heads. It was peradventure but in jest, that he spake-it, yet is it most true, that in the art of warre-fare, new trained Souldiers, and such as are but novices in the trade, doe often headlong, and hand over head cast themselves into dangers, with more inconsideration, than afterward when they have seene and endured the first shocke, and are better trained in the schoole of perils.

—haud ignarus, quantum nova gloria in armis,
Et prædulce decus primo certamine posset.

Not ignorant, how much in armes new praise,
And sweetest honour, in first conflict weighs.

Lo here the reason why when we judge of a particular action, we must first consider many circumstances, and throughly observe the man, that hath produced the same before we name and censure it. But to speake a word of my selfe: I have sometimes noted my friends to terme that wisdome in me, which was but meere fortune; and to deeme that advantage of courage and patience, that was advantage of judgement
and opinion: and to attribute one title for another unto me, sometimes to my profit, and now and then to my losse. As for the rest, I am so far from attaining unto that chiefe and most perfect degree of excellencie, where a habitude is made of vertue, that even of the second, I have made no great triall. I have not greatly strived to bridle the desires, wherewith I have found my selfe urged and pressed. My vertue, is a vertue, or to say better innocencie, accidentall and casuall. Had I been borne with a lesse regular complexion, I imagine my state had been verie pittifull, and it would have gon hard with me: for, I could never perceive any great constancie in my soule, to resist and undergoe passions, had they been any thing violent. I cannot foster quarels, or endure co[n]tentions in my house. So am I not greatly beholding unto my selfe, in that I am exempted from many vices:

—si vitis mediocribus, et mea paucis
Mendosa est natura, alioqui recta velut si
Egregio inspersos reprehendas corpore navos.

—Hor. i. Sat. vi. 65.

If in a few more fault's my nature faile, Right otherwise: as if that you would raile On prettie moles well placed, On bodie seemely graced.

I am more endefted to my fortune, than to my reason for it: Shee hath made me to be borne of a race famous for integritie and honestie, and of a verie good father. I wot not well whether any part of his humours have descended into me, or whether the domestike examples, and
good institution of my infancie have insensibly set their helping hand unto it; or whether I were otherwise so borne:

Seu Libra, seu me Scorpius aspicit
Formidolosus, pars violentior
Natalis horæ, seu tyrannus
Hesperia Capricornus undœ.—Hor. ii. Od. xvii. 17.

Whether the chiefe part of my birth-houre were Ascendent Libra, or Scorpius full of feare,
Or in my Horoscope were Capricorne,
Whose tyrannie neere westerne Seas is borne.

But so it is, that naturally of my selfe, I abhorre and detest all manner of vices. The answer of Antisthenes to one, that demanded of him, which was the best thing to be learned: To unlearne evill, seemed to be fixed on this image, or to have an ayme at this. I abhorre them (I say) with so naturall, and so innated an opinion, that the very same instinct and impression, which I suckt from my nurse, I have so kept, that no occasions could ever make me alter the same: No, not mine owne discourses, which because they have been somewhat lavish in noting or taxing something of the common course, could easily induce me to some actions, which this my naturall inclination makes me to hate. I will tell you a wonder, I will tell it you indeed: I thereby find in many things, more stay and order in my manners, than in my opinion: and my concupiscence lesse debauched, than my reason. Aristippus established certaine opinions so bold, in favour of voluptuousnesse and riches, that he made all Philosophie to mutinie against him.
But concerning his manners, *Dionysius* the tyrant, having presented him with three faire young Wenches, that he might chuse the fairest; he answered he would chuse them all three, and that *Paris* had verie ill successe, forsomuch as he had preferred one above her fellowes. But they being brought to his owne house, he sent them backe againe, without tasting them. His servant one day carrying store of money after him, and being so over-charged with the weight of it, that he complained, his Master commanded him, to cast so much therof away, as troubled him. And *Epicurus*, whose positions are irreligious and delicate, demeaned himselfe in his life verie laboriously, and devoutly. He wrote to a friend of his, that he lived but with browne bread and water, and entreated him to send him a piece of cheese, against the time he was to make a solemne feast. May it be true, that to be perfectly good, we must be so by an hidden, naturall, and universall proprietie, without law, reason, and example? The disorders and excesses, wherein I have found my selfe engaged, are not (God be thanked) of the worst. I have rejected and condemned them in my selfe, according to their worth; for, my judgement was never found to be infected by them. And on the other side, I accuse them more rigorously in my selfe, than in another. But that is all: as for the rest, I applie but little resistance unto them, and suffer my selfe over-easily to encline to the other side of the Ballance, except it be to order and empeach them from being commixt with others, which (if
All virtues may work together, a man take not good heed unto himselfe) for the most part entertaine and enterchaine themselves the one with the other. As for mine, I have as much as it hath laine in my power, abridged them, and kept them as single, and as alone as I could:

—nec ultra
Errorem fovea.—Juv. Sat. viii. 164.
Nor doe I cherish any more,
The error which I bred before.

For, as touching the Stoikes opinion, who say, that when the wise man worketh, he worketh with all his vertues together; howbeit, according to the nature of the action, there be one more apparant than other (to which purpose the similitude of mans bodie might, in some sort, serve their turne; for, the action of choler cannot exercise it selfe, except all the humours set-to their helping-hand, although choler be prædominant) if thence they will draw alike consequence, that when the offender trespasseth, he doth it with all the vices together. I doe not so easily beleeve them, or else I understand them not; for, in effect, I feel the contrarie. They are sharpe-wittie subtilties, and without substance, about which Philosophie doth often busie it selfe. Some vices I shun; but othersome I eschew as much as any Saint can doe. The Peripatetikes doe also disavow this connexitie, and indissoluble knitting together. And Aristotle is of opinion, That a wise and just man may be both intemperate and incontinent. Socrates avowed unto them, who in his Phisiognomie
perceived some inclination unto vice, that indeed it was his naturall propension, but that by discipline he had corrected the same. And the familiar friends of the Philosopher Stilpo were wont to say, that being borne subject unto wine and women, he had, by studie, brought himselfe to abstaine from both. On the otherside, what good I have, I have it by the lot of my birth: I have it neither by law nor prescription, nor by any apprentiship. The innocencie that is in me, is a kinde of simple-plaine innocencie, without vigor or art. Amongst all other vices, there is none I hate more, than crueltie, both by nature and judgement, as the extremest of all vices. But it is with such an yearning and faint-hartednesse, that if I see but a chickins necke puld off, or a pigge stickt, I cannot chuce but grieve, and I cannot well endure a seelie dew-bedabled hare to groane, when she is seized upon by the houndes; although hunting be a violent sport. Those that are to withstand voluptuousnesse, doe willingly use this argument, to shew, it is altogether vicious and unreasonable: That where she is in her greatest prime and chiefe strength, she doth so over-sway us, that reason can have no accesse unto us, and for a further triall, aleage the experience wee feel and have of it, in our acquaintance or copulation with women.

—cum iam præsagit gaudia corpus
Atque in eo est Venus, ut muliebria conserat arva.
—Lucr. iv. 1097.

When now the bodie doth light-joyes fore-know,
And Venus set the womans fields to sow.
Where they thinke pleasure doth so far transport us beyond our selves, that our Discourse, then altogether overwhelmed, and our reason wholie ravished in the gulfe of sensualitie, cannot by any meanes discharge her function. I know it may be otherwise: And if a man but please, he may sometimes, even upon the verie instant, cast his mind on other conceits. But she must be strained to a higher key, and heedfully pursued: I know a man may gourmandize the earnest and thought-confounding violence of that pleasure: for I may with some experience speake of it; and I have not found Venus to be so imperious a Goddess, as many, and more reformed than my selfe witnesse her to be, I thinke it not a wonder, as doth the Queene of Navarre, in one of the Tales of her Heptameron (which respecting the subject it treateth-of, is a verie prettie booke) nor doe I deeme it a matter of extreame difficultie, for a man to weare-out a whole night, in all opportunitie and libertie, in companie of a faire Mistresse, long time before sued unto, and by him desired; religiously keeping his word, if he have engaged himselfe, to be contented with simple kisses and plaine touching. I am of opinion, that the example of the sport in hunting would more fit the same: wherein as there is lesse pleasure, so there is more distraction and surprising, whereby our reason being amazed, looseth the pleasure to prepare her selfe against it: when as after a long questing and beating for some game, the beast doth suddainly start, or rowze up before us, and haply in such a
place, where we least expected the same. That
suddaine motion, and riding, and the earnestnesse
of showting, jubeting and hallowing, still ringing
in our eares, would make it verie hard for those,
who love that kind of close or chamber-hunting,
at that verie instant, to withdraw their thoughts
else-where. And Poets make Diana victori-
ously to triumph both over the firebrand and
arrowes of Cupid.

Quis non malarum quas amor curas habet
Hae inter obliviscitur?—Hor. Epod. ii. 37.

While this is doing, who doth not forget
The wicked cares wherewith Loves heart doth fret?

But to returne to my former discourse, I have
a verie feeling and tender compassion of other
mens afflictions, and should more easily weep
for companie sake, if possiblie for any occasion
whatsoever, I could shed teares. There is no-
thing sooner moveth teares in me, than to see
others weepe, not onely fainedly, but howsoever,
whether truly or forcedly. I do not greatly
waile for the dead, but rather envie them. Yet
doe I much waile and moane the dying. The
Canibales and savage people do not so much
offend me with roasting and eating of dead
bodies, as those which torment and persecute
the living. Let any man be executed by law,
how deservedly soever, I cannot endure to
behold the execution with an unrelenting eye.
Some one going about to witnesse the clemencie
of Julius Caesar; He was (saith he) tractable
and milde in matters of revenge. Having com-
Death pelled the Pirates to yeeld themselves unto him, who had before taken him prisoner, and put him to ransome, forasmuch as he had threatned to have them all crucised, he condemned them to that kind of death, but it was after he had caused them to be strangled. Philomon his secretarie, who would have poysoned him, had no sharper punishment of him, than an ordinarie death. Without mentioning the Latin Author, who for a testimonie of clemencie dareth to alleage, the onely killing of those, by whom a man hath been offended, it may easily be ghesed, that he is tainted with vile and horrible examples of crueltie, such as Romane Tyrants brought into fashion. As for me, even in matters of justice, Whatsoever is beyond a simple death, I deeme it to be meere crueltie: And especially amongst us, who ought to have a regardfull respect, that their soules should be sent to heaven, which cannot be, having first by intolerable tortures agitated, and as it were brought them to dispaire. A Souldier, not long since, being a prisoner, and perceiving from a loft a Tower, where he was kept, that store of people flocked together on a greene, and Carpenters were busie at worke to erect a scaffold, supposing the same to be for him, as one desperat, resolved to kill himselfe, and searching up and downe for some thing to make himselfe away, found nothing but an old rustie cart-naile, which fortune presented him with; he tooke it, and therewithall, with all the strength he had, strooke and wounded himselfe twice in the throat, but seeing it would not rid
him of life, he then thrust it into his bellie up to the head, where he left it fast-sticking. Shortly after, one of his keepers comming-in unto him, and yet living, finding him in that miserable plight, but weltring in his goare-blood, and readie to gaspe his last, told the Magistrates of it, which, to prevent time before he should die, hastned to pronounce sentence against him: which when he heard, and that he was onely condemned to have his head cut-off, he seemed to take heart of grace againe, and to be sorie for what he had done, and tooke some comfortable drinks, which before he had refused, greatly thanking the Judges for his unhoped gentle condemnation: And told them, that for feare of a more sharply-cruell, and intollerable death by law, he had resolved to prevent-it by some violent manner of death, having by the preparations he had seen the Carpenters make, and by gathering of people together, conceived an opinion, that they would torture him with some horrible torment, and seemed to be delivered from death onely by the change of it. Were I worthie to give counsell, I would have these examples of rigor, by which superior powers goe about to keep the common people in awe, to be onely exercised on the bodies of criminally malefac-
tors: For, to see them deprived of christian buriall, to see them haled, disbowelled, parboyled, and quartered, might haply touch the common sort as much, as the paines, they make the living to endure: howbeit in effect it be little or nothing, as saith God, *Qui corpus occidunt, et*
postea non habent quod faciant (Luke xii. 4): Those that kill the bodie, but have afterwards no more to doe. And Poets make the horror of this picture greatly to prevale, yea, and above death.

Heu reliquias semiasi Regis, denudatis ossibus,
Per terram sanie delibatas fade divexarier.

—Cic. Tusc. Qu. i.

O that the reliques of an halfe-burn't King, bones bared,
On earth besmear'd with filth, should be so fouly marred.

It was my fortune to be at Rome, upon a day that one Catena, a notorious high-way theefe, was executed: at his strangling no man of the companie seemed to be mooved to any ruth; but when he came to be quartered, the Executioner gave no blow that was not accompanied with a piteous voyce, and hartie exclamation, as if every man had had a feeling sympathie, or lent his senses to the poore mangled wretch. Such inhumane outrages and barbarous excesses should be exercised against the rinde, and not practised against the quicke. In a case somewhat like unto this, did Artaxerxes asswage and mitigate the sharpnesse of the ancient lawes of Persia, appointing that the Lords, which had trespassed in their estate, whereas they were wont to be whipped, they should be stripped naked, and their clothes whipped for them: and where they were accustomed to have their haire pulled-off, they should onely have their hat taken off. The Ægyptians so devout and religious, thought they did sufficiently satisfie divine Justice, in sacrific-
ing painted and counterfeit hogges unto it: An over-hardy invention, to go about with pictures and shadowes to appease God, a substance so essentiall and divine. I live in an age, wherein we abound with incredible examples of this vice, through the licentiousnesse of our civill and intestine warres: And read all ancient stories, be they never so tragicall, you shall find none to equall those, we daily see practised. But that hath nothing made me acquainted with it. I could hardly be perswaded, before I had seene it, that the world could have afforded so marble-hearted and savage-minded men, that for the onely pleasure of murther would commit-it; then cut, mangle, and hacke other members in pieces: to rouze and sharpen their wits, to invent unused tortures and unheard-of torments; to devise new and unknowne deaths and that in cold blood, without any former enmitie or quarrell, or without any gaine or profit; and onely to this end, that they may enjoy the pleasing spectacle of the languishing gestures, pitifull motions, horror-moving yellings, deep fetcht groanes, and lamentable voyces of a dying and drooping man. For, that is the extremest point whereunto the crueltie of man may attaine. *Ut homo hominem, non iratus, non timens, tantum spectaturus occidat (Sen. Clem. ii. c. 4).* That one man should kill another, neither being angrie, nor afeard, but onely to looke on. As for me, I could never so much as endure, without remorse and griefe, to see a poore, sillie, and innocent beast pursued and killed, which is harmelesse and void
of defence, and of whom we receive no offence at all. And as it commonly hapneth, that when the Stag begins to be embost, and finds his strength to faile-him, having no other remedie left him, doth yeeld and bequeath himselfe unto us that pursue him, with teares suing to us for mercie,

—questuque cruentus
Aique imploranti similis: —Virg. Æn. vii. 521.

With blood from throat, and teares from eyes,
It seemes that he for pittie cryes.

was ever a grievous spectacle unto me. I seldom take any beast alive, but I give him his libertie. Pythagoras was wont to buy fishes of fishers, and birds of fowlers to set them free againe.

—primoque à cæde serarum
Incaluisse puto maculatum sanguine ferrum.
—Ovid. Metam. xv. 106.

And first our blades in blood embrude I deeme
With slaughter of poore beasts did reeking steeme.

Such as by nature shew themselves bloodie-minded towards harmlesse beasts, witnesse a naturall propension unto crueltie. After the ancient Romanes had once enured themselves without horror to behold the slaughter of wild beasts in their shewes, they came to the murther of men and Gladiators. Nature (I feare me) hath of her owne selfe added unto man a certaine instinct to humanitie. No man taketh delight to see wild beasts sport and wantonly to make much one of another: Yet all are pleased to see them
tugge, mangle, and enterteare one an other. And lest any bodie should jeast at this sympathie, which I have with them, Divinitie it selfe willett us to shew them some favour: And considering, that one selfe-same master (I meane that incomprehensible worlds-framer) hath placed all creatures in this his wondrous palace for his service, and that they, as well as we, are of his household: I say, it hath some reason to injoyne us, to shew some respect and affection towards them. Pythagoras borrowed Metempsychosis of the Ægyptians, but since, it hath been received of divers Nations, and especially of our Druides:

\[ \text{Morte carent animae, sempérique priore relictá} \]
\[ \text{Sede, novis domibus vivunt, habitámque recepta.} \]

158.

Our death-lesse soules, their former seats refrained, In harbors new live and lodge entertained.

The Religion of our ancient Gaules, inferred, that soules being eternall, ceased not to remove and change place, from one bodie to another: to which fantasie was also entermixed some consideration of divine justice. For, according to the soules behaviors, during the time she had been with Alexander, they sayd, that God appointed it another bodie to dwell-in, either more or lesse painfull, and sutable to her condition.

—muta ferarum
\[ \text{Cogit vincia pati, truculentos ingerit ursis,} \]
\[ \text{Praedónésque lupis, fallaces vulpibus addit.} \]
\[ \text{Atque ubi per varios annos per mille figurás} \]
\[ \text{Egit letheo purgatos flumine tandem} \]
\[ \text{Rursus ad humana revocat primordia forma.} \]

—Claud. in Ruff. i. 482, 491.
Dumbe bands of beasts he makes mens soules endure,
Blood-thirstie soules he doth to Beares enure,
Craftie to Foxes, to Woolves bent to rapes;
Thus when for many yeares, through many shapes,
He hath them driv'n in Lethe lake at last,
Them purg'd he turn's to mans forme whence they past.

If the soule had beene valiant, they placed it in the bodie of a Lion; if voluptuous, in a Swine; if faint-harted, in a Stagge, or a Hare; if malicious in a Foxe, and so of the rest, untill that being purified by this punishment, it reassembled and tooke the bodie of some other man againe.

Ipse ego, nam memini, Troiani tempore belli
Panthoides Euphorbus eram.—Ovid. Metam. xv. 160.

When Troy was won, I, as I call to mind,
Euphorbus was, and Panthus sonne by kind.

Ase touching that alliance betweene us and beasts, I make no great accompt of it, nor do I greatly admit it; neither of that which divers Nations, and namely of the most ancient and noble, who have not onely received beasts into their societie and companie, but allowed them a place farre above themselves; sometimes deeming them to be familiars and favored of their Gods, and holding them in a certaine awfull respect and reverence more than humane, and others acknowledging no other God nor no other Divinity than they. Belua à barbaris propter benefciun consecrata (Cic. Nat. Deor. i.). Beasts by the Barbarians were made sacred for some benefit.
This Country doth the Crocodile adore,  
That feares the Storke glutted with Serpents gore,  
The sacred Babion here,  
In gold shape doth appeare.

And the very same interpretation that Plutarke giveth unto this error, which is very well taken, is also honourable for them. For, he saith, that (for example sake) it was neither the Cat nor the Oxe that the Ægyptians adored, but that in those beasts, they worshipped some image of divine faculties. In this patience and utility, and in that, vivacity, or (as our neighbours the Bor- gonians with all Germany) the impatience to see themselves shut up: Whereby they represented the liberty which they loved and adored beyond all other divine faculty, and so of others. But when amongst the most moderate opinions, I meet with some discourses that goe about and labour to shew the neere resemblance betweene us and beasts, and what share they have in our greatest Privileges, and with how much likely- hood they are compared unto us, truly I abate much of our presumption, and am easily removed from that imaginary soveraigntie that some give and ascribe unto us above all other creatures. If
all that were to be contradicted, yet is there a kind of respect, and a generall duty of humanity, which tieth us not only unto brute beasts that have life and sense, but even unto trees and plants. Unto men we owe Justice, and to all other creatures that are capable of it, grace and benignity. There is a kind of enter-changeable commerce and mutuall bond betweene them and us. I am not ashamed nor afraid to declare the tendernesse of my childish Nature, which is such, that I cannot well reject my Dog, if he chance (although out of season) to fawne upon me, or beg of me to play with him. The Turkes have almes, and certaine Hospitals appointed for brute beasts. The Romans had a publike care to breed and nourish Geese, by whose vigilancy their Capitoll had beene saved. The Athenians did precizely ordaine that all manner of Mules which had served or beene imploied about the building of their Temple called Hecatompedon should bee free, and suffered to feed wheresover they pleased, without any let or impeachment. The Agrigentines had an ordinary custome, seriously and solemnly to bury all such beasts as they had held deare; as horses of rare worth and merit, speciall dogs, choice or profitable birds, or such as had but served to make their children sport. And the sumptuous magnificence which in all other things was ordinary and peculiar unto them, appeared also almost notably in the stately sumptuousnesse and costly number of monuments erected to that end, which many ages after have endured and been main-
tained in pride and state. The Ægyptians were wont to bury their Wolves, their Dogs, their Cats, their Beares, and Crocodiles in holy places, embalming their carcasses, and at their deaths to weare mourning weeds for them. Cymon caused a stately honourable toome to be erected for the Mares, wherewith he had three times gained the prize at running in the Olimpike games. Ancient Xantippus caused his Dog to be enterred upon a hill by the Sea shore, which ever since hath beene named by him. And Plutarch (as himselfe saith) made it a matter of conscience, in hope of a small gaine, to sell or send an Oxe to the shambles that had served him a long time.

Chap. XII

An Apologie of Raymond Sebond

Knowledge is without all contradiction, a most profitable and chiefe ornament: Those who despise it declare evidently their sottishnesse: Yet doe not I value it at so excessive a rate as some have done; namely Herillus the Philosopher, who grounded his chiefe felicity upon it, and held that it lay in her power to make us content and wise: which I cannot beleev, nor that which others have said, that Knowledge is the mother of all vertue, and that all vice proceedeth of ignorance. Which if it be, it is subject to a large interpretation. My house
hath long since ever stood open to men of understanding, and is very well knowne to many of them: for my father, who commanded the same fifty yeeres and upward, set on fire by that new kinde of earnestnesse wherewith King Francis the first imbraced Letters, and raised them unto credit, did with great diligence and much cost endevour to purchase the acquaintance of learned men: receiving and entertaining them as holy persons, and who had some particular inspiration of divine wisdome; collecting their sentences and discourses as if they had beene Oracles; and with so much more reverence and religious regard by how much lesse authority hee had to judge of them: for hee had no knowledge of Letters no more than his predecessors before him. As for me, I love them indeed, but yet I worship them not. Amongst others, Peter Bunel (a man in his time, by reason of his learning of high esteeme) having sojourned a few daies at Montagne with my father, and others of his coat, being ready to depart thence, presented him with a booke entituled Theologia naturalis; sive liber creaturarum magistri Raimondi de Sebonda. And for so much as the Italian and Spanish tongues were very familiar unto him, and that the booke was written in a kinde of latinized Spanish, whereof divers words had Latine terminations; he hoped that with little aid he might reape no small profit by it, and commended the same very much unto him, as a booke most profitable, and fitting the dayes in which he gave it him. It was even at what time the new fangles of Luther
began to creepe in favour, and in many places to shake the foundation of our ancient beleefe. Wherein he seemed to be well advised, as he who by discourse of reason fore-saw, that this budding disease would easily turne to an execrable Atheisme: For the vulgar wanting the faculty to judge of things by themselves, suffering it selfe to be carried away by fortune, and led on by outward apparances, if once it be possessed with the boldnesse to despise, and malapertnesse to impugne the opinions which tofore it held in awfull reverence (as are those wherein consisteth their salvation) and that some articles of their religion be made doubtfull and questionable, they will soone and easily admit an equall uncertainty in all other parts of their beleefe, as they that had no other grounded authoritie or foundation, but such as are now shaken and weakned, and immediatly reject (as a tyrannicall yoke) all impressions they had in former times received by the authoritie of Lawes, or reverence of ancient custome.

_Nam cupidè conculcatur nimir ante metutum._  
_Lucr. v. 1150._

That which we fear’d before too much,  
We gladly scorne when tis not such.

Undertaking thence forward to allow of nothing, except they have first given their voice and particular consent to the same. My father, a few daies before his death, lighting by chance upon this booke, which before he had neglected, amongst other writings commanded mee to
Montaigne's translation of Sebond

translate the same into French. It is easy
to translate such Authors, where nothing but
the matter is to be represented; but hard and
dangerous to undertake such as have added
much to the grace and elegancy of the language,
namely to reduce them into a weaker and poorer
tongue. It was a strange task, and new occu-
pitation for me: but by fortune being then at
leisure, and unable to gainsay the commande-
ment of the best father that ever was; I came
ere long (as well as I could) to an end of it:
wherein he took singular delight, and com-
manded the same to be printed, which accord-
ingly was after his decease performed. I found
the conceits of the author to be excellent, the
contexture of his work well followed, and his
project full of pietie. Now forasmuch as divers
ammuse themselves to reade it, and especially
Ladies, to whom we owe most service, it hath
often been my hap to help them, when they
were reading it, to discharge the booke of two
principall objections, which are brought against
the same. His drift is bold, and his scope ad-
venturous; for he undertaketh by humane and
naturall reasons, to establish and verifie all the
articles of Christian religion against Atheists.
Wherein (to say truth) I find him so resolute
and so happy, as I deeme it a thing impos-
sible to doe better in that argument, and thinke
that none equalleth him. Which booke seeming
to me both over-rich and exquisite, being written
by an author, whose name is so little knowne,
and of whom, all we know, is, that he was a
Spaniard, who about two hundred yeeres since professed Physicke in Tholouse: I demanded once of Adrianus Turnebus (a man who knew all things) what such a booke might be, who answered, that he deemed the same to be some Quintessence extracted from out Saint Thomas Aquinas: For, in good truth, onely such a spirit fraught with so infinite erudition, and so full of admirable subtletie, was capable of such and so rare imaginations. So it is, that whosoever be the author or deviser of it (the title whereof ought not without further reason to be taken from Sebond) he was a very sufficient-worthie man, and endowed with sundry other excellent qualities. The first thing he is reproved for in his Booke, is, that Christians wrong themselves much, in that they ground their beleefe upon humane reasons, which is conceived but by faith, and by a particular inspiration of God. Which objection seemeth to containe some zeale of pietie; by reason whereof we ought with so much more mildnes and regard, endeavour to satisfie them that propose it. It were a charge, more befitting a man conversant, and sutable to one acquainted with the holy Scriptures, than me, who am altogether ignorant in them. Neverthelesse I thinke, that even as to a matter so divine and high and so much exceeding all humane understanding, as is this Verity, wherewith it hath pleased the goodnesse of God to enlighten us, it is most requisit, that he afford and lend us his helpe; And that, with an extraordinary and privileged favour, that so we may
Faith and reason the better conceive and entertaine the same: For, I suppose that meanes meerely humane can no way be capable of it; which if they were, so many rare and excellent mindes, and so plenteously stored with naturall faculties, as have beene in times past, would never by their discourse, have mist the attayning of this knowledge. *It is faith onely, which lively and assuredly embraceth the high mysteries of our Religion.* And no man can doubt, but that it is a most excellent and commendable enterprise, properly to accommodate and fit to the service of our faith, the natural helps and humane implements which God hath bestowed upon us. And no question is to be made, but that it is the most honourable employment we can put them unto; and that there is no occupation or intent more worthy a good Christian, than by all meanes, studies and imaginations, carefully to endeavour, how to embellish, amplifie and extend the truth of his beleefe and religion. *It is not enough for us to serve God in spirit and soule, we owe him besides, and wee yeeld unto him a corporall worshipping; we applie our limbs, our motions, and all externall things, to honour him. The like ought to be done, and we should accompany our faith with all the reason we possesse: Yet alwayes with this proviso, that we thinke it doth not depend of us, and that all our strength and arguments can never attaine to so supernaturall and divine a knowledge: Except it seize upon us, and as it were enter into us by an extraordinarie infusion: And unlesse it also enter into
us, not onely by discourse, but also by humane meanes, she is not in her dignitie, nor in her glorie. And verily I feare therefor, that except this way, we should not enjoy it. Had we fast-hold on God, by the interposition of a lively faith; had we hold-fast on God by himself, and not by us; had we a divine foundation, then should not humane and worldly occasions have the power so to shake and totter us, as they have. Our hold would not then yeeld to so weake a batterie: The love of noveltie; the constraint of Princes; the good successe of one partie; the rash and casuall changing of our opinions, should not then have the power to shake and alter our beleefe. We should not suffer the same to be troubled at the wil and pleasure of a new argument, and at the persuasion, no, not of all the rhetorike that ever was: we should withstand these boistrous billowes with an inflexible and unmoveable constancie:

*Illisos fluctus rupec, ut vasta refundit,*
*Et varias circum latrantes dissipat undas,*
—Mole sua.—Virg. Æn. vii. 587.

As huge rocks doe regorge th’invective waves,
And dissipate the billowes brawling braves,
Which these gainst those still bellow out,
Those being big and standing stout.

If this raie of Divinitie did in any sort touch us, it would everie where appeare: Not only our words, but our actions, would beare some shew and lustre of it. Whatsoever should proceed from us, might be seene inlightned with this noble and matchlesse brightnes. We should
Our lives should witness our faith

blush for shame, that in humane sects, there was never any so factious, what difficultie or strangenesse soever his doctrine maintained, but would in some sort conforme his behaviors and square his life unto it: Whereas so divine and heavenly an institution never markes christians but by the tongue. And will you see whether it be so? Compare but our manners unto a Turke, or a Pagan, and we must needs yeeld unto them: Whereas in respect of our religions superioritie, we ought by much, yea by an incomparable distance, out-shine them in excellencie: And well might a man say, Are they so just, so charitable, and so good? Then must they be Christians. All other outward shewes and exterior apparences are common to all religions: As hope, affiance, events, ceremonies, penitence and martyrdom. The peculiar badge of our truth should be vertue; As it is the heavenliest and most difficult marke, and worthiest production of Verity it self. And therefore was our good Saint Lewis in the right, when that Tartarian King, who was become a Christian, intended to come to Lions, to kisse the Popes feet, and there to view the sanctitie he hoped to find in our lives and manners, instantly to divert him from it, fearing lest our dissolute manners, and licentious kind of life, might scandalize him, and so alter his opinion fore-conceived of so sacred a religion. Howbeit the contrary happened to another, who for the same effect being come to Rome, and there viewing the disolutenesse of the Prelates and people of those dayes, was so much the more confirmed
in our religion; considering with himselfe what force and divinity it must of consequence have, since it was able, amidst so many corruptions and so viciously-poluted hands, to maintaine her dignitie and splendor. *Had we but one onely grain of faith, wee should then be able to remove mountaines from out their place,* saith the holy Writ. Our actions being guided, and accompanied with divinitie, should not then be meerely humane, but even as our beliefe, containe some wonder-causing thing. *Brevis est institutio vitae honestae beataeque, si credas.* The institution of an honest and blessed life is but short, if a man beleeve. Some make the world beleeve, that they beleeve things they never doe. Others (and they are the greater number) perswade themselves they doe so, as unable to conceive what it is to beleeve. We thinke it strange if in warres, which at this time doe so oppresse our state, we see the events to float so strangely, and with so common and ordinarie a manner to change and alter: The reason is, we adde nothing unto it but our owne. Justice, which is on the one side, is used but for a cloake and ornament; she is indeed alleadged, but nor received, nor harboured, nor wedded. She is as in the mouth of a Lawyer, and not as she ought in the heart and affection of the partie. *God oweth his extraordinarie assistance unto faith and religion,* and not to our passions. Men are but directors unto it and use religion for a shew: It ought to be cleane contrarie. Doe but marke if we doe not handle it as it were a piece of waxe, from out so right and so firme a rule,
Religious disputes to drawe so many contrary shapes. When was this better seene than nowadaies in France? Those which have taken it on the left, and those who have taken it on the right hand; Such as speake the false, and such who speake the truth of it, do so alike employ and fit the same to their violent and ambitious enterprizes, proceede unto it with so conformable a proceeding in riotousnesse and injustice, they make the diversitie they pretend in their opinions doubtfull, and hard to be beleued, in a thing from which depends the conduct and law of our life. Can a man see from one same Schoole and Discipline, more united and like customes and fashions to proceed? View but the horrible impudencie wherewith we tosse divine reasons to and fro, and how irreligiously wee have both rejected and taken them againe, according as fortune hath in these publike stormes transported us from place to place. This solemne proposition: Whether it be lawfull for a subject, for the defence of religion, to rebell and take armes against his Prince: Call but to minde, in what mouthes but a twelve-moneth agoe the affirmative of the same was the chiefe pillar of the one part; the negative was the maine-underprop of the other: And listen now from whence commeth the voyce and instruction of one and other: and whether armes clatter and clang lesse for this, than for that cause. And we burne those men, which say, that truth must be made to abide the yoke of our need: And how much worse doth France, than speake it? Let us confesse
the truth: he that from out this lawfull army should cull out, first those who follow it for meere zeale of a religious affection, then such as only regard the defence and protection of their countries lawes, or service of their Prince; whether hee could ever erect a compleat company of armed men. How comes it to passe, that so few are found, who have still held one same wil and progresse in our publike revolutions, and that we see them now and then but faintly, and sometimes, as fast as they can headlong to runne into the action? And the same men, now by their violence and rashnesse, and now through their slownes, dismissnes, and heavines to spoile, and as it were overthrow our affaires, but that they are thrust into them by casuall motives, and particular consideration, according to the diversities wherewith they are moved? I plainly perceive, we lend nothing unto devotion but the offices that flatter our passions. There is no hostilitie so excellent, as that which is absolutely Christian. Our zeale worketh wonders, when ever it secondeth our inclination toward hatred, crueltie, ambition, avarice, detraction, or rebellion. Towards goodnes, benignitie, or temperance, it goeth but slowly, and against the haire, except miraculously, some rare complexion leade him unto it, it neither runnes nor flieth to it. Our religion was ordained to root out vices, but it shrowdeth, fostreth and provoketh them. As commonly wee say, We must not make a foole of God. Did wee beleive in him, I say not through faith, but with a simple
Choice of life or death

beleeve, yea (I speake it to our confusion) did we but beleeve and know him, as wee doe another storie, or as one of our companions, we should then love him above all other things, by reason of the infinite goodnes, and unspeakable beauty that is, and shines in him: Had he but the same place in our affections, that riches, pleasures, glory and our friends have: The best of us doth not so much feare to wrong him, as he doth to injurie his neighbour, his kinsman, or his master. Is there so simple a minde, who on the one side having before him the object of one of our vicious pleasures, and on the other to his full view, perfect knowledge and assured perswasion, the state of an immortall glorie, that would enter into contention of one for the other? And if we often refuse it through meere contempt: for what draws us to blaspheming, unlesse it be at all adventures, the desire it selfe of the offence? The Philosopher Antisthenes, when he was initiated in the mysteries of Orpheus, the priest, saying, unto him, that such as vowed themselves to that religion, should after death receive eternall and perfect felicities, replied, if thou beleeve it, why dost thou not die thy self? Diogenes more roughly (as his manner was) and further from our purpose, answered the priest, who perswaded him to be one of his order, that so he might come unto, and attaine the happinesse of the other world: Wilt thou have me beleeve, that those famous men Agesilaus and Epaminondas, shall be miserable, and that thou, who art but an asse, and dost nothing of any worth, shalt be
happy, because thou art a Priest? Did we but receive these large promises of everlasting blessedness with like authority, as we do a philosophicall discourse, we should not then have death in that horror as we have:

*Non jam se moriens dissolvi conquereretur,*  
*Sed magis ire foras, vestemque reliquere ut anguis*  
*Gauderet prælonga senex aus cornua cervus.*  

—*Lucr.* iii. 630.

He would not now complain to be dissolved dying,  
But rather more rejoice, that now he is forth-flying,  
Or as a Snake his coat out-worne,  
Or as old Harts, doth cast his horne.

I will be dissolved should we say, and be with *Jesus Christ.* The forcible power of *Platoes* discourse, of the immortality of the soule, provoked divers of his Schollers unto death, that so they might more speedily enjoy the hopes he told them of. All which is a most evident token, that we receive our religion, but according to our fashion, and by our owne hands, and no otherwise than other religions are received. We are placed in the country, where it was in use; where we regard her antiquity, or the authority of those who have maintained her; where we feare the menaces wherewith she threatneth all mis-beleevers, or follow her promises. The considerations ought to be applied and employed to our beleefe, but as Subsidiaries: they be humane bonds. Another Country, other Testimonies, equall promises: alike menaces, might semblably imprint a cleane contrary religion in us: we are Christians by
the same title, as we are either Perigordins or Germans. And as Plato saith: There are few so confirmed in Atheisme, but some great danger will bring unto the knowledge of Gods divine power. The part doth not touch or concerne a good Christian: It is for mortall and worldly religions, to be received by a humane convoy. What faith is that like to be, which cowardice of heart doth plant, and weaknesse establish in us? A goodly faith, that beleeves that which it beleeveth, onely because it wanteth the courage not to beleeve the same. A vicious passion, as that of inconstancie and astonishment is, can it possibly ground any regular production in our minds or soules? They establish (saith he) by the reason of their judgement, that whatsoever is reported of hell, or of after-comming paines, is but a fiction; but the occasions to make triall of it, offering it selfe, at what time age or sickenes doth sommon them to death: the [terrour] of the same, through the horrour of their future condition, doth then replenish them with another kinde of beleefe. And because such impressions make mens hearts fearefull, hee by his lawes, inhibiteth all instruction of such threats, and the perswasion, that any evill may come unto man from the Gods, except for his greater good, and for a medicinable effect, whensoever he falleth into it. [They] report of Bion, that being infected with the Atheismes of Theodorus, he had for a long time made but a mockerie of religious men; but when death did once seize upon him, he yeelded unto the extremest super-
stitutions: As if the Gods would either be removed, or come againe, according to Bions businesse. Plato and these examples conclude, that wee are brought to beleve in God, either by reason, or by compulsion. Atheisme being a proposition, as unnaturall and monstrous as it is hard and uneasie to be established in any mans minde, how insolent and unruly soever hee may be. Many have beene seene, to have conceived, either through vanitie or fiercenesse, strange and seld-knowne opinions, as if they would become reformers of the world, by affecting a profession onely in countenance: who though they be sufficiently foolish, yet are they not powerfull enough, to ground or settle it in their consciences. Yet will not such leave to lift-up their joyned hands to heaven, give them but a stoccado on their breast: and when feare shall have supprest, or sickenesse vanquished this licentious fervour of a wavering minde, then will they suffer themselves gently to be reclaimed, and discreetly to be persuaded, to give credit unto true beliefe and publike examples. A decree seriously digested is one thing, and these shallow and superficial impressions another, which bred by the dissolutenesse of a loose spirit, do rashly and uncertainely float up and downe the fantasie of a man. Oh men most braine-sicke and miserable, that endeavour to be worse than they can! The errour of Paganisme, and the ignorance of our sacred truth, was the cause of this great soules-fall; but onely great in worldly greatnes; also in this next abuse, which is, that children and
Natural old men, are found to be more susceptible or capable of religion, as if it were bred and had her credit from our imbecilitie. The bond which should binde our judgement, tie our will, enforce and joyne our soules to our Creator, should be a bond taking his doubling and forces, not from our considerations, reasons and passions, but from a divine and supernaturall compulsion, having but one forme, one countenance, and one grace; which is the authority and grace of God. Now our heart being ruled, and our soule commanded by faith, reason willeth, that she drawes all our other parts to the service of her intent, according to their power and facultie. Nor is it likely, but that this vast worlds-frame must beare the impression of some markes, therein imprinted by the hand of this great-wondrous Architect, and that even in all things therein created, there must be some image, somewhat resembling, and having coherencie with the workeman that wrought and framed them. He hath left imprinted in these high and mysterious works, the characters of his divinitie: and onely our imbecilitie is the cause, wee can nor discover, nor read them. It is that which himselfe telleth us, That by his visible operations, bee doth manifest those that are invisible to us. Sebond hath much travelled about this worthie studie, and sheweth us, That there is no parcell of this world, that either belyeth or shameth his Maker. It were a manifest wronging of Gods goodnesse, if all this universe did not consent and sympathize with our beleefe. Heaven, earth, the elements, our bodies, our soule; yea
all things else, conspire and agree unto it: onely the meanes how to make use of them must be found out: They will instruct us sufficiently, be we but capable to learne and apt to understand. For, this world is a most holy Temple, into which man is brought there to behold Statues and Images, not wrought by mortall hand, but such as the secret thought of God hath made sensible, as the Sunne, the Starres, the Waters and the Earth, thereby to represent the intelligible unto us. The invisible things of God (saith Saint Paul) doe evidently appeare by the creation of the world, judgeing of his eternall Wisedome and Divinity by his workes.

Atque adeo faciems cali non invidet orbi,  
Ipse Deus, vultusque suos corpusque recludit,  
Semper volvendo: sequi ipsum inculcat et offerit  
Ut bene cognosci possit, doceatque videndo  
Qualis eat doceatque suas attendere leges.

—Manil. iv. 840.

God to the world doth not heav'ns face envie,  
But by still moving it doth notifie  
His face and essence, doth himselfe applie,  
That he may well be knowen, and teach by seeing,  
How he goes; how we should marke his decreeing.

Now our reason and humane discourse, is as the lumpish and barren matter; and the grace of God is the forme thereof. T'is that, which giveth both fashion and worth unto it. Even as the vertuous actions of Socrates and Cato, are but frivolous and [un]profitable, because they had not their end, and regarded not the love and obedience of the true creator of all things; and namely, because they were ignorant of the true knowledge of God: So is it of our imagina-
Influence of Sebond

tions and discourse; they have a kind of body, but a shapelesse masse, without light or fashion, unlesse faith and the grace of God be joyned thereunto. Faith, giving as it were a tincture and lustre unto Sebond's arguments, make them the more firme and solid: They may well serve for a direction and guide to a yong learner, to lead and set him in the right way of this knowledge. They in some sort fashion and make him capable of the grace of God, by means whereof our beliefe is afterward atchieved and made perfect. I know a man of authority, brought up in letters, who confessed unto me, that he was reclaimed from out the errors of mis-beleevings by the Arguments of Sebond. And if it happen, they be dispoyled of this ornament, and of the helpe and approbation of faith, and taken but for meere humane fantazies, yet to combat those that headlong are fallen into the dreadfull error, and horrible darkenesse of irreligion, even then, shall they be found as firme and forcible, as any other of that condition, that may be opposed against them. So that we shall stand upon termes to say unto our parties,

*Si melius quid habes, accerse, vel imperium fer.*

—Hor. i. Epist. v. 6.

If you have any better, send for me,
Or else that I bid you, contented be.

Let them either abide the force of our proofes, or shew us some others, upon some other subject, better compact and more full. I have in a manner unawares halfe engaged my selfe in the
second objection, to which I had purposed to frame an answer for Sebond. Some say his Arguments are weake, and simple to verifie what he would (The second Objection); and undertake to front him easily. Such fellows must somewhat more roughly be handled: for they are more dangerous, and more malicious than the first. Man doth willingly apply other mens sayings to the advantage of the opinions he hath fore-judged in himselfe. To an Atheist all writings make for Atheisme. He with his owne Venome infecteth the innocent matter. These have some preoccupation of judgement that makes their taste wallowish and tastlesse, to conceive the reasons of Sebond. As for the rest, they thinke to have faire play offered them, if they have free liberty to combat our religion with meere worldly weapons; which they durst not charge, did they behold her in her Majesty, full of authority and commandement. The meanes I use to suppressse this frenzy, and which seemeth the fittest for my purpose, is to crush, and trample this humane pride and fiercenesse under foot, to make them feel the emptinesse, vacuitie, and no worth of man: and violently to pull out of their hands, the silly weapons of their reason; to make them stoope, and bite and snarle at the ground, under the authority and reverence of Gods Majesty. Onely to her belongeth science and wisdome, it is she alone can judge of her selfe; and from her we steale, whatsoever we repute, value, and count our selves to be.
Pride of intellect

Oυ γὰρ ἐὰν φρονεῖν ὦ θεὸς μέγας ᾧ λλοι ᾦ ξαντὸν.

Of greater, better, wiser minde than he,
God can abide no mortall man should be.

Let us suppresse this over-weening, the first foundation of the tyrannie of the wicked spirit: 

_Deus superbis resistit: humilibus autem dat gratiam (Prov. iii. 14, iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5)._ God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble. Plato saith, _That intelligence is in all the Gods, but little or nothing at all in men._ Meane-while it is a great comfort unto a Christian man, to see our mortall implements, and fading tooles, so fitly sorted to our holy and divine faith; that when they are employed to the mortal and fading subjects of their Nature, they are never more forcibly, nor more joyntlie appropriated unto them. Let us then see whether man hath any other stronger reasons in his power, then _Sebondes_, and whether it lie in him, by argument or discourse, to come to any certainty. For, _Saint Augustine_, pleading against these kind of men, because he would upbraid them with their injustice, in that they hold the parts of our beleefe to be false, and that our reason faileth in establishing them. And to shew, that many things may be, and have beene, whereof our discourse can never ground the nature and the causes; _He proposeth and setteth downe before them certaine knownen and undoubted experiments, wherein man confesseth to see nothing; which he doth as all things else, with a curious and ingenious search._ More must be done, and
they must be taught, that to convince the weak-
ness of their reason, we need not goe far to cull
out rare examples: And that it is so defective
and blinde, as there is no facility so cleare, that
is cleare enough unto her; that easie and un easie
is all one to her; that all subjects equally, and
Nature in generall disavoweth her jurisdiction,
and interposition. What preacheth truth unto
us, when it biddeth us flie and shun worldly
Philosophy; when it so often telleth us, that
all our wisdome is but folly before God; that of
all vanities, man is the greatest; that man, who
presumeth of his knowledge, doth not yet know
what knowledge is: and that man, who is nothing,
if he but thinke to be something, seduceth and de-
ceiveth himselfe? These sentences of the Holy
Ghost, doe so lively and manifestly expresse, what
I would maintaine, as I should neede no other
proofe against such as with all submission and
obeysance would yeeld to his authority. But
these will needs be whipt to their owne cost,
and cannot abide their reason to be combated,
but by it selfe. Let us now but consider man
alone without other help, armed but with his
owne weapons, and unprovided of the grace and
knowledge of God, which is all his honour, all
his strength, and all the ground of his being.
Let us see what hold-fast, or free-hold he hath
in this gorgeous, and goodly equipage. Let
him with the utmost power of his discourse
make me understand, upon what foundation, he
hath built those great advantages and ods, he
supposeth to have over other creatures. Who
What is man that hath persuaded him, that this admirable moving of heavens vaults; that the eternal light of these lampes so fiercely rowling over his head; that the horror-moving and continuall motion of this infinite vaste Ocean, were established, and continue so many ages for his commoditie and service? Is it possible to imagine any thing so ridiculous, as this miserable and wretched creature, which is not so much as master of himselfe, exposed and subject to offences of all things, and yet dareth call himselfe Master and Emperour of this Universe? In whose power it is not to know the least part of it, much lesse to command the same. And the privilege, which he so fondly challengeth, to be the onely absolute creature in this huge worlds-frame, perfectly able to know the absolute beautie, and severall parts thereof, and that he is only of power to yeeld the great Architect thereof, due thankes for it, and to keepe account both of the receipts and layings out of the world. Who hath sealed him this patent? Let him shew us his letters of privilege, for so noble and so great a charge. Have they beene granted onely in favour of the wise? Then concerne they but a few. Are the foolish and wicked worthy of so extraordinarie a favour? Who being the worst part of the world, should they be preferred before the rest? Shall we beleeve him; Quorum igitur causa quis dixerit effectum esse mundum? Eorum scilicet animantium quae ratione utuntur. Hi sunt dii et homines, quibus profecto nihil est melius (Cic. Nat. Deo. ii.). For whose cause then shall a
man say, that the world was made? In sooth, for those creatures sake, which have the use of reason: Those are Gods and men, than whom assuredly nothing is better. We shall never sufficiently baffle the impudency of this con-
joyning. But silly wretch, what hath he in him worthy such an advantage? To consider the incorruptible life of the celestiaall bodies, their beauty, greatnesse, and agitation, continued with so just and regular a course:

—cum suspicimus magni caelestia mundi
Templa super, stellisque micantibus Æthera fixum,
Et venit in mentem Lune Solisque viarum.

—LUCR. V. 1214.

When we of this great world the heavenly temples see
Above us, and the skies with shine-starres fixt to be,
And marke in our discourse,
Of Sunne and Moone the course.

To consider the power and domination, these bodies have, not onely upon our lives, and condition of our fortune;

Facta etenim et vitas hominum suspendit ab astris.

—MANIL. Astron. iii. 58.

For on the stars he doth suspend
Of men, the deeds, the lives, and end.

But also over our dispositions and inclinations, our discourses and wils, which they rule, provoke, and move at the pleasure of their influences, as our reason finds and teacheth us.
By speculation it from far discern's,
How star's by secret lawes do guide our sterns,
And this whole world is moov'd by entercourse
And by sure signes of fates to know the course.

Seeing that not a man alone, nor a King only,
But Monarchies and Empires, yea, and all this world below is moved at the shaking of one of the least heavenly motions.

How little motions make, how different affection:
So great this Kingdome is, that hath Kings in subjection.

If our vertue, vices, sufficiency and knowledge, and the same discourse we make of the power of the starres, and the comparison betweene them and us, commeth as our reason judgeth by their meane and through their favour.

—speculatâque longē
Deprendit tacitis dominantia legibus astra,
Et totum alternâ mundum ratione moveri,
Fatorumque vices certis discernere signis.

—MANIL. Astron. i. 62.

Quantaque quam parvi faciant discrimina motus:
Tantum est hoc regnum quod regibus imperat ipsis.

—MANIL. Astron. iv. 93.

Et pontum tranare potest et vertere Troiam,
Alterius sors est scribendis legibus apta:
Ecce patrem nati perimunt, natosque parentes,
Mutuaque armati coeunt in vulnera frates,
Non nostrum hoc bellum est, coguntur tanta movere,
Inque suas ferri panas, lacerandaque membra:
Hoc quoque fatale est sic ipsum expendere fatum.

—MANIL. Astron. iv. 78, 118.
One with love madded, his love to enjoy, 
Can crosse the seas, and overturne all Troy: 
Anothers lot is to set lawes severe, 
Loe sonnes kill fathers, fathers sonnes destroy, 
Brothers for mutuall wounds their armes doe beare, 
Such war is not our owne, forc’t are we to it, 
Drawne to our owne paines, our owne limbs to teare; 
Fates so t’observe t’is fatall, we must doe it.

If we hold that portion of reason, which we have, from the distribution of heaven, how can she make us equall unto it? How can she submit his essence and conditions unto our knowledge? Whatsoever we behold in those huge bodies, doth affright us: Quæ molitio, quæ ferra menta, quæ vectes, quæ machinæ, quæ ministri tanti operis fuerunt? (Cic. Nat. Deo. i.). What workemanship? What yron-braces? What maine beames, what engines? What Masons and Carpenters, were to so great a worke? Why doe we then deprive them of soule, of life, and of discourse? Have we discovered or knowen any unmoveable or insensible stupidity in them? We, who have no commerce but of obedience with them? Shall we say we have seene the use of a reasonable soule, in no other creature, but in man? What? Have we seene any thing comparable to the Sunne? Leaveth he to be, because we have seene nothing semblable unto it? And doth he leave his moving, because his equall is no where to be found? If that which we have not seene, is not, our knowledge is wonderfull abridged. Quæ sunt tanta animi angustiae? What narrownesse of my heart is
Man is such? Be they not dreames of humane vanity, to make a celestiall earth, or world of the Moone? As Anaxagoras did? And therein to plant worldly habitations, and as Plato and Plutarch doe, erect their colonies for our use. And to make of our knowne earth a bright shining planet? Inter cætera mortalitatis incommoda, et hoc est caligo mentium: nec tantum necessitas errandi, sed errorum amor (Sen. Ira, ii. cap. 9). Among other discommodities of our mortality this is one, there is darknesse in our minds, and in us not onely necessity of erring, but a love of errors. Corruptibile corpus aggravat animam, et deprimit terrena inhabitatio sensum multa cogitantem (Sen. Epist. xcv.). Our corruptible body doth overlode our soule, and our dwelling on earth weighes downe our sense, that is set to thinke of many matters. Presumption is our naturall and originall infirmitie. Of all creatures man is the most miserable and fraile, and therewithall the proudest and disdainfullest. Who perceiveth and seeth himselfe placed here, amidst their filth and mire of the world, fast tied and nailed to the worst, most senselesse, and drooping part of the world, in the vilesst corner of the house, and farthest from heavens coape, with those creatures, that are the worst of the three conditions; and yet dareth imaginarily place himselfe above the circle of the Moone, and reduce heaven under his feet. It is through the vanity of the same imagination, that he dare equall himselfe to God, that he ascribeth divine conditions unto himselfe, that he selecteth
and separateth himselfe from out the ranke of other creatures; to which his fellow-brethren and compeers, he cuts out and shareth their parts, and allotteth them what portions of meanes or forces he thinkes good. How knoweth he by the vertue of his understanding the inward and secret motions of beasts? By what comparison from them to us doth he conclude the brutishnesse, he ascribeth unto them? When I am playing with my Cat, who knowes whether she have more sport in dallying with me, than I have in gaming with her? We entertaine one another with mutuall apish trickes, If I have my houre to begin or to refuse, so hath she hers. Plato in setting forth the golden age under Saturne, amongst the chiefe advantages that man had then, reporteth the communication he had with beasts, of whom enquiring and taking instruction, he knew the true qualities, and differences of every one of them: by, and from whom he got an absolute understanding and perfect wisedome, whereby he led a happier life than we can doe. Can we have a better prove to judge of mans impudency, touching beasts? This notable Author was of opinion, that in the greatest part of the corporall forme, which nature hath bestowed on them, she hath onely respected the use of the Prognostications, which in his daies were thereby gathered. That defect which hindreth the communication betweene them and us, why may it not as well be in us, as in them? It is a matter of divination to guesse in whom the fault is, that we under-
stand not one another. For, we understand them no more than they us. By the same reason, may they as well esteeme us beasts, as we them. It is no great marvell if we understand them not: no more doe we the Cornish, the Welch, or Irish. Yet have some boasted that they understood them, as Apollonius Thyaneus, Melampus, Tiresias, Thales and others. And if it be (as Cosmographers report) that there are Nations, who receive and admit a Dogge to be their King, it must necessarily follow, that they give a certaine interpretation to his voice and moving. We must note the parity that is betweene us. We have some meane understanding of their senses, so have beasts of ours, about the same measure. They flatter and faune upon us, they threat, and entreat us, so doe we them. Touching other matters, we manifestly perceive, that there is a full and perfect communication amongst them, and that not onely those of one same kinde understand one another, but even such as are of different kindes.

Et muta pecudes, et denique secla ferarum
Dissimiles fuerunt voce variisque clure
Cum metus aut dolor est, aut cum iam gaudia gliscunt.
—Lucr. v. 1069.

Whole heard's (though dumbe) of beasts, both wild and tame
Use divers voices, diffrent sounds to frame,
As joy, or griefe, or feare,
Upspringing passions beare.

By one kinde of barking of a Dogge, the Horse knoweth he is angrie; by another voice
of his, he is nothing dismayd. Even in beasts, that have no voice at all, by the reciprocall kindnesse, which we see in them, we easily inferre there is some other meane of entercommunication: their jestures treat, and their motions discourse.

Non alia longè ratione atque ipsa videtur
Protrahere ad gestum, pueros infantia linguae.

—Ib 1040.

No otherwise, then for they cannot speake, Children are drawne by signes their mindes to breake.

And why not, as well as our dumbe men dispute, argue and tell histories by signes? I have seene some so ready and so excellent in it, that (in good sooth) they wanted nothing to have their meaning perfectly understood. Doe we not daily see lovers with the lookes and rowling of their eyes, plainly shew when they are angrie or pleased, and how they entreat and thanke one another, assigne meetings, and expresse any passion?

E'il silentio ancor suole
Haver prieghi et parole
Silence also hath a way,
Words and prayers to convay

What doe we with our hands? Doe we not sue and entreat, promise and performe, call men unto us and discharge them, bid them farwell and be gone, threaten, pray, beseech, deny, refuse, demand, admire, number, confesse, repent, feare, bee ashamed, doubt, instruct, command,
incite, encourage, sweare, witnesse, accuse, condemne, absolve, injurie, despise, defie, despiught, flatter, applaud, blesse, humble, mocke, reconcile, recommend, exalt, shew gladnesse, rejoynce, complaine, waile, sorrow, discomfort, dispaire, cry out, forbid, declare silence and astonishment? And what not? With so great variation, and amplifying, as if they would contend with the tongue. And with our head, doe we not invite and call to us, discharge and send away, avow, disavow, belie, welcome, honour, worship, disdaine, demand, direct, rejoynce, affirme, deny, complaine, cherish, blandish, chide, yeeld, submit, brag, boast, threaten, exhort, warrant, assure, and enquire? What doe we with our eye-lids? and with our shoulders? To conclude, there is no motion, nor gesture that doth not speake, and speakes in a language very easie, and without any teaching to be understood: nay, which is more, it is a language common and publike to all: whereby it followeth (seeing the varietie, and severall use it hath from others) that this must rather be deemed the proper and peculiar speech of humane nature. I omit that, which necessitie in time of need doth particularly instruct and suddenly teach such as need it; and the alphabets upon fingers, and grammars by jester; and the sciences which are onely exercised and expressed by them: and the nations Plinie reporteth to have no other speech. An Ambassador of the Citie of Abdera, after he had talked a long time unto Agis King of Sparta, said thus unto him: O King, what answer wilt
thou that I beare backe unto our citizens? Thus (answered he) that I have suffered thee to speake all thou wouldst, and as long as thou pleasedst, without ever speaking one word. Is not this a kinde of speaking silence, and easie to be understood? And as for other matters; what sufficiency is there in us, that we must not acknowledge from the industry and labours of beasts? Can there be a more formall, and better ordered policie, divided into so severall charges and offices, more constantly entertained, and better maintained, than that of Bees? Shall we imagine, their so orderly disposing of their actions, and managing of their vacations, have so proportioned and formall a conduct without discourse, reason, and forecast?

*His quidam signis atque hæc exempla sequuti,*
*Esse apibus partem divinae mentis, et haustus*

Some by these signes, by these examples moved,
Said that in Bees there is and may be proved
Some taste of heavenly kinde,
Part of celestiall minde.

The Swallowes which at the approach of spring time we see to pry, to search, and ferret all the corners of our houses, is it without judgement they seeke, or without discretion they chuse from out a thousand places, that which is fittest for them, to build their nests and lodging? And in that pretty cunning contexture, and admirable framing of their houses, would birds rather fit themselves with a round, than a square figure,
The witness of birds and spiders

with an obtuse, than a right angle, except they knew both the commodities and effects of them? Would they (suppose you) first take water and then clay, unless they guessed that the hardness of the one is softened by the moistness of the other? Would they floor their palace with moss or downe, except they foresaw that the tender parts of their young ones shall thereby lie more soft and easie? Would they shroud and shelter themselves from stormy weather, and build their cabbins toward the East, unless they knew the different conditions of winds, and considered that some are more healthfull and safe for them than some others? Why doth the Spider spin her artificial web thicke in one place and thin in another? And now useth one, and then another knot, except she had an imaginary kinde of deliberation, forethought, and conclusion? We perceive by the greater part of their workes what excellency beasts have over us, and how weake our art and short our cunning is, if we goe about to imitate them. We see notwithstanding, even in our grossest workes, what faculties we employ in them, and how our minde employeth the uttermost of her skill and forces in them: why should wee not thinke as much of them? Wherefore doe we attribute the workes, which excell what ever we can performe, either by nature or by art, unto a kinde of unknowne, naturall, and servile inclination? Wherein unawares wee give them a great advantage over us, to infer that nature, led by a certaine loving kindnesse, leadeth and
accompanieth them (as it were by the hand) unto all the actions and commodities of their life; and that she forsaketh and leaveth us to the hazard of fortune; and by art to quest and finde out those things that are behovefull and necessarie for our preservation: and therewithall denieth us the meanes to attaine by any institution and contention of spirit to the naturall sufficiency of brute beasts: So that their brutish stupidity doth in all commodities exceed, whatsoever our divine intelligence can effect. Verily, by this account wee might have just cause and great reason to terme her a most injust and partiall stepdame: But there is no such thing, our policy is not so deformed and disordered. Nature hath generally imbraced all her creatures: And there is not any, but she hath amply stored with all necessary meanes for the preservation of their being. For the daily plaints, which I often heare men make (when the licence of their conceits doth sometimes raise them above the clouds, and then headlong tumbling them downe even to the Antipodes) exclaiming that man is the onely forsaken and out-cast creature, naked on the bare earth, fast bound and swathed, having nothing to cover and arme himselfe withall but the spoile of others; whereas Nature hath clad and mantled all other creatures, some with shels, some with huskes, with rindes, with haire, with wooll, with stings, with bristles, with hides, with mosse, with feathers, with skales, with fleeces, and with silke, according as their quality might need, or their condition require: And hath fenced
False complaints of the insufficiency

and armed them with clawes, with nailes, with talons, with hooves, with teeth, with stings, and with hornes, both to assaile others and to defend themselves: And hath moreover instructed them in every thing fit and requisite for them, as to swim, to runne, to creepe, to flie, to roare, to bellow, and to sing: where as man only (Oh silly wretched man) can neither goe, nor speake, nor shift, nor feed himselfe, unless it be to whine and weep onely, except hee bee taught.

_Tum porro, puer ut sævis projectus ab undis_  
_Navita, nudus humi jacet infans, indigus omni_  
_Vitali auxilio, cūm primum in luminis oras_  
_Nexibus ex abuo matris natura profudit,_  
_Vagitusque locum lugubri complet, ut aquum est_  
_Cui tantum in vita restet transire malorum:_  
_At varia crescent pecudes, armenta, fēræque,_  
_Nec crepitacula eis opus est, nec cuquam adhibenda est_  
_Almæ nutricis blandæ atque infracta loquela:_  
_Nec varias quærunt vestes pro tempore cæli:_  
_Denique non armis opus est, non manibus altis_  
_Queis sua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia large_  
_Tellus ipsa parit, naturaque dēdala rerum._

—_LuCR. v. 222._

An infant, like a shipwracke ship-boy cast from seas,  
Lies naked on the ground and speechlesse, wanting all  
The helpes of vitall spirit, when nature with small ease  
Of throw's, to see first light, from her wombe lets him fall,  
Then, as is meet, with mourn'full cries he fils the place,  
For whom so many ils remaine in his lives race.  
But divers herds of tame and wild beasts forward spring,
Nor need they rattles, nor of Nurces cockring-kind
The flattering broken speech their lulluby need
sing.
Nor seeke they divers coats, as divers seasons bind,
Lastly no armour need they, nor high-reared wall
Whereby to guard their owne, since all things
unto all
Worke-masters nature doth produce,
And the earth largely to their use.

Such complaints are false: There is a greater
equality, and more uniforme relation in the policy
of the world. Our skin is as sufficiently pro-
vided with hardnesse against the injuries of the
wether, as theirs: Witnesse divers Nations, which
yet never knew the use of clothes. Our ancient
Gaules were but slightly appareld, no more are
the Irish-men, our neighbours, in so cold a cli-
mate: Which we may better judge by our selves;
for, all those parts of our bodie, we are pleased
to leave bare to winde and wether, are by experi-
ence found able to endure it: If there be any
weake part in us, which in likely-hood should
seeme to feare cold, it ought to be the stomache,
where digestion is made: Our forefathers used
to have it bare, and our Ladies (as dainty-
nice as they be) are many times seene to goe
open-breasted, as low as their navill. The
bandles and swathes about our children are no
more necessary: And the mothers of Lacede-
monia, brought up theirs in all liberty and loose-
nesse of moving their limbs without swathing
or binding. Our whining, our puling and our
weeping is common to most creatures, and divers
of them are often seene to waile and grone a
long time after their birth, forsomuch as it is
a countenance fitting the weaknesse wherein they
feelee themselves. As for the use of eating, and
feeding, it is in us, as in them, naturall and with-
out teaching.

Sentit enim vim quisque suam quam possit abuti.
—Ibid. 1043.

For every one soone-understanding is
Of his owne strength, which he may use amisse.

Who will make question, that a child having
attained the strength to feed himselfe, could not
quest for his meat, and shift for his drinke? The earth without labour or tilling doth suffi-
ciently produce and offer him as much as he
shall need. And if not at all times, no more
doeth she unto beasts; witness the provision, wee see the Ants and other silly creatures to
make against the cold and barren seasons of the
yeare. The nations, that have lately bin dis-
covered, so plenteously stored with all manner
of naturall meat and drinke, without care or
labor, teach us, that bread is not our onely
food: And that without toyling, our common
mother nature, hath with great plentie stored us
with whatsoever should be needfull for us, yea,
as it is most likely, more richly and amply,
than now adaies she doth, that we have added
so much art unto it:

Et tellus nitidas fruges vinetaque lata
Sponte sua primum mortalibus ipsa creavit,
Ipsa dedit dulces fatus, et pabula lata,
Quae nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore,
Conterimusque boves et vires agricolarum.—LUCR. ii. 1166.
The earth it selfe at first of th' owne accord
Did men rich Vineyards, and cleane fruit afford.
It gave sweet of-springs food from sweeter soyle
Which yet scarce greater grow for all our toyle,
Yet tire therein we doe,
Both Plough-mens strength and Oxen too.

The gluttonous excess, and intemperate lavishment of our appetite exceeding all the inventions, we endeavour to finde out, wherewith to glut and cloy the same. As for armes and weapons, we have more, that be naturall unto us, than the greatest part of other beasts: We have more severall motions of limbs, and naturally, without teaching: We reape more serviceable use of them, than they do: Those which are trained up to fight naked, are seene head long to cast themselves into the same hazards and dangers, as we doe. If some beasts excell us in this advantage, we exceed many others: And the industrie to enable, the skill to fortifie, and the wit to shelter and cover our body by artificiall meanes, we have it by a kind of naturall instinct and teaching. Which to prove; the Elephant doth whet and sharpen his teeth, he useth in warre (for he hath some he onely useth for that purpose) which he heedfully spareth, and never puts them to other service: When Buls prepare themselves to fight, they raise, scatter, and with their feet, cast the dust about them: The wild Boare whets his tuskes; when the Ichneumon is to grapple with the Crocodile, he walloweth his body in the mire, then lets the same drie and harden upon him, which he doth
so often, that at last the same becomes as hard
and tough as any well compact crust, which
serveth him in stead of a Cuirace. Why shall
we not say, that it is as naturall for us to
arme our selves with wood and yron? As
for speech, sure it is, that if it be not naturall it
is not necessary. I beleeve nevertheless, that
if a childe, bred in some uncouth solitarinesse,
farre from haunt of people (though it were a
hard matter to make triall of it) would no doubt
have some kind of words to expresse, and
speech to utter his conceits: And it is not
to be imagined, that nature hath refused us
that meane, and barred us that helpe, which
she hath bestowed upon many and divers other
creatures: For, what is that faculty we see
in them, when they seeme to complains, to re-
joyce, to call one unto another for helpe, and
bid one another to loving copulation (as com-
monly they doe) by the use of their voice, but
a kind of speech? And shall not they speake
among themselves, that speake and utter their
minde unto us, and we to them? How many
waies speake we unto our Dogges, and they
seeme to understand and answer us? With
another language, and with other names speake
we unto, and call them, than we doe our Birds,
our Hogges, our Oxen, our Horses, and such
like; and according to their different kindes we
change our Idiome.

Cosi per entro loro schiera bruna
S' ammus a l'una con l'altra formica,
Forse à spiar lor via, et lor fortuna.
So Ants amidst their sable-coloured band
One with another mouth to mouth confer,
Haply their way, or state to understand.

Me seemeth that *Lactantius* doth not onely attribute speech unto beasts, but also laughing. And the same difference of tongues, which according to the diversity of Countries is found amongst us, is also found amongst beasts of one same kinde. *Aristotle* to that purpose alleageth the divers calles or purres of Partriges, according to the situation of their place of breeding:

---
*variæque volucres
Longe alias alio jaciunt in tempore voces,
Et partim mutant cum tempestatibus undâ
Raucissonos cantus.*—Lucr. v. 1088.

And divers birds, send forth much divers sounds
At divers times, and partly change the grounds
Of their hoarse-sounding song,
As seasons change along.

But it would be knowen, what language such a child should speake: and what some report by divination, hath no great likely-hood. And if against this opinion, a man would alleage unto me, that such as are naturally deafe, speake not at all: I answer, that it is not onely because they could not receive the instruction of the world by their eares, but rather in asmuch as the sense of hearing, whereof they are deprived, hath some affinity with that of speaking, both which with a naturall kinde of ligament or seame, hold and are fastned together: In such sort, as what we speake, we must first speake it unto our selves, and before we utter and send the same forth to strangers, we make it inwardly
MONTAIGNE'S ESSAYES

We are all subject to like bonds to sound unto our eares. I have said all this, to maintaine the coherency and resemblance, that is in all humane things, and to bring us unto the generall throng. We are neither above nor under the rest: what ever is under the coape of heaven (saith the wise man) runneth one law, and followeth one fortune.

Indupedita suis fatalibus omnia vincis.—Ibid. 885.

All things enfolded are,
In fatall bonds as fits their share.

Some difference there is, there are orders and degrees; but all is under the visage of one-same nature.

—res quæque suo ritu procedit, et omnes
Fadere naturæ certo discrimina servant.—Ibid. 932.

All things proceed in their course, natures all Keepe difference, as in their league doth fall.

Man must be forced, and marshalled within the lists of this policie. Miserable man with all his wit cannot in effect goe beyond it: he is embraced, and engaged, and as othercreatures of his ranke are, he is subjected in like bondes, and without any prerogative or essentiall pre-excellencie, what ever Privilege he assume unto himselfe, he is of very meane condition. That which is given by opinion or fantasie hath neither body nor taste. And if it be so, that he alone, above all other Creatures, hath this liberty of imagination, and this licence of thoughts, which represent unto him, both what is, and what is
not and what him pleaseth, falsehood and truth; it is an advantage bought at a very high rate, and whereof he hath little reason to glory: For thence springs the chiefest source of all the mischiefs that oppress him, as sinne, sickness, irresolution, trouble and despair. But to come to my purpose, I say therefore, there is no likelyhood, we should imagine, the beasts doe the very same things by a naturall inclination and forced genuitie, which we doe of our owne freewil and industrie. Of the very same effects we must conclude alike faculties; and by the richest effects infer the noblest faculties, and consequently acknowledge, that the same discourse and way, we hold in working, the very same, or perhaps some other better, doe beasts hold. Wherefore shall we imagine that naturall compulsion in them, that prove no such effect our selves? Since it is more honourable to be addressed to act, and tyed to worke orderly, by and through a naturall and unavoideable condition, and most approching to Divinitie, than regularly to worke and act, by, and through a casuall and rash libertie; and it is safer to leave the reignes of our conduct unto nature, than unto ourselves. The vanitie of our presumption maketh us rather to be beholding, and as it were endebted unto our owne strength, for our sufficiency, than unto her liberalitie; and enrich other creatures with naturall gifts, and yeeld those unto them, that so we may ennoble and honour our selves with gifts purchased, as me thinketh, by a very simple humour: For, I
would prize graces, and value gifts, that were altogether mine owne, and naturall unto me, as much as I would those, I had begged, and with a long prentiship, shifted for. *It lyeth not in our power to obtaine a greater commendation, than to be favoured both of God and Nature.* By that reason, the Fox, which the inhabitants of *Thrace* use when they will attempt to march upon the yce of some frozen river, and to that end let her go loose afore them, should we see her running alongst the river side, approach her eare close to the yce, to listen whether by any farre or neere distance, she may heare the noyse or roaring of the water, running under the same, and according as she perceiveth the yce thereby to be thicke or thinne, to goe either forward or backward; might not we lawfully judge, that the same discourse possesseth her head, as in like case it would ours? And that it is a kinde of debating reason and consequence, drawen from naturall sense? *Whatsoever maketh a noyse moveth, whatsoever moveth, is not frozen, whatsoever is not frozen, is liquid; whatsoever is liquid, yeelds under any weight?* For to impute that only to a quicknesse of the sense of hearing, without discourse or consequence, is but a fond conceipt, and cannot enter into my imagination. The like must be judged of so many wiles, and inventions, wherewith beasts save themselves from the snares, and scape the baits we lay to entrap them. And if we will take hold of any advantage tending to that purpose, that it is in our power to seize upon them, to employ them to our service, and to use
THE SECOND BOOKE CHAP. XII. 225

them at our pleasure; it is but the same oddes we have one upon another. To which purpose we have our slaves or bond-men; and were not the Climacides, certaine women in Syria, which creeping on al foure, upon the ground, served the Ladies in stead of footstoles or ladders to get up into their coachs? Where the greater part of free men for very slight causes, abandon both their life and being, to the power of others. The wives and Concubines of the Thracians strive and contend, which of them shalbe chosen, to bee slaine over her husbands or lovers tombe. Have tyrants ever failed to find many men vowed to their devotion? Where some for an over-plus, or supererogation have added this necessity, that they must necessarily accompany them, as well in death, as in life. Whole hostes of men have thus tyed themselves unto their Captaines. The tenor of the oath ministred unto the schollers, that entered and were admitted the rude schoole of Roman Gladiators, emplied these promises: which was this. We vow and sweare, to suffer our selves, to be enchained, beaten, burned and killed with the sword, and endure whatsoever any lawfull fenser ought to endure for his master: most religiously engaging both our bodie and soule to the use of his service:

Ure meum si vis flamma caput, et pete ferro
Corpus, et intorto verbere terga seca.

—TIBUL. i. El. ix. 21

Burne tyrant (if thou wilt) my head with fire, with sword
My body strike, my backe cut with hard-twisted cord,
Was not this a very strict covenant? Yet were there some yeares ten thousand found, that entered and lost themselves in those schooles. When the Scithians buried their King, they strangled over his dead body first, the chiefest and best beloved of his Concubines, then his Cup-bearer, the Master of his horse, his Chamberlaine, the Usher of his Chamber, and his master Cooke. And in his anniversary killed fiftie horse, mounted with fifty Pages, whom before, they had slaine with thrusting sharpe stakes into their fundament, which going up along their chine-bone, came out at their throat. Whom thus mounted; they set in orderly rankes about the tombe. The men that serve us, doe it better cheape, and for a lesse curious, and favourable entreating, than we use unto birds, unto horses, and unto dogges. What carke and toile, apply we not our selves unto for their sakes? Me thinks, the vilest and basest servants will never doe that so willingly for their Masters, which Princes are glad to doe for their beasts. Diogenes seeing his kinsfolks to take care how they might redeeme him out of thraldome; they are fooles (said he) for, it is my Master, that governeth, keepeth feedeth and serveth mee: And such as keepe or entertaine beasts, may rather say they serve them, than that they are served of them. And if they have that naturall greater magnanimity, that never Lyon was seene to subject himselfe unto another Lyon, nor one Horse unto another Horse, for want of heart. As wee hunt after
beasts, so Tygers and Lyons hunt after men, and have a like exercise one upon another: Hounds over the Hare; the Pike or Luce over the Tench; the Swallowes over the Grassehoppers, and the Sparrow-hawkes over Blackebirds and Larkes.

—serpente ciconia pullos
Nutrit, et inventâ per devia rura lacertâ,
Et leporem aut capream famula Jovis, et generosae
In saltu venantur aves.—Juve. Sat. xiv. 74.

The storke her young-ones feeds with serpents prey,
And lyzerts found somewhere out of the way.
Joves servants-Eagles, hawkes of nobler kinde,
In forrests hunt, a hare or kid to finde

We share the fruits of our prey with our dogges and hawkes, as a meed of their paine and reward of their industry. As about Amphipolis in Thrace, faulkners, and wilde hawks divide their game equally: And as about the Meotide-fennes, if fishers doe not very honestly leave behind them an even share of their fishings for the Woolves that range about those coasts, they presently run and teare their nets. And, as we have a kinde of fishing, rather managed by sleight, than strength, as that of hooke and line about our Angling-rods, so have beasts amongst themselves. Aristotle reporteth, that the Cuttle-Fish, casteth a long gut out of her throat, which like a line she sendeth forth, and at her pleasure pulleth it in againe, according as she perceiveth some little fish come neere her, who being close-hidden in the gravell or
Art of healing not confined to man

stronge, leteth him nible or bite the end of it, and then by little and little drawes it in unto her, untill the Fish be so neere, that with a sodaine leape she may catch it. Touching strength, there is no Creature in the world, open to so many wrongs and injuries as man: He need not a Whale, an Elephant, nor a Crocodile, nor any such other wilde beast, of which one alone is of power to defeat a great number of men: seely lice are able to make Silla give over his Dictatorship: The heart and life of a mighty and triumphant Emperor, is but the break-fast of a seely little Worme. Why say we, that skill to discerne, and knowledge to make choyce (gotten by art, and acquired by discourse) of things good for this life, and availfull against sicknesse, and so distinguish of those which are hurtfull, and to know the vertue of Reubarb, qualitie of Oake ferne, and operation of Polipodie, is only peculiar unto man? When we see the Goats of Candia being shot with an arrow, to choose from out a million of simples, the herb Dittamy or Garden-ginger, and there-with cure themselves; and the Tortoise having eaten of a Viper, immediatly to seek for Oregon or wild Marjoram, to purge herselfe: the Dragon to run and cleare his eies with fenel: the Cranes with their bills to minister glisters of sea-water unto themselves; the Elephants to pull out, not only from themselves and their fellowes, but also from their masters (witnesse that of King Porus, whom Alexander defeated) such javelins or darts, as in fight have beene thirled or shot at
them; so nimbly and so cunningly, as our selves could never do it so easily, and with so little paine: Why say wee not likewise that that is science, and prudence in them? For, if to de-presse them, some would alleadge, it is by the onely instruction and instinct of Nature, they know-it; that will not take the name of science, and title of prudence from them; it is rather to ascribe it unto them, than to us, for the honour of so assured a schoole-mistris. Chrysippus, albeit in other things as disdainfull a judge of the condition of beasts, as any other Philosopher, considering the earnest movings of the dog, who comming into a path, that led three severall wayes, in search or quest of his Master, whom he had lost, or in pursuit of some prey, that hath escaped him, goeth senting first one way, and then another, and having assured himself of two, because he findeth not the tracke of what he hunteth-for, without more adoe, furiously be-takes himselfe to the third; he is enforced to confesse, that such a dog must necessarily discourse thus with himselfe, I have followed my Masters footing bitherto, hee must of necessity passe by one of these three wayes; it is neither this nor that, then consequently hee is gone this other. And by this conclusion or discourse assuring himselfe, comming to the third path, hee useth his sense no more, nor sounds it any longer, but by the power of reason suffers himselfe violently to be caried through it. This meere logicall tricke, and this use of divided and conjoynd propositions, and of the sufficient numbring of parts: Is it not as
Dogs who are leaders of the blind

good, that the dog know it by himselfe, as by Trapezuntius his logicke? Yet are not beasts altogether unapt to be instructed after our manner. We teach Blacke-birds, Starlins, Ravens, Piots, and Parrots to chat; and that facilitie we perceive in them, to lend us their voyce so supple, and their wind so tractable, that so wee may frame and bring it to a certaine number of letters and silables, witnesseth, they have a kind of inward reason, which makes them so docile, and willing to learne. I thinke every man is cloied and wearied, with seeing so many apish and mim-mike trickes, that juglers teach their Dogges, as the dances, where they misse not one cadence of the sounds or notes they heare: Marke but the divers turnings, and severall kinds of motions, which by the commandement of their bare words they make them performe: But I wonder not a little at the effect, which is ordinary amongst us; and that is, the dogs which blind men use, both in Citie and Country: I have observed how sodainly they will stop when they come before some doores, where they are wont to receive almes; how carefully they will avoyd the shocke of Carts and Coaches, even when they have roome enough to passe by them selves. I have seene some, going along a Towne-ditch, leave a plaine and even path, and take a worse, that so they might draw their Master from the ditch. How could a man make the dog conceive, his charge was only to looke to his masters safetie, and for his service to despise his owne commoditie and good? And how should he have
the knowledge, that such a path would be broad enough for him, but not for a blind man? Can all this be conceived without reason? We must not forget what Plutarke affirmeth to have seen a dog in Rome doe before the Emperour Vespasian the father, in the Theatre of Marcellus. This Dog served a jugler, who was to play a fiction of many faces, and sundry countenances, where he also was to act a part. Amongst other things, he was for a long while to counterfeit and faine himselfe dead, because he had eaten of a certaine drugge: having swallowed a piece of bread, which was supposed to be the drug, he began sodainly to stagger and shake, as if he had beene giddie, then stretching and laying himselfe along, as stiffe as if hee were starke-dead, suffered himselfe to be dragged and haled from one place to another, according to the subject and plot of the play, and when he knew his time, first he began faire and softly to stirre, as if he were rouzed out of a dead slumber, then lifting up his head, hee looked and stared so gastly, that all the by-standers were amazed. The Oxen, which in the Kings gardens of Susa were taught to water them, and to draw water out of deepe Wells, turned certaine great wheeles, to which were fastned great buckets (as in many places of Languedoke is commonly seene) and being every one appoynted to draw just a hundred turnes a day, they were so accustomed to that number, as it was impossible by any compulsion to make them draw one more, which taske ended they would suddenly stop. We are growne striplings
Singing lessons of nightingales before we can tell a hundred; and many Nations have lately beene discovered, that never knew what numbers meant. More discourse is required to teach others, than to be taught. And omitting what Democritus judged and proved, which is, that beasts have instructed us in most of our Arts: As the Spider to weave and sew, the Swallow to build, the Swan, and the Nightingale musicke, and divers beasts, by imitating them, the Art of Physicke: Aristotle is of opinion, that Nightingales teach their young-ones to sing, wherein they employ both long time and much care: whence it followeth, that those which we keepe tame in Cages and have not had leasure to goe to their Parents schoole, lose much grace in their singing. Whereby we may conclude, they are much amended by discipline and study. And amongst those that run wilde, their song is not all one, nor alike. Each one hath learnt either better or worse, according to his capacity. And so jealous are they in their prentiseship, that to excell one another, they will so stoutly contend for the mastery, that many times, such as are vanquished die; their wind and strength soner failing than their voice. The young-ones wil very sadly sit recording their lesson, and are often seene labouring how to imitate certain song-notes: The Scholler listneth attentively to his Masters Lesson, and carefully yeeldeth account of it; now one and then another shall hold his peace: Marke but how they endeavour to amend their faults, and how the elder striveth to reprove the youngest. Arrius protesteth to
have seen an Elephant, who on every thigh having a Cimball hanging, and one fastned to his truncke, at the sound of which, all other Elephants danced in a round, now rising aloft, then lowing full low at certaine cadences, even as the instrument directed them, and was much delighted with the harmony. In the great shewes of Rome, Elephants were ordinarily seen, taught to move and dance at the sound of a voice, certaine dances, wherein were many strange shifts, enter-changes, caprings, and cadences, very hard to be learned. Some have beene noted to konne and practise their lessons, using much study and care, as being loath to be chidden and beaten of their masters. But the tale of the Piot is very strange, which Plutarke confidently witnesseth to have seen: This Jay was in a Barbers shop of Rome, and was admirable in counterfeiting with her voice whatsoever she heard: It fortuned one day, that certaine Trumpeters staied before this shop, and there sounded a good while; and being gone, all that day, and the next after, the Piot began to be very sad, silent, and melancholy, whereat all men marvelled, and surmized that the noise or clang of the Trumpets had thus affrighted and dizzied her, and that with her hearing she had also lost her voice. But at last they found, she was but in a deepe study, and dumpish retracting into her selfe, exercising her minde, and preparing her voice, to represent the sound, and expresse the noise of the Trumpets she had heard: And the first voice she uttered was that, wherein she perfectly
The dog, the oil, and the pitcher expressed their straines, their closes, and their changes: having by her new Prentiship altogether quit, and as it were, scorned what ever shee could prattle before. I will not omit to alleage another example of a Dogge, which Plutarke also saith to have seene (as for any order or method, I know very well I doe but confound it, which I observe no more in ranging these examples, than I doe in all the rest of my businesse) who being in a ship, noted that this Dogge was in great perplexity how to get some Oyle out of a deepe Pitcher, which by reason of it's narrow mouth, he could not reach with his tongue, got him presently some Pibble stones, and put so many into the Jarre, that he made the Oyle come up so neare the brimme, as he could easily reach and licke some. And what is that but the effect of a very subtill spirit? It is reported, that the Ravens of Barbary will doe the like, when the water they would drinke is too low. This action doth somewhat resemble that, which Juba a King of that Nation relateth of their Elephants, that when through the wiles of those who chase them, any one chanceth to fall into certaine deep pits, which they prepare for them, and to deceive them, they cover over with reeds, shrubs, and boughes, his fellowes will speedily with all diligence bring great store of stones and pieces of timber, that so they may helpe to recover him out againe. But this beast hath in many other effects, such affinity with mans sufficiency, that would I particularly trace out what experience hath taught, I should easily
get an affirmation of what I so ordinarily main-
taine, which is, that there is more difference
found betwene such and such a man, than
betwene such a beast and such a man. An
Elephants keeper in a private house of Syria,
was wont every meale to steale away halfe of
the allowance which was allotted him; it for-
tuned on a day, his master would needs feed
him himselfe, and having poured that just mea-
sure of barly, which for his allowance he had
prescribed him, into his manger: the Elephant
sternely eying his master, with his truncke divided
the provender in two equall parts, and laid the
one aside, by which he declared the wrong his
keeper did him. Another having a keeper, who
to encrease the measure of his provender, was
wont to mingle stones with it, came one day to
the pot which with meat in it for his keepers
dinner was seething over the fire, and filled it
up with ashes. These are but particular effects:
But that which all the world hath seene, and all
men know, which is, that in all the armies that
came out of the East, their chiefest strength
consisted in their Elephants by whom they
reaped, without comparison, farre greater effects,
than now adaiies we do by our great Ordnance,
which in a manner holds their place in a ranged
battel (such as have any knowledge in ancient
Histories may easily guesse it to be true)

—si quidem Tyrio servire solebant
Annibali, et nostris ducibus, regique Molosso
Horum majores, et dorso ferre cohortes,
Partem aliquam belli, et euntem in prælia turman.
—Juv. Sat. xii. 107.
Their elders usde great Hannibal to steed
Our Leaders, and Molossian Kings at need,
And on their backe to beare strong-guarding
Knights,
Part of the warre, and troupes addrest to fights.

A man must needs rest assured of the confidence they had in these beasts, and of their discourse, yeelding the front of a battel unto them; where the least stay they could have made, by reason of the hugenesse and weight of their bodies, and the least amazement that might have made them turne head upon their owne men, had bin sufficient to lose all. And few examples have been noted, that ever it for-tuned they turned upon their owne troupes, whereas we head-long throng one upon another, and so are put to rout: They had charge given them, not onely of one simple moving, but of many and severall parts in the combat: As the Spaniards did to their dogges in their new conquest of the Indias, to whom they gave wages, and imparted their booty; which beasts shewed as much dexteritie in pursuing, and judgement in staying their victorie, in charging, or retreating, and as occasion served in distinguishing their friends from their enemies, as they did earnestnesse and eagernes: we rather admire and consider strange than common things: without which I should never so long have ammused my selfe about this tedious catalogue. For, in my judgement he that shall neerely checke, what we ordinarily see in those beasts that live amongst us, shall in them finde as wonderful effects, as
those, which with so much toile are collected in far countries and passed ages. It is one same nature, which stil doth keep her course. He that throughly should judge her present estate, might safely conclude, both what shall happen, and what is past. I have seene amongst us, men brought by sea from distant countries, whose language, because we could in no wise understand, and that their fashions, their countenance, and their clothes did altogether differ from ours; who of us did not deeme them brutish and savage? who did not impute their mutenesse unto stupiditie or beastlines, and to see them ignorant of the French tongue, of our kissing the hands, of our low-lowting courtesies, of our behaviour and carriage, by which, without contradiction, humane nature ought to take her patterne? Whatsoever seemeth strange unto us, and we understand not, we blame and condemne. The like befalleth us in our judging of beasts. They have diverse qualities, which somewhat simbolize with ours: from which, we may comparatively draw some conjecture, but of such as are peculiar unto them, what know wee what they are? Horses, Dogges, Oxen, Sheepe, Birds, and the greater number of sensitive creatures that live amongst us, know our voyce, and by it suffer themselves to be directed. So did the Lamprey which Crassus had, and came to him when he called it; so do the Eeles that breed in Arethusaes fountaine. And my selfe have seene some fish-ponds, where, at a certaine crie of those that kept them, the fish would pre-
Religion of animals

sently come to shoare, where they were wont to be fed.

—nomen habent, et ad magistri
Vocem quisque sui venit citatus.

—Mart. iv. Epig. xxx. 6.

They have their proper names, and every one comes at his masters voice, as call'd upon.

By which we may judge, and conclude, that Elephants have some apprehension of religion, forsomuch as after diverse washings and purifications, they are seene to lift up their truncke, as we doe our armes, and at certaine houres of the day, without any instruction, of their owne accord, holding their eyes fixed towards the Sunne-rising, fall into a long meditating contemplation: yet, because wee see no such apperance in other beasts, may wee rightly conclude, that they are altogether void of religion, and may not take that in payment, which is hidden from us. As we perceive something in that action, which the Philosopher Cleanthes well observed, because it somewhat drawes neere unto ours. He saw (as himselfe reporteth) a company of Emmets goe from their nest, bearing amongst them the body of a dead Ant, toward another Emmets nest, from which many other Ants came, as it were to meet them by the way to parly with them, who after they had continued together awhile, they which came last, returned backe, to consult (as you may imagine) with their fellow-citizens, and because they could hardly come to any capitulation; they made two or
three voyages to and fro: In the end, the last come, brought unto the other a worme from their habitation, as for a ransome of the dead, which worme the first company tooke upon their backes, and carried it home, leaving the dead body unto the other. Loe here the interpretation that Cleanthes gave it: Witnessing thereby, that those creatures which have no voice at all, have nevertheless mutual commerce, and enter-changeable communication, whereof if we be not partakers, it is onely our fault; and therfore doe we fondly to censure it. And they yet produce divers other effects, farre surpassing our capacity, and so farre out of the reach of our imitation, that even our thoughts are unable to conceive them. Many hold opinion, that in the last and famous sea-fight, which Antonie lost against Augustus, his Admirall-gally was in her course staied by that little fish, the Latines call Remora, and the English a Sucke-stone, whose property is, to stay any ship he can fasten himselfe unto. And the Emperour Caligula, sailing with a great fleet along the coast of Romania, his owne Gally was suddenly staied by such a fish, which he caused to be taken sticking fast to the keele, moodily raging, that so little a creature had the power to force both sea and winde, and the violence of all his oares, onely with her bill sticking to his Gally (for it is a kinde of shell-fish) and was much more amazed when he perceived the fish, being brought aboord his ship, to have no longer that powerfull vertue, which it had, being in the Sea. A certaine Citizen of Cyzicum, whilom
purchased unto himselfe the reputation to be an excellent Mathematitian, because he had learnt the quality of the Hedge-hogge, whose property is to build his hole or denne, open diverse waies, and toward severall winds, and fore-seeing rising stormes, he presently stoppeth the holes that way; which thing the foresaid Citizen heedfully observing, would in the City foretell any future storme, and what wind should blow. The Cameleon taketh the colour of the place wherein he is. The fish called a Pourcontrell, or Manie-feet, changeth himselfe into what colour he lists, as occasion offereth it selfe; that so he may hide himselfe from what he feareth, and catch what he seeketh for. In the Cameleon it is a change proceeding of passion, but in the Pour-contrell a change in action; we our selves doe often change our colour, and alter our countenance, through sudden feare, choler, shame, and such like violent passions, which are wont to alter the hew of our faces: but it is by the effect of sufferance, as in the Cameleon. The jaundise hath power to make us yelow, but it is not in the disposition of our wils. The effects we perceive in other creatures, greater than ours, witnesse some more excellent faculty in them, which is concealed from us, as it is to be supposed, diverse others of their conditions and forces are, whereof no apparance or knowledge commeth to us. Of all former prædictions, the ancientest and most certaine were such as were drawn from the flight of birds: we have nothing equall unto it, nor so admirable. The rule of
fluttering, and order of shaking their wings, by which they conjecture the consequences of things to ensue, must necessarily be directed to so noble an operation by some excellent and supernaturall meane: For, it is a wresting of the letter, to attribute so wondrous effects, to any naturall decree, without the knowledge, consent, or discourse of him that causeth and produceth them, and is a most false opinion: Which to prove, the Torpedo or Cramp-fish hath the property to benumme and astonish, not onely the limbs of those that touch it, but also theirs, that with any long pole or fishing line touch any part thereof, shee doth transmit and convey a kinde of heavie numming into the hands of those that stirre or handle the same: Moreover, it is averred, that if any matter be cast upon them, the astonishment is sensibly felt to gaine upward untill it come to the hands, and even through the water it astonisheth the feeling-sence. Is not this a wonderfull power? Yet is it not altogether unprofitable for the Cramp-fish, she both knowes and makes use of it: for to catch prey she pursueth, she is seene to hide herselffe under the mud, that, other fishes swimming over her, strucken and benummed with her exceeding coldnesse, may fall into her clawes. The Cranes, Swallowes, and other wandering birds, changing their abode, according to the seasons of the yeare, shew evidently the knowledge they have of their fore-divining faculty, and often put the same in use. Hunters assure us, that to chuse the best dog, and which they purpose to
keep from out a litter of other young whelps, there is no better meane than the damme herself: for, if they be removed from out their kennell, him that she first brings thither againe, shall alwaies prove the best; or if one but encompasse her kennell with fire, looke which of her whelps she first seeketh to save, is undoubtedly the best: whereby it appeareth, they have a certaine use of Prognosticating, that we have not; or else some hidden vertue, to judge of their young ones, different and more lively than ours. The manner of all beasts breeding, engendering, nourishing, working, moving, living, and dying, being so neere to ours, what ever we abridge from their moving causes, and adde to our condition above theirs, can no way depart from our reasons discourse. For a regiment of our health, Physitions propose the example of beasts manner of life and proceeding unto us: for this common saying is alwaies in the peoples mouth:

*Tenez chauds les pieds et la teste,
Au demeurant vivez en bestes.*

—JouB. Err. Pop. pur. ii. pag. 140.

Keepe warme (t'is meete) thy head and feete:
In all the rest, live like a beast.

Generation is the chiefest naturall action: we have a certaine disposition of some members, fittest for that purpose; nevertheless, they bid us range our selves unto a brutish situation and disposition, as most effectuall:

—more ferarum,
*Quadrupedumque magis ritu, plerumque putantur*
*Concipere uxores: quia sic loca sumere possunt,*
*Pectoribus positis, sublatis semina lumbis.*—LUCR. iv 1256.
And reject those discreet and insolent motions, which women have so luxuriously found out, as hurtfull: conforming them to the example and use of beasts of their sex, as more modest and considerate.

Nam mulier prohibet se concipere, atque repugnat,
Clunibus ipsa viri Venerem si lata retractet,
Atque exossato ciet omni pectore flactus,
Ejicit enim sulci recta regione viaque
Vomerem, atque locis avertit seminis ictum.

—Ibid. 1260.

If it be justice to give every one his due, beasts which serve, love, and defend their benefactors, pursue and outrage strangers, and such as offend them, by so doing they represent some shew of our justice, as also in reserving a high kinde of equality in dispensing of what they have to their young-ones. Touching friendship, without all comparison, they professe it more lively and shew it more constantly, than men. Hircanus a dog of Lysimachus the King, his master being dead, without eating or drinking would never come from off his bed, and when the dead corps was removed thence, he followed it, and lastily flung himselfe into the fire, where his master was burned. As did also the dogge of one called Pyrrhus, who after he was dead, would never budge from his masters couch, and when he was removed, suffered himselfe to be carried away with him, and at last flung himselfe into the fire wherein his master was consumed. There are certaine inclinations of affection, which without counsell of reason arise somtimes in us,
Superfluos luxury proceeding of a casuall temerity, which some call Sympathie: beasts as wel as men are capable of it. We see horses take a kinde of acquaintance one of another, so that often, traveling by the high-way, or feeding together, we have much ado to keep them asunder, wee see them bend and applie their affections to some of their fellowes colours, as if it were upon a certaine visage; and when they meet with any such, with signes of joy, and demonstration of good will, to joine and accost them, and to hate and shunne some other formes and colours. Beasts, as well as wee, have choice in their loves, and are very nice in choosing of their mates. They are not altogether void of our extreme and unappesable jealousies. Lustfull desires are either naturall, and necessary, as eating and drinking; or else naturall and not necessary, as the acquaintance of males and females: or else neither necessary nor naturall: Of this last kinde are almost all mens: For, they are all superfluous and artificiall. It is wonderfull to see with how little nature will be satisfied, and how little she hath left for us to be desired. The preparations in our kitchins, doe nothing at all concerne her lawes. The Stoikes say, that a man might very well sustaine himselfe with one Olive a day. The delicacy of our wines, is no part of her lesson, no more is the surcharge and relishing, which we adde unto our letcherous appetites.

—neque illa
Magno prognatum deposcit consule cunnun.
—Hor. Ser. i. Sat. ii. 30.
These strange lustfull longings, which the ignorance of good, and a false opinion have posset us with, are in number so infinite, that in a manner they expell all those which are naturall; even as if there were so many strangers in a City, that should either banish and expell all the naturall inhabitants thereof, or utterly suppress their ancient power and authority, and absolutely usurping the same, take possession of it. Brute beasts are much more regulare than we; and with more moderation containe themselves within the compasse, which nature hath prescribed them: yet not so exactly, but that they have some coherency with our riotous licenciousnesse. And even as there have beene found certaine furious longings and unnaturall desires, which have provoked men unto the love of beasts, so have diverse times some of them beene drawne to love us, and are possessed with monstrous affections from one kind to another: witnesse the Elephant, that in the love of an herb-wife, in the city of Alexandria, was co-rivall with Aristophanes, the Grammarian; who in all offices pertayning to an earnest woer and passionate suiter, yeelded nothing unto him: For, walking thorow the Fruit-market, he would here and there snatch up some with his truncke, and carry them unto her: as neere as might be he would never loose the sight of her: and now and then over her band put his truncke into her bosome, and feel her breasts. They also report of a Dragon, that was exceedingely in love with a yong maiden; and of a Goose in the City of
The mule, the salt, and the wool. Asope, which dearely loved a young childe: also of a Ram that belonged to the Musitian Glausia. Doe we not daily se Munkies ragingly in love with women, and furiously to pursue them? And certaine other beasts, given to love the males of their owne sex? Oppianus and others report some examples, to shew the reverence, and manifest the awe, some beasts in their marriages, beare unto their kindred: but experience makes us often see the contrary:

—nec habetur turpe juvence
Ferre patrem tergo: fit equo sua filia coniux:
Quasque creavit, init pecudus caper: ipsaque cuius
Semine concepta est, ex illo concipit ales.
—Ovid. Metam. x. 325.

To beare her Sire the Heifer shameth not:
The Horse takes his owne Fillies maiden-head:
The Goat gets them with young whom he begot:
Birds breed by them, by whom themselves were bred.

Touching a subtil pranke and witty tricke, is there any so famous as that of Thales the Philosophers Mule, which, laden with salt, passing thorow a River chanced to stumble, so that the sacks she carried were all wet, and perceiving the salt (because the water had melted it) to grow lighter, ceased not, assoone as she came neere any water, together with her load to plunge herselfe therein, untill her master, being aware of her craft, commanded her to be laden with wooll, which being wet became heavier; the Mule finding herselfe deceived, used her former policy no more. There are many of them, that lively represent the visage of
our avarice, who with a greedy kind of desire endeavor to surprise whatsoever comes within their reach, and though they reap no commodity, nor have any use of it, to hide the same very curiously. As for husbandry, they exceed us, not onely in fore-sight to spare, and gather together for times to come, but have also many parts of the skill belonging there unto. As the Ants, when they perceive their corne to grow mustie, and graine to be sowre, for feare it should rot and putrisfe, spread the same abroad before their neasts, that so it may aire and drie. But the caution they use in gnawing, and prevention they impoy in paring their graine of wheat, is beyond all imagination of mans wit: Because wheat doth not alwaies keepe drie nor wholesome, but moisten, melt and dissolve into a kinde of whey, namely, when it beginneth to bud, fearing it should turne to seed, and lose the nature of a storehouse, for their sustenance, they part and gnaw-off the end whereat it wonts to bud. As for warre, which is the greatest and most glorious of all humane actions, I would faine know, if we will use it for an argument of some prerogative, or otherwise for a testimonie of our imbecilitie and imperfection, as in truth, the science we use to defeat and kill one another, to spoile and utterly to overthrow our owne kinde, it seemeth, it hath not much to make it selfe to be wished-for in beasts, that have it not.

—quando leoni

Fortior eripuit vitam leo, quo nemore unquam
Expiravit aper maioris dentibus apri?—Juven. Sat. xv. 160.
When hath a greater Lion damnifide
A Lions life? in what wood ever di'de,
A boare by tusks and gore,
Of any greater boare?

Yet are not they altogether exempted from it: witnesse the furious encounters of Bees, and the hostile enterprises of the Princes and Leaders of the two contrary Armies.

—sæpe duobus
Regibus incessit magno discordia motu,
Continuoque animos vulgi et trepidantia bello
Corda licet longe praeciscere.—VIRG. GEORG. IV. 67.

Oft-times twixt two no great Kings great dissen-
tion
With much adoe doth set them at contention;
The vulgare mindes strait may you see from farre,
And hearts that tremble at the thought of warre.

I never marke this divine description, but mee thinkes I read humane foolishnesse and worldly vanitie painted in it. For, these mo-
tions of warre, which out of their horror and astonishment breed this tempest of cries, and clang of sounds in us:

Fulgur ubi ad caelum se tollit, totaque circum
Ære renidescit tellus, subterque virum vi
Excitur pedibus sonitus, clamoramque montes
Icti rejectant voces ad sidera mundi.—LUCR. II. 326.

Where lightning raiseth it selfe to the skies,
The earth shines round with armour, soundes doe rise
By mens force under feet, wounded with noyse
The hilles to heav'n reverberate their voyce.

This horror-causing aray of so many thou-
sands of armed men, so great furie, earnest fervor, and undaunted courage, it would make one laugh to see by how many vaine occasions it is raised and set on fire, and by what light means it is againe suppressed and extinct.

—Paridis propter narratur amorem
Græcia Barbarie diro collisa duello.
—Hor. i. Epist. ii. 6.

For Paris lustfull love (as Stories tell)
All Greece to direfull warre with Asia fell.

The hatred of one man, a spight, a pleasure, a familiar suspect, or a jealousie; causes, which ought not to move two scolding fish-wives to scratch one another, is the soule and motive of all this hurly-burly. Shall we beleevе them that are the principall authors and causes ther-of? Let us but hearken unto the greatest and most victorious Emperour, and the mightiest that ever was, how pleasantly he laughs, and wittily he plaies, at so many battells and bloody fights, hazarded both by sea and land, at the blood and lives of five hundred thousand soules which followed his fortune, and the strength and riches of two parts of the world consumed and drawne drie for the service of his enterprise:

Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc miki panam
Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam
Fulviam ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret
Paedicem, faciam? non puto, si sapiam.
Aut futue, aut pugnemus ait: quid si mihi vita
Charior est ipsa mentula? Signa canant.
—Mart. xi. Epig. xxi.

(I use my Latine somewhat boldly, but it is
Weakness of man with that leave which you have given mee,) This vast huge bodie hath so many faces and several motion, which seeme to threat both heaven and earth.

Quam multi Lybico volvuntur marmore fluctus
Sævus ubi Orion hybernis conditur undis:
Vel cum sole novo densæ torrentur arisæ,
Aut Hermi campo, aut Lyciae fláventibus arvís,
Scuta sonant, pulsque pedum tremit excita tellus.
—Virg. Æn. vii. 717.

As many waves, as rowle in Affricke marble-sounds,
When fiere Oryon hides in Winter waves his head:
Or when thicke-eares of Corne are parch’t by Sunne new-spred.
In Hermus fruitfull fields, or Lycaes yellow grounds,
With noyse of shields and feet, the trembling earth so sounds.

This many-headed, divers-armed, and furiously-raging-monster, is man; wretched weake and miserable man: whom if you consider well, what is he, but a crawling, and ever-moving Ants-neast?

It nigrum campis agmen.—Virg. Æn. iv. 404.

The sable-coloured band,
Marches along the Land.

A gust of contrarie winds, the croking of a flight of Ravens, the false pase of a Horse, the casual flight of an Eagle, a dreame, a sodaine voyce, a false signe, a mornings mist, an evening fogge, are enough to overthrow, sufficient to overthrowme and able to pull him to the ground. Let the Sunne but shine hot
upon his face, hee faints and swelters with heat: Cast but a little dust in his eyes, as to the Bees mentioned by our Poet, all our en-signes, all our legions, yea great Pompey himselfe in the forefront of them is overthrowne and put to rout (For as I remember it was he whom Sertorius vanquished in Spaine, with all those goodly armes.) This also served Eumenes against Antigonus, and Surena against Crassus:

Hi motus animorum, atque haec certamina tanta,
Pulvis exigui jactu compressa quiescent.
—Virg. Georg. iv. 86.

These stomacke-motions, these contentions great, [Calm'd] with a little dust, strait lose their heat.

Let us but uncouple some of our ordinarie flies, and let loose a few gnats amongst them, they shall have both the force to scatter, and courage to consume him. The Portugals not long since beleagring the City of Tamly, in the territory of Xiatine, the inhabitants thereof, brought great store of Hives, (whereof they have plentie) upon their walls: And with fire drove them so forcible upon their enemies, who as unable to abide their assaults, and endure their stingings, left their enterprize. Thus by this new kinde of helpe was the liberty of the Towne gained, and victory purchased; with so happy successe, that in their retreating, there was not one townes-man found wanting. The soules of Emperours and Coblers are all cast in one same mould. Considering the importance of Princes actions, and their weight, wee perswade
No creature so treacherous as man our selves, they are brought forth by some as weighty and important causes; wee are deceived: They are moved, stirred and removed in their motions, by the same springs and wards, that wee are in ours. The same reason that makes us chide and braule, and fall out with any of our neighbours, causeth a warre to follow betweene Princes; The same reason that makes us whip or beat a lackey, maketh a Prince (if hee apprehend it) to spoyle and waste a whole Province. They have as easie a will as we, but they can doe much more. Alike desires perturbe both a skinne-worme, and an Elephant. Touching trust and faithfulnesse there is no creature in the world so trecherous as man. Our histories report the earnest pursuit and sharpe chase, that some Dogges have made for the death of their masters. King Pirrhus finding a Dog, that watched a dead man, and understanding he had done so three daies and nights together, commanded the corps to be enterred, and tooke the Dog along with him. It fortuned one day (as Pirrhus was survaying the General Musters of his Army) the Dog perceiving in that multitude, the man who had murthered his maister, loud-barking, and with great rage ran furiously upon him; by which signes he furthered and procured his masters revenge, which by way of justice, was shortly executed. Even so did the Dogge belonging to Hesiodus, surnamed the wise, having convicted the children of Ganister of Naupactus, of the murther committed on his Masters person.
Another Dogge being appointed to watch a Temple in Athens, having perceived a sacrilegious theefe, to carry away the fairest jewels therein, barked at him so long as he was able, and seeing he could not awaken the Sextons or Temple-keepers, followed the theefe, whither-so-ever he went; daie-light being come, he kept himselfe a loof-off, but never lost the sight of him: if he offered him meat, he utterly refused it; but if any passenger chanced to come by, on them he fawned, with waging his taile, and tooke what-ever they offered him; If the theefe staied to rest himselfe, he also stayed in the same place: The newes of this Dogge being come to the Temple-keepers, they as they went along, enquiring of the Dogs haire and colour, pursued his tracke so long, that at last they found both the Dog and the theefe in the Citie of Cromyon, whom they brought backe to Athens, where for his offence he was severely punished. And the judges in acknowledgement of the Dogges good office, at the Cities charge appointed him for his sustenance a certaine daily measure of Corne, and enjoyned the Priests of the Temple, carefully to looke unto him. Plutarche affirmeth this storie to be most true, and to have hapned in his time. Touching gratitude and thankfulnesse, (for me thinks we have need to further this word greatly) this onely example shall suffice, of which Appion reporteth to have been a spectator himselfe. One day (saith he) that the Senate of Rome, (to please and recreate the common people) caused a great number of
The story of Androdus

The wilde beasts to be baited, namely huge great Lions, it so fortuned, that there was one amongst the rest, who by reason of his furious and stately carriage, of his unmatched strength, of his great limbs, and of his loud, and terror-causing roaring, drew all by-standers eyes to gaze upon him. Amongst other slaves, that in sight of all the people were presented to encounter with these beasts, there chanced to be one Androdus of Dacia, who belonged unto a Roman Lord, who had been Consull. This huge Lion, having eyed him afar off, first made a suddaine stop, as strucken into a kind of admiration, then with a milde and gentle contenance, as if he would willingly have taken acquaintance of him, faire and softly approached unto him: Which done, and resting assured he was the man he tooke him for, begun fawningly to wagge his taile, as dogges doe that fawne upon their new-found masters, and licke the poore and miserable slaves hands and thighes, who through feare was almost out of his wits and halfe dead. Androdus at last taking hart of grace; and by reason of the Lions mildnesse having rouzed up his spirits, and wishly fixing his eies upon him, to see whether he could call him to remembrance; it was to all beholders a singular pleasure to observe the love, the joy, and blandishments, each endeavored to enter-shew one another. Whereat the people raising a loud crie, and by their shouting and clapping of hands seeming to be much pleased; the Emperour willed the slave to be brought before
him, as desirous to understand of him the cause of so strange and seeld-seene an accident: Who related this new, and wonderfull storie unto him.

My Master (said he) being Proconsull in Africa, forsomuch as he caused me every day to be most cruelly beaten, and held me in so rigorous bondage, I was constrained, as being wearie of my life, to run away: And safely to scape from so eminent a person, and who had so great authoritie in the Countrie, I thought it best to get me into the desart, and most unfrequented wildernesses of that region, with a full resolution, if I could not compasse the meanes to sustaine my selfe, to finde one way or other, with violence to make my selfe away. One day, the Sunne about noone-tide being extreamly hote, and the scorching heat thereof intolerable, I fortuned to come unto a wilde-unhanted cave, hidden amongst crags, and almost inaccessible, and where I imagined no footing had ever been; therein I hid my selfe: I had not long been there, but in comes this Lion, with one of his paws sore hurt, and bloody-goared, wailing for the smart, and groaning for the paine he felt; at whose arrivall, I was much dismaied, but he seeing me lie close-cowring in a corner of his den, gently made his approaches unto me, holding forth his goared paw toward me, and seemed with shewing the same humbly to sue, and suppliantly to beg for help at my hands. I, moved with ruth, taking it into my hand,
Androdus pulled out a great splint, which was gotten into it, and shaking-off all feare, first I wrung and crusht his sore, and caused the filth and matter, which therein was gathered, to come forth; than, as gently as for my heart I could, I cleansed, wiped, and dried the same. He feeling some ease in his griefe, and his paine to cease, still holding his foot betweene my hands, began to sleep and take some rest. Thence forward he and I lived together, the full space of three yeares in his den, with such meat as he shifted-for: For, what beasts he killed, or what prey soever he tooke, he ever brought home the better part, and shared it with me, which for want of fire, I rosted in the Sunne, and therewith nourished my selfe all that while. But at last wearied with this kind of brutish life, the Lion being one day gone to purchase his wonted prey, I left the place, hoping to mend my fortunes, and having wandred up and downe three dayes, I was at last taken by certaine Souldiers, which from Africa brought me into this Citie to my Master againe, who immediatly condemned me to death, and to be devoured by wilde beasts. And as I now perceive, the same Lion was also shortly after taken, who as you see hath now requited me of the good turne I did him, and the health which by my meanes he recovered. Behold here the historie, Androdus reported unto the Emperour, which after he caused to be declared unto all the people, at whose generall request, he was forthwith set at libertie, and quit of his
punishment, and by the common consent of all, had the Lion bestowed upon him. Appion saith further, that Androdus was daily seen to lead the Lion up and downe the streets of Rome, tied onely with a little twine, and walking from taverne to taverne, received such money as was given him, who would gently suffer himselfe to be handled, touched, decked, and strowed with flowers, all over and over, many saying when they met him: yonder is the Lion that is the mans hoste and yonder is the man that is the Lions Physitian. We often mourne and weepe for the losse of those beasts we love, so doe they many times for the losse of us.

Post bellator equus positis insignibus Æthon
It lacrimans, guttisque humectat grandibus ora.
—Virg. Æn. xi. 89.

Next Æthon horse of warre, all ornaments laid downe,
Goes weeping, with great drops bedewe's his cheeckes adowne.

As some of our nations have wives in common, and some in severall, each man keeping himselfe to his owne; so have some beasts; [yea] some there are, that observe their marriages, with as great respect as we doe ours. Touching the mutuall societie, and reciprocall confederation, which they devise amongst themselves, that so they may be fast combined together, and in times of need help one another, it is apparant, that if Oxen, Hogs, and other beasts being hurt by us, chance to crie, all the heard runnes to aid him, and in his defence will joine all together. The
The fish, called of the Latines Scarus, having swallowed the fishers hooke, his fellows will presently flocke about him, and nible the line in sunder; and if any of them happen to be taken in a bow-net, some of his fellows turning his head away, will put his taile in at the neck of the net, who with his teeth fast-holding the same, never leave him, untill they have pulled him out. The Barbie fishes, if one of them chance to be engaged, will set the line against their backes, and with a fin they have, toothed like a sharp saw, presently saw and fret the same asunder. Concerning particular offices, which we for the benefit of our life, draw one from an other, many like examples are found amongst them. It is assuredly beleaved, that the Whale never swimmeth, unlesse she have a little fish going before her, as her vantgard, it is in shape like a Gudgeon, and both the Latines and we, call it the Whales-guide; for, she doth ever follow him, suffering her selfe, as easily to be led and turned by him, as a ship is directed and turned by a sterne: for requitall of which good turne, whereas all things else, be it beast, fish, or vessell, that comes within the horrible Chaos of this monstrous mouth, is presently lost and devoured, this little fish doth safely retire himselfe therein, and there sleepees verie quietly, and as long as he sleepees, the Whale never stirs; but assoone as he awaketh and goeth his way, whereever he takes his course she alwaies followeth him, and if she fortune to lose him, she wanders here and there, and often striketh upon the rocks,
as a ship that hath nor mast nor rudder. This, Plutarke witnesseth to have seen in the Iland of Antycira. There is such a like societie betweene the little bird called a Wren, and the Crocodill: For, the Wren serveth as a sentinell to so great a monster: And if the Ichneumon, which is his mortall enemie approach to fight with him, the little birdlet, lest he might surprise him whilst he sleepeith, with his singing, and pecking him with his bill, awakens him, and gives him warning of the danger he is in. The bird liveth by the scraps, and feedeth upon the leavings of that monster, who gently receiveth him into his mouth, and suffers him to pecke his jawes and teeth for such mamockes of flesh as sticke betweene them: and if he purpose to close his mouth, he doth first warne him to be gone, faire and easie closing it by little and little, without any whit crushing or hurting him. The shellfish called a Nacre, liveth even so with the Pinnotre, which is a little creature like unto a Crabfish, and as his porter or usher waits upon him, attending the opening of the Nacre, which he continually keepes gaping, untill he see some little fish enter in, fit for their turne, then he creepes into the Nacre, and leaves not pinching his quicke flesh, untill he makes him close his shell, and so they both together fast in their hold, devour their prey. In the manner of the Tunnies life, may be discovered a singular knowledge of the three parts of the Mathematikes. First for Astrologie, it may well be said that man doth learne it of them: For, whereso-
ever the winter Solstitium doth take them, there
do they stay themselves, and never stir till the
next æquinoctium, and that is the reason why
Aristotle doth so willingly ascribe that art unto
them: Then for Geometrie and Arithmetike,
they alwayes frame their shole of a Cubike figure,
every way square: and so forme a solide, close
and wel-ranged battailon, encompassed round
about of six equall sides. Thus orderly mar-
shaled, they take their course and swim whither
their journey tends, as broad and wide behind as
before: So that he that seeth and telleth but one
ranke, may easily number all the troope, forso-
much as the number of the depth is equall unto
the bredth, and the bredth unto the length.
Touching magnanimitie and haughtie courage,
it is hard to set it forth more lively, and to
produce a rarer patterne, than that of the Dog,
which from India was sent unto Alexander: to
whom was first presented a Stag, then a wilde
Boare, and then a Beare, with each of which
he should have foughten, but he seemed to make
no accompt of them, and would not so much as
remove out of his place for them, but when he
saw a Lion, he presently rouzed himselfe, shew-
ing evidently he meant onely so noble a beast
worthie to enter combat with him. Concerning
repentance and acknowledging of faults com-
mittted, it is reported, that an Elephant having
through rage of choler slaine his governour, con-
ceived such an extreme inward griefe, that he
would never afterward touch any food, and
suffered himself to pine to death. Touching
clemencie, it is reported of a Tiger, (the fiercest and most inhumane beast of all) who having a Kid given her to feed upon, endured the force of gnawing hunger, two daies together, rather than she would hurt him; the third day with maine strength she brake the cage, wherein she was kept-pent, and went elsewhere to shift for feeding; as one unwilling to seize upon the seelie Kid her familiar and guest. And concerning privileges of familiaritie and sympathie caused by conversation, is it not oft seen, how some make Cats, Dogs, and Hares so tame, so gentle, and so milde, that without harming one another they shall live and continue togethers! But that which experience teacheth sea-faring men, especially those that come into the seas of Sicilie, of the qualitie and condition of the Halcyon bird, or as some call it Alcedo or Kings-fisher, exceeds all mens conceive. In what kinde of creature did ever nature so much prefer both their hatching, sitting, brooding, and birth? Poets faine, that the Iland of Delos, being before wandring and fleeting up and downe, was for the delivery of Latona made firme and setled. But Gods decree hath been, that all the watrie wildernesse should be quiet and made calme, without raine, wind, or tempest, during the time the Halcyon sitteth and bringeth forth her young-ones, which is much about the Winter Solstitium, and shortest day in the yeare: By whose privilege even in the hart and deadest time of Winter we have seven calme daies, and as many nights to saile without any danger.
Their Hens know no other Cocke but their owne: They never forsake him all the daies of their life; and if the Cocke chance to be weake and crazed, the Hen will take him upon her neck, and carrie him with her, wheresoever she goeth, and serve him even untill death. Mans wit could never yet attaine to the full knowledge of that admirable kind of building or structure, which the Halcyon useth in contriving of her neast, no, nor devise what it is-of.

Plutarke, who hath seen and handled many of them, thinkes it to be made of certaine fish-bones, which she so compacts, and conjoyneth together, enterlacing some long, and some crosse-waies, adding some foldings and roundings to it, that in the end she frameth a round kind of vessel, readie to float and swim upon the water: which done, she carrieth the same where the Sea-waves beat most; there the Sea gently beating upon it, shewes her how to daube and patch up the parts not well closed, and how to strengthen those places, and fashion those ribs, that are not fast, but stir with the Sea-waves: And on the other side, that which is closely wrought, the Sea beating on it, doth so fasten and conjoyne together, that nothing, no, not stone or yron, can any way loosen, divide, or break the same, except with great violence; and what is most to be wondred at, is the proportion and figure of the concavitie within; for, it is so composed and proportioned, that it can receive or admit no manner of thing, but the Bird that built it; for, to all things else, it is so impenetrable, close and hard, that nothing
can possiblie enter in: no, not so much as the Sea-water. Loe here a most plaine description of this building, or construction taken from a verie good Author: yet me thinks, it doth not fully and sufficiently resolve us of the difficultie in this kinde of Architecture. Now from what vanitie can it proceed, we should so willfully contempte, and disdainfully interpret those effects, which we can neither imitate nor conceive? But to follow this equalitie or correspondencie betweene us and beasts somewhat further; the privilege whereof our soule vants to bring to her condition whatsoever it conceiveth, and to dispoile what of mortall and corporall qualities belongs unto it, to marshall those things, which she deemed worthie her acquaintance, to disrobe and deprive their corruptible conditions, and to make them leave as superfluous and base garments, thickness, length, depth, weight, colour, smell, roughnesse, smoothnesse, hardnesse, softnesse, and all sensible accidents else, to fit and appropriate them to her immortall and spirituall condition: so that Rome and Paris, which I have in my soule; Paris which I imagine; yea, I imagine and conceive the same without greatnesse and place, without stone and morter, and without wood: Then say I unto my selfe, the same privilege seemeth likewise to be in beasts: for, a Horse accustomed to heare the sound of trumpets, the noyse of shot, and the clattering of armes, whom we see to snort, to startle, and to neigh in his sleep, as he lies along upon his litter, even as he were in the hurly-burly; it is most certaine, that
in his mind he apprehends the sound of a Drum
without any noyse, and an armie without armes
or bodie.

_Quippe videbis equos fortes, cum membra jacebunt_
_In somnis, sudare tamen, spirareque sepe,_
_Et quasi de palma summas contendere vires._

—Lucr. iv. 982.

You shall see warlike Horses, when in sleep
Their limbs lie, yet sweat, and a snorting keep,
And stretch their utmost strength,
As for a goale at length.

That Hare, which a grey-hound imagineth
in his dreame, after whom as he sleepeth we
see him bay, quest, yelp, and snort, stretch out
his taile, shake his legs, and perfectly represent
the motions of his course; the same is a Hare
without bones, without haire.

_Venantumque canes in molli sepe quiete,_
_Jactant crura tamen subito, vocesque repente_
_Mittunt, et crebras reductam naribus auras,_
_Ut vestigia si teneant inventa ferarum:_
_Expergefactique, sequuntur inania sepe_
_Cervorum simulacra, fugae quasi dedita cernant:_
_Donee discussis redeant erroribus ad se._ —Ibid. 986.

Oft times the hunters dogs in easie rest
Stir their legs, sudainly, open, and quest,
And send from nosthrils thicke-thicke snuffing sent,
As if on traile they were of game full-bent:
And wakened so, they follow shadowes vaine
Of Deere in chase, as if they fled amaine:
Till, their fault left, they turne to sense againe.

Those watching-Dogs, which in their sleep we
sometimes see to grumble, and then barking to
startle suddeinly out of their slumber, as if they perceived some stranger to arrive: that stranger which their minde seemeth to see, is but an imaginarie man, and not perceived; without any dimension, colour, or being:

—Consuetas domi catulorum blanda propago
Degere, sepe levem ex oculis volucremque soporem
Discutere, et corpus de terra corripere instant,
Proinde quasi ignotas facies atque ora tuantur.

—Ibid. 993.

The fawning kinde of whelps, at home that liv’s,
From eyes to shake light-swift sleepe often striv’s,
And from the ground their starting bodies hie,
As if some unknowne stranger they did spie.

Touching corporall beautie, before I goe any further, it were necessarie I knew whether we are yet agreed about her description. It is very likely that we know not well, what beautie either in nature, or in generall is, since we give so many, and attribute so divers formes to humane beautie, yea, and to our beautie: Of which if there were any naturall or lively description, we should generally know it, as we doe the heat of fire. We imagine and faine her formes, as our fantasies lead us.

Turpis Romano Belgicus ore color.


A Dutch-froes colour hath no grace,
Seen in a Romane Ladies face.

The Indians describe it blacke and swarthy, with blabbered-thick lips, with a broad and flat nose, the inward gristle whereof they loade with
great gold-rings, hanging downe to their mouth, and their neather lips with great circlets beset with precious stones, which cover all their chins, deeming it an especiall grace to shew their teeth to the roots. In Peru, the greatest eares are ever esteemed the fairest, which with all art and industrie, they are continually stretching out; and a man (who yet liveth) sweareth to have seen in a Province of the East-Indias the people so careful to make them great, and so to load them with heavie jewels, that at ease he could have thrust his arme through one of their eare-holes. There are other Nations, who endeavour to make their teeth as blacke as Jeat, and skorne to have them white; and in other places they die them red. Not onely in the province of Baske, but in other places, women are accounted fairest when their heads are shaven; and which is strange, in some of the Northerly frozen-countries, as Plinie affirmeth. Those of Mexico, esteeme the littlenesse of their foreheads, as one of the chiefest beauties, and whereas they shave their haire over all their bodie besides, by artificiall meanes they labour to nourish and make it grow onely in their foreheads; and so love to have great dugs, that they strive to have their children sucke over their shoulders. So would we set forth ilfavordnesse. The Italians proportion-it big and plum; The Spaniards spynie and lanke, and amongst us one would have her white, another browne, one soft and delicate, another strong and lustie: some desire wantonnesse and blithnesse, and othersome sturdinesse
and majestie to be joyned with it. Even as the preheminence in beautie, which Plato ascribeth unto the Sphericall figure, the Epicurians refer the same unto the Piramidall or Square; and say they cannot swallow a God made round like a bowle. But howsoever it is, nature hath no more privileged us in that, than in other things, concerning her common lawes. And if we impartially enter into judgement with our selves, we shall finde, that if there be any creature or beast lesse favoured in that than we, there are others (and that in great numbers) to whom nature hath been more favourable than to us. *A multis animalibus decore vincimur.* We are excelled in comelinesse, by many living creatures: Yea, of terrestriall creatures, that live with us. For, concerning those of the Sea, omitting their figure, which no proportion can containe, so much doth it differ, both in colour, in neatnesse, in smoothnesse, and in disposition, we must give place unto them: which in all qualities we must likewise doe to the ayrie ones. And that prerogative, which Poets yeeld unto our upright stature, looking towards heaven whence her beginning is,

_Pronaque cum spectent animalia cætera terram,
Os homini sublime dedit, cælumque videre
Jussit, et erectos ad sydera tollere vultus._

—Ovid. *Metam.* i. 84.

Where other creatures on earth looke and lie,
A loftie looke God gave man, bad him prie
On heav’n, rais’d his high count’nance to the skie.

is meerely poeticall, for, there are many little
beasts, that have their sight directly fixed towards heaven: I finde the Camels and the Estridges necke much more raised and upright, than ours. What beasts have not their face aloft and before, and looke not directly opposite, as we; and in their naturall posture descrie not as much of heaven and earth, as man doth? And what qualities of our corporall constitution, both in Plato and Cicero cannot fit and serve a thousand beasts? Such as most resemble man are the vilest and filthiest of all the rout: As for outward apperance and true shape of the visage, it is the Munkie or Ape:

_Simia quam similis, turpissima bestia, nobis!_

An Ape, a most il-favored beast,
How like to us in all the rest?

as for inward and vitall parts, it is the Hog. Truely, when I consider man all naked (yea, be it in that sex, which seemeth to have and challenge the greatest share of eye-pleasing beautie) and view his defects, his naturall subjection, and manifold imperfections; I finde we have had much more reason to hide and cover our nakednesse, than any creature else. We may be excused for borrowing those which nature had therein favored more than us, with their beauties to adorne us, and under their spoiles of wooll, of haire, of feathers, and of silke to shroud us. Let us moreover observe, that man is the onely creature, whose wants offends his owne fellowes, and he alone that
in naturall actions must withdraw and sequester himselfe from those of his owne kinde. Verely it is an effect worthie consideration, that the skilfullest masters of amorous dalliances appoint for a remedie of venerian passions, a free and full survaie of the bodie, which one longeth and seeks-after: and that to coole the longing and aswage the heat of friendship, one need but perfectly view and throughly consider what he loveth.

Ille quod obscenas in aperto corpore partes
Viderat, in cursu qui fuit, hesit amor.

The love stood still, that ran in full cariere,
When bare it saw parts that should not appeare.

And although this remedie may haply proceed from a squeamish and cold humor: yet is it a wonderfull signe of our imbecillitie, that the use and knowledge should so make us to be cloyd one of an other. It is not bashfulnesse so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and unwilling to let us come into their closets before they are fully readie, and throughly painted, to come abroad, and shew themselves:

Nec veneres nostras hoc fallit quo magis ipsae
Omnia sumopere hos vitae postscenia celant,
Quos retinere volunt adstrictoque esse in amore.
—Lucr. iv. 1176.

Our Mistresses know this, which mak's them not disclose
Parts to be plaid within, especially from those
Whom they would servants hold, and in their love-bands close.
Whereas in other creatures, there is nothing but we love, and pleaseth our senses: so that even from their excrements and ordure, we draw not only dainties to eat, but our richest ornaments and perfumes. This discourse of beautie toucheth only our common order, and is not so sacrilegious as it intendeth or dareth to comprehend those divine, supernaturall, and extraordinary beauties, which sometimes are seen to shine amongst us, even as stars under a corporall and terrestrial veile. Moreover, that part of natures favours, which we impart unto beasts, is by our owne confession much more advantageous unto them. We assume unto our selves imaginarie and fantastical goods, future and absent goods, which humane capacitie can no way warrant unto her selfe; or some other, which by the overweening of our owne opinion, we falsly ascribe unto our selves; as reason, honour, and knowledge; and to them as their proper share we leave the essentiall, the manageable, and palpable goods, as peace, rest, securitie, innocencie, and health: Health I say, which is the goodliest and richest present, nature can impart unto us. So that even Stoike Philosophie dareth to affirm, that if Heracleus and Pherecydes could have changed their wisdome with health, and by that meanes, the one to have rid himselfe of the dropsie, and the other of the lowsie-evil, which so sore tormented them, they would surely have done it: whereby they also yeeld so much more honor unto wisdome, by comparing and counter-peizing the same unto health, than they do in
this other proposition of theirs, where they say, that if Circes had presented Ulisses with two kinds of drinke, the one to turne a wiseman into a foole, the other to change a foole into a wiseman, he would rather have accepted that of folly, than have been pleased, that Circes should transforme his humane shape into a beasts. And they say, that wisdome her selfe would thus have spoken unto him: Meddle not with me, but leave me rather than thou shouldest place me under the shape and bodie of an Asse. What? This great and heavenly wisdom? Are Phylosophers contented then, to quit it for a corporall and earthly veile? Why then it is not for reasons sake, nor by discourse, and for the soule, we so much excell beasts: it is for the love we beare unto our beautie, unto our faire hew, and goodly disposition of limbs, that we reject, and set our understanding at nought, our wisdome, and what else we have. Well, I allow of this ingenious and voluntarie confession: surely they knew those parts, we so much labour to pamper, to be meere fantazies. Suppose, beasts had all the vertue, the knowledge, the wisdome and sufficiencie of the Stoikes, they should still be beasts; nor might they ever be compared unto a miserable, wretched, and senselesse man. For, when all is done, whatsoever is not as we are, is not of any worth. And God to be esteemed of us, must (as we will shew anon) draw somewhat neere it. Whereby it appeareth, that it is not long of a true discourse, but of a foolish-hardinesse, and selfe-presuming obstinacie, we
The chains of reason and passion prefer our selves before other creatures, and sequester our selves from their condition and societie. But to returne to our purpose, we have for our part inconstancie, irresolution, uncertaintie, sorrow, superstition, carefulnesse for future things (yea after our life) ambition, covetousnesse, jelousie, envie, inordinate, mad and untamed appetites, warre, falsehood, disloyaltie, detraction, and curiositie. Surely we have strangely overpaid this worthie discourse, whereof we so much glorie, and this readinesse to judge, or capacitie to know, if we have purchased the same with the price of so infinit passions, to which we are uncessantly enthralled. If we be not pleased (as Socrates is) to make this noble prerogative over beasts, to be of force, that whereas nature hath prescribed them certaine seasons, and bounds for their naturall lust and voluptuousnesse, she hath given us at all howers and occasions the full reines of them. \textit{Ut vinum agrotis, quia prodest raro, nocet sapissime, melius est non adhibere omnino, quam, spe dubiae salutis in apertam perniciem incurrere: Sic, haud scio, an melius fuerit humano generi motum istum celerem cogitationis acumen, solertiam quem rationem vocamus, quoniam pestifera sint multis, admodum paucis salutaria, non dari omnino, quam tam munificet tam large dari} (Cic. \textit{Nat. Deor. iii.}). As it is better not to use wine at all in sicke persons, because it seldome doth them good, but many times much hurt, than in hope of doubtfull health, to run into undoubted danger; so doe I not know, whether it were better that this swift motion of the thought,
this sharpnesse, this conceitednesse, which we call reason, should not at all be given to mankind (because it is pernicious unto many, and healthfull to verie few) than that it should be given so plentifully and so largely. What good or commoditie may we imagine this far-understanding of so many things brought ever unto Varro, and to Aristotle? Did it ever exempt, or could it at any time free them from humane inconveniences? Were they ever discharged of those accidents that incidently follow a seelie labouring man? Could they ever draw any ease for the gout from Logike? And howbeit they knew the humour engendring the same to lodge in the joints, have they felt it the lesse? Did they at any time make a covenant with death, although they knew full well that some nations rejoynce at her comming? as also of Cuckoldship, because they knew women to be common in some Countries? But contrariwise having both held the first ranke in knowledge, the one amongst the Romanes, the other among the Græcians, yea, and at such times wherein sciences flourished most, we could never learne, they had any speciall excellencie in their life. Wee see the Græcian hath been put to his plunges in seeking to discharge himselfe from some notable imputations in his life. Was it ever found that sensualitie, and health, are more pleasing unto him that understands Astrologie and Grammar?

(ILLITERATI NUM MINUS NERVI RIGENT? — HOR. EPOD. VIII. 17.
As stifte unlearned sinnewes stand,
As theirs that much more understand.)
The or shame and povertie lesse importunate and vexing?

\(Scilicet \ et \ morbis, \ et \ debilitate \ carebis,
\ Et \ luctum, \ et \ curam \ effugies, \ et \ tempora \ vitae
\ Longa \ tibi \ posthae \ fato \ meliore \ dabuntur.\)

—Juven. Sat. xiv. 156.

Thou shall be from disease and weaknesse free,
From moane, from care, long time of life to thee Shall by more friendly fate affoorded be.

I have in my daies seen a hundred Artificers, and as many labourers, more wise and more happie, than some Rectors in the Universitie, and whom I would rather resemble. Me thinks Learning hath a place amongst things necessarie for mans life, as glorie, noblenesse, dignitie, or at most as riches, and such other qualities, which indeed stead the same; but a far-off, and more in conceipt, than by Nature. We have not much more need of offices, of rules, and lawes how to live in our common-wealth, than the Cranes and Ants have in theirs. Which notwithstanding, we see how orderly, and without instruction they maintaine themselves. If man were wise he would value every thing according to it's worth, and as it is either more profitable, or more necessarie for life. He that shall number us by our actions and proceedings, shall doubtlesse finde many more excellent-ones amongst the ignorant, than among the wiser sort: I meane in all kind of vertues. My opinion is, that ancient Rome brought forth many men of much more valour and sufficiencie, both for peace and warre, than this late learned Rome, which
with all her wisdom hath overthrowne her erst-flourishing estate. If all the rest were alike, then should honestie and innocencie at least belong to the ancient: for she was exceedingly well placed with simplicitie. But I will shorten this discourse, which haply would draw me further than I would willingly follow: yet thus much I will say more, that onely humilitie and submission is able to make a perfect honest man. Every one must not have the knowledge of his dutie referred to his own judgement, but ought rather to have it prescribed unto him, and not be allowed to chuse it at his pleasure and free-will: otherwise according to the imbecilitie of our reasons, and infinite varietie of our opinions, we might peradventure forge and devise such duties unto our selves, as would induce us (as Epicurus saith) to endeav'our to destroy and devour one another. The first law that ever God gave unto man, was a Law of pure obedience. It was a bare and simple commandement whereof man should enquire and know no further: forasmuch, as to obey is the proper dutie of a reasonable soule, acknowledging a heavenly and superiour benefactor. From obeying and yeelding unto him proceed all other vertues; even as all sinnes derive from selfe-over-weening. Contrariwise, the first temptation that ever seized on humane Nature was disobedience, by the Devils instigation, whose first poison, so far insinuated it selfe into us, by reason of the promises he made us of wisdome and knowledge, Eritis sicut Dii scientes bonum et malum (Genesis, cap. iii. 5).
You shall be like Gods, knowing both good and evil. And the Syrens, to deceive Ulysses, and alluring him to fall into their dangerous and confounding snares, offer to give him the full fruition of knowledge. The opinion of wisdome is the plague of man. That is the occasion why ignorance is by our Religion recommended unto us, as an instrument fitting beleefe, and obedience. *Cavete, ne quis vos decipiat per Philosophiam et inanes seductiones, secundum elementa mundi* (Coloss. cap. ii. 8). *Take heed, lest any man deceive you by Philosophie and vaine seducements, according to the rudiments of the world.* All the Philosophers of all the sects that ever were, do generally agree in this point, that the chiefest felicitie, or *sumnum bonum*, consisteth in the peace and tranquillitie of the soule and bodie: but where shall we finde it?

*Ad summum sapiens uno minor est Jove, dives, Liber, honoratus, pulcher, Rex denique Regum. Præcipue sanus, nisi cum pituita molesta est.*

—Hor. i. Epist. i. Antepen.

In summe, who wise is knowne,
Is lesse than Jove alone,
Rich, honorable, free, faire, King of Kings,
Chiefely in health, but when fleagme trouble brings.

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
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 felicities are but in concept, 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, stowtnesse of courage, and redeemed our soule out of darknesse, to make her see, and distinguish of all things, the high aswell as the lowe, the first as the last, and those betweene both. It is they that store and supplie 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 Almighties 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 vitae rationem invenit eam, qua
Nunc appellatur sapientia, quique per artem,
Fluctibus à tantis vitam tantisque tenebris,
In tam tranquillo et tam clara luce locavit.
Man's rash presumption

Good sir, it was God, God it was, first found
That course of mans life, which now is renown'd
By name of wisdome; who by art reposde,
Our life in so cleare light, calme so composde,
From so great darknesse, so great waves opposde.

Observe what glorious and noble words these be: yet but a sleight accident brought this wis mans understanding to a far worse condition, than that of a simple shepherd: notwithstanding this divine Teacher, and this heavenly wisdome. 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 continget, si id donum à Deo, non à nobis haberemus* (Cic. Nat. Deo. iii.). *We rightly vaunt us of vertue, which we should not doe, if we had it of God, not of our selves*. This also is Senecaes, that the wise man hath a fortitude like unto Gods; but [in humane] 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 wronged 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 wil 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 into his shirt. Let us 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 griefe, with exclayming and crying out against it: Doo 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 againe, but he called him backe, and shewing him his feet and brest, said unto him, There is nothing come from thence hither. This hath somewhat a better garbe; for he feeleth himselfe grieved with sickness, and would faine be rid of it, yet is not his heart vanquished or weakned thereby, the other stands upon his stifnesse (as I feare) more verball than essentiaall. And Dionysius Heracleotes being tormented with a
Courage violent smarting in his eies, was at last per-
swaded 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 out-stare the tempest. Philosophie after all her precepts gives us over to the examples of a Wrestler, or of a Muletier, in whom we ordinarily perceive much lesse feeling of death, of paine, of griefe, and other inconveniences, and more undanted constancie, than ever Learning or Knowledge could store a man withall, unlesse he were borne, 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, onely through the power of imagina-
tion, have falne into dangerous diseases? We ordinarily see diverse that will cause themselves to be let bloud, 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 lends us
hers: This colour or complexion (said she) presageth some rheumatik defluxion will ensue you: This soultring-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 her selfe unto perfect health; saying, this youthly vigor and suddain joy can not [possibly] stay in one place, her bloud and strength must be abated, for feare it turne you to some mischiefe. 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 reines: As if it were not time enough to endure the sicknesse when it shall come, he doth in his fansie prevent the same, and headlong runneth to meet with it. What I speake of Phisicke, 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 acknowledging 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 mens 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 favour-
able 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 lesse ordinarie and more rare unto me: so
far is it from me, that I with the bitternesse of
some new and forced kind of life, trouble her
rest, and molest her ease. Beasts doe manifestly
declare unto us, how many infirmities our mindes
agitation bring us. That which is told us of
those that inhabit Bresill, who die onely through
age, which some impute to the clearenesse and
calmenesse of their aire, I rather ascribe to the
calmenesse and clearenesse of their minds, 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 igno-
rance, 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 minde
doeth 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 downe even into madnesse, but her
owne promptitude, her point, her agilitie, and to
conclude her proper force? Whence proceeds the
subtallest follie, but from the subtilestone 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 minds ensue the most distempered and outrageous frenzies. There wants but halfe 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 betweene follie with the liveliest elevations of a free minde is; and the effects of a supreme and extraordinarie vertue? Plato affirmeth, that melancholy minds are more excellent and disciplinable; So are there none more inclinable unto follie. Diverse spirits are seene to be overthrowne by their owne force, and proper nimblenesse. What a start hath one of the most judicious, ingenious, and most fitted unto the ayre of true ancient poesie (Torquato Tasso), 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 clearenesse, 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 pursue 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 pittied him, when I saw him at Ferrara, in so pitteous 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 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 sickness.

—pungit

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

A light stroke that dooth 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 wherefore the sect of Philosophie, that
hath most preferred sensualitie, hath also placed
the same but to indolencie or unfeeling of paine.
To have no infirmitie at all is the chiepest pos-
session of health that man can hope-for (as En-
nius said:)

Nimium boni est, cui nihil est mali.—Ennius.

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 chiepest scope. The
lust-full longing which allures us to the acquaint-
ance of women, seekes but to expell that paine,
which an earnest and burning desire doth pos-
sesse-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 happie estate. Yet ought it not to 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 approching and
birth of evils might gainsay it. I commend
not that unsensiblenesse, which is neither pos-
sible 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.
All pain is not amiss

Verily, he that should root out the knowledge of evil, 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 (Cic. Tusc. Qu. iii.). This verie point, not to be offended or grieved with any thing, befals not freely to a man, without either inhumanitie in his minde, or senselesnesse in his bodie. Sicknesse is not amisse unto man, comming in her turne: Nor is he alwaies to shun paine, nor ever to follow sensualitie. It is a great advantage for the honour of ignorance, that Science it selfe throwes us into her armes, when she findes her selfe 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 our selves 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 thoughts from the evils that possesse us, and entertaine them with fore-gon pleasures, and stead us as a comfort of present evils with the remembrance of fore-past felicities, and call a vanished content to our help, for to oppose it against that which vexeth us? Levationes agritudinum in avocatione à cogitanda molestia, et revocatione ad contemplandas voluptates ponit. Eases of griefes he reposeth either in calling from the thought of offence, or calling to the contemplations of some pleasures. Unlesse it be, that where force failes 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 Philo-
sopher, but simply to any setled man, when he by experience feeleth the burning alteration of a hot fever, what currant paiment is it to pay him with the remembrance of the sweetnesse of Greeke wine? It would rather empaire his bargainc.

_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 felici-
ties in memorie, and thence blot out such grieues as we have felt: as if the skill to forget were in our power: and counsell, of which we have much lesse.

_Suavis est laborum præteritorum memoria._

—Cic. _Fin._ ii. _Eurip._

Of labours overpast,
Remembrance hath sweet taste.

What? shall Philosophie, which ought to put the weapons into my hands, to fight against for-
tune; which should harden my courage, to suppresse 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 any thing in our remembrance,
I remember that which I would forget as the desire to forget the same: It is a good way to commend to the keeping, and imprint any thing in our minde, to solicithe 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. i.). This is ingraffed 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 whatsoever was for us.

And this is true, *Memini etiam quae nolo; oblivisci non possum quae volo* (Plu. in vita Them.). I remember 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 onely durst professe himselfe a wise man.

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

——*LUCR. 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?

*Iners malorum remedium ignorantia est.*

——*SEn. Oed. act. iii. see. i.*

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

We see diverse like precepts, by which we are permitted to borrow frivolous apparances from the vulgar sort, where lively and strong reason
is not of force sufficient: alwayes 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 deny me this, that if they could [possibly] adde 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 infirmiteit of judgement, but they would accept it.

—potare, et spargere flores
Incipiam, patiarque vel inconsulta haberi.
—Hor. i. Epist. v. 14.

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

There should many Philosophers be found of Lycas his opinion: This man in all other things being verie temperate, and orderly in his demeanors, living quietly and contentedly with his familie, wanting of no dutie or office both toward his owne houshold 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 fantasticall conceipt or obstinate humour, that he ever and continually thought to be amongst the Theaters, 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 Physitions 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 occidisti amici,
Non servasti, ait, cui sic extorta voluptas,
Et demptus per vim menti gratissimus error.

—Hor. i. Epist. ii. 138.

You have not sav'd me, friends, but slaine me quite, (Quoth he) from whom so rest is my delight,
And errour purg'd, which best did please my spright.

Of a raving like unto that of Thrasilaus, sonne unto Pythodorus, who verily beleeved, that all the ships that went out from the haven of Pyreum, 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 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:

'Ev τω φρονείν γὰρ μὴ δὲν ἡδίστος βλος.

—Soph. Aia. flag.

The sweetest life I wis,
In knowing nothing is.

And as Ecclesiastes witnesseth: In much wis-
dome, much sorrow: And who getteth knowledge, purchaseth sorrow and griefe. Even that, to which Philosophy doth in generall tearmes allow this last remedy, which she or-
daineth 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 sodiat sane: si nudus es, da jugulum: sin tectus armis vulcanii, id est, fortitudine, resist (Cic. Tusc. Que. ii.). 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 their banquets, which they aply unto it, _Aut bibat, aut abeat_ (Cic. _Ib. v._): Either let him carouse, or carry him out of the house: which rather fitteth the mouth of a Gascoine, than that of Cicero, who very easily doth change the letter B into V,

\[
\begin{align*}
Vivere si recte nescis, discede peritis:
Lusisti satis, edisti satis, atque bibisti:
Tempus abire tibi est, ne potum largius aquo
Rideat, et pulset lascivia decentius etas.
\end{align*}
\]

—Hor. ii. Epist. ii. ult.

Live well you cannot, them that can give place;
Well have you sported, eaten well, drunke 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 unsensiblenesse and not being?

—Democritum post quam matura vetustas
Admonuit memorem, motus languescere mentis:
Spont e sua letho caput obvius obtulit ipse.

—Lucr. 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 Anthistenes said, that a man 
must provide himselfe either of wit to under- 
stand, or of a halter to hang himselfe: And that 
which Chrysippus alleaged upon the speech of 
the Poet Tyrtaeus, 

De la vertu, ou de mort approchir. 
—Plut. in Solons life.

Or vertue to approch, 
Or else let death incroch.

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 Philo-
osophy, seeing the progresse of his studies so 
tedious and slow, purposed to cast himselfe into 
the Sea; Ranne unto death for want of know-
ledge: Reade here what the law, saith upon 
this subject. If peradventure any great incon-
venience 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 joyned to 
his body. As life through simplicity becom-
meth more pleasant, So (as I erewhile began 
to say) becommeth it more innocent and better. 
The simple and the ignorant (saith S. Paul)
raise themselves up to heaven, and take possession of it; whereas we, with all the knowledge we have, plunge our selves downe to the pit of hell. I reelye neither upon Valentinianus (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 Lycurgus, 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 exercise at all of letters. Those who returne from that new world, which of late hath beene discovered by the Spaniards, can witnesse unto us, how those nations being without Magistrates 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 di libelli,
D' essamine, di carte, e di procure
Hanno le mani e'l 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 dietre e dinanzi e d' ambo i lati,
Notai, procuratori, ed avvocati.

—ARIOSTO, can. xiv. stanz. 84.

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 sides Advocates, Proctors, and Notaries hold up debates.

It was that, which a Roman Senator said, that _their predecessors had their breath stinking of garlike_, and _their stomake perfumed with a good conscience_: and contrary, the men of his times, outwardly smelt of nothing but sweet odours, but inwardly they stunkke 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, simplicty, and rudnesse, 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 encrease 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 waiies; that makes him to embrace all newfangles, and rather chuse to be chiefe of a stragling troupe and in the path of perdition, and be regent of some erronious 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 high way. It is haply that, which the ancient Greeke proverbe implieth; 

\[ \eta \; \deltaευσιδαιμονία, \; καθάτερ \; πατρι, \; τῳ \; τυφῷ \; πείθεται. \]

Superstition obaieth pride as a father. Oh over-weening, how much doest thou hinder us? Socrates being advertised, that the God of wisdome, had attributed the name of wise unto him, was thereat much astonished, and diligently searching and rousing up himself, and ransaking 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, only because he did not so esteeme himselfe: And that his God deemed the opinion of science and wisdome a singular sottishnes in man; and that his best doctrine was the doctrine of ignorance, and simplicitie his greatest wisdome. The sacred writ pro-
nounceth 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 had 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
We call things immortal understand least. It is an occasion to induce Christians to beleeve, 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* (S. Augustine). God is better known by our not knowing him. Saith S. Augustine: And Tacitus, *Sanctius est ac reverentius de actis deorum credere quam scire* (Tacitus, Mor. German.). 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 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* (Cic. Univer.). 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.

*Immortalia mortali sermone notantes,*

—*Lucr. v. 122.*

Who with tearmes of mortality
Note things of immortality.

They be all agitations and [emmotions], 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 in-
terpret his owne workes*; and in our tongues he
dotheit improperly, to descend and come doun
to us, that are, and lie groveling on the ground.
How can wisdome (which is the choice be-
tweene good and evill) beseeme him, seeing
no evill doth touch him? How reason and
intelligence, which we use to come from ob-
scure to apparant things, seeing there is no
obscure thing in God? Justice which dis-
tributeth unto every man what belongs unto
him, created for the society and conversation
of man, how is she in God? How temper-
ance, which is the moderation of corporall sen-
sualities, which have no place at all in his
God-head? Fortitude patiently to endure sor-
rowes, and labours and dangers, appertaineth [as]
little unto him; these three things no way ap-
proaching 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 quae talia essent,
imbecilla essent omnia* (*Cic. Nat. Deor. i.*). Nor
can be he 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 owne strength we have
gotten it; God hath sufficiently taught it us in
that he hath made choice of the simple, com-
mon and ignorant, to teach us his wonderfull
secrets. Our faith hath not been purchased
by us: it is a gift proceeding from the liber-
ality of others. It is not by our discourse or
understanding, that we have received our re-
ligion, it is by a forreine authority, and com-
mandement. 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 means 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 wis-
dome 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?
(1 Cor. i. 19, 20, 21). Hath not God made
the 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 be-
leeve. 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 pur-
suit, hath been, that he hath learned to know
his owne weaknesse. That ignorance which in
us was naturall, we have with long study con-
firmed 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, and found nothing that is substantiall firme and steadie, but all vanitie, have renounced their presumption, and too late known their naturall condition. It is that, which Vell-cius upbraids Cotta and Cicero withall, that they have learnt of Philo, to have learned nothing. Pherecydes, one of the seaven wise, writing to Thales even as he was yeelding up the Ghost; I have (saith he) appoynted my friends, as soone as I shalbe 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 is foolishness with God.
Nothing may be known ignorant of them in truth. Omnes pene veteres nihil cognosci, nihil percipi, nihil sciri posse dixerunt: angustos sensus, imbecilles animos, brevia curricula vitae (Cic. Acad. Q. i.). Almost all the ancients affirmed nothing may be known, 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: quaram omnia, dubitans pluriumque, et nihil diffidens (Cic. Divin. i.). 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 grosse: 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, —Lucr. iii. 1091.
Who snoare while they are awake.

Mortua cui vita est, prope jam vivo atque videnti:
—Lucr. iii. 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 choise men, who having naturally beenevndowed 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 wisdome, it may possibly reach unto. They have fitted their soule unto all senses, and squared the same to all byases; they have strengthned 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 beenevnedable 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. Whosocver 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
Epicurians, the Stoickes 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; Clitomochus, 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 Archilocheus 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. IV. 471.

Who think’s nothing is knowne, knowes not that, whereby hee
Graunts 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 Phyrronians 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 out-stretched hand was apparance; the hand halfe-shut, and fingers somewhat bending, consent: the fist close, 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 loath to be beleived, but desire to be contradicted, thereby
to engender doubt, and suspense 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 maintain the contrary: 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 wil 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 extremite of doubt, which staggereth it selfe, they separat and de-vide themselves from many opinions, yea from those which divers wayes 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, eyther to allow or refuse, which may not lawfully be considered as ambiguous and doubtfull? And whereas others be carryed either by the custome of their Coun-trie, or by the institution of their Parents, or by chance, as by a Tempest, without choyce or judgement, yea sometimes before the age of descretion, to such or such another opinion, to the Stoike or Epicurian 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 adhaerescunt (Cic. Academ. Qu. x.). Being carriied 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 main- taine their liberty, and consider of things without dutie or compulsion? Hoc liberiores, et solu- tiores, quod integra illis est judicandi potestas (Ibid.). They are so much the freer and at liberty, for that their power of judgement is kept entire. Is it not some advantage for one to finde himselfe disingaged from necessitie, which brideleth others? Is it not better to remaine in suspense, 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 persuasian, than to meddle with these sedicious and quarellous divisions? What shall I chuse? Mary, what you list, so you chuse. A very foolish answer: to which it seemeth nevertheless, that all Dog- matisme 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 con- tradict whatsoever Plato saith concerning that;
and shall they be interdicted to doubt of it? If it be lawfull for Panaceius to maintaine his judgement about Aruspices, Dreames, Oracles and Prophecies, whereof the Stoikes makes no doubt at all: Wherfore shall not a wiseman 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 fore-stalled. 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 agayne: 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 known, it is very well: If they cannot prove it, it is good alike: Ut quum in eadem re paria contrariis in partibus momenta inveniuntur, facilius ab utraque parte assertio sustineatur (Cic. Ibid.). So as when the same matter the like weight and moment is found on divers parts, we may the more easily withhold avouching on both 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 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 seem false. Their Sacramentall word is, ἐπίκεφαλίς, which is as much to say, as I hold and stir not. Behold the burdens 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 Phyrphonisme. I expound this fantazy as plaine as I can, because many deeme it hard to be conceived: And the Authors themselves represent 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 constitutions of lawes, and customes, and to the tradition of arts: Non enim nos Deus ista scire, sed tantummodo uti voluit (Cic. Divin. i.). For God would not have us know these things, but onely use them. 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 Pyrro. 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
ordinary 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 fantastical 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 comprized nor perceived, nor allowed, if he will live. And if he take shipping, he followes his purpose, not knowing whether it shall be profitable or no: and yeeldes to this, that the shippe is good, that 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 mind moveth him. Although he finde not this proper and singular marke of judging in himselfe, and that hee perceive he should not engage his consent, seeing some falshood may be like unto this truth: Hee ceaseth not to [direct] 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 falshood, but onely 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 marvellous pre-ferment to tranquility. *Men that sensure and controule their judges, doe never duly submit themselves 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 weakenesse, apt to receive from above some strange power, disfurnished of all humane knowledge, and so much the more fitte to har- bour divine understanding, disannulling his judg- ment, that so he may give more place unto faith: Neither misbeleeving nor establishing any doc- trine 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 therin. *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 pre- sented unto thee, the rest is beyond thy know-
Blind leaders of the blind

lledge. Dominus novit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanæ sunt (Psal. xciii. 11). 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, 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 doct fingunt magis quam norunt. Which the learned doe rather conceit, than know.

Tymaœus, 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: Ut potero, explicabo: nec tamen, ut Pythius Apollo, certa ut sint et fixa, quæ dixerò; sed, ut homunculus, probabilia conjectura sequens (Cic. Tusc. Qu. i.). As I can, I will expayne 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 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 orisque mundi disserentes, minus quod habemus in animo consequimur, haud
erit mirum. \( \text{Æquum est enim meminisse, et me,} \) qui disseram, hominem esse, et vos qui judicetis: ut, si probabilia dicitur, nihil ultra requiratis (Cic. 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-likelyhood; For truth is not judged by authoritie, nor by others testimonie. And therefore did Epicurus religiously avoyd to aledge any in his compositions. He is the Prince of Dogmatists, and yet we learne of him, that, to know much, breeds an occasion to doubt more. He is often seen seriously to shelter himselfe under so inextricable obscuritie 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. Hec in Philosophia ratio, contra omnia disserendi nullamque rem aperte judicandi, proiecta \( \text{à Socrate, repetita ab Arcesila, confirmata} \) \( \text{à Carneade usque ad nostram viget ætatem. Hi sumus, qui omnibus veris falsa quædam adjuncta esse dicamus, tanta similitudine, ut in iis nulla insit certe judicandi et assentiendi nota (Cic. Nat. Deo. i).} \)
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 Carneades, is in force till our time; we are those that aver some falshood entermixt with every truth, and that with such likenesse, 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 ammuse 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 surname'd σκοτεινος, a darke mysty clowded fellow? Difficulty is a coine, that wisemen make use of, as juglers doe with passe and repasse, because they will not display the vanity of their art, and wherewith humane foolishnesse is easily apaid.

Clarus ob obscurum linguam, magis inter inanes.
Omnia enim stolidi magis admirantur amanque,
Inversis quae sub verbis latitantia cernunt.
——Lucr. i. 656.

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 booke of the Common-wealth 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 beleeve 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 Rethorike, of Grammar, of Poesie, of the Mathematikes, and (except naturall Philosophy) of all other sciences: And Socrates of all; but of the Art of civill manners and life. Whatsoever he was demanded 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 mibi placeant ea litera quae 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 selve: For they thought it not amisse to exercise their mindes in matters wherein was no profitable solidity. As for the rest, some have
The judging *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 think, 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 trad 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 be-getting: Being well pleased to afford all helpe and favor to such as were engendrers; 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 enterlace their stile
with dogmaticall cadences. And is not that as well seen 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 therby 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 we, that those which our Parlaments present unto our people, as the most exemplare and fittest to nourish in them the reverence they owe unto this dignitie, especialy 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 all judges as much as the debating of diverse, and agitations of contrary reasonings of law causes will admit. And the largest scope for reprehensive of some Philosophers against others, draweth contradictions and diversities with it, wherein every one of them findeth himselfe so entangled, either by intent to shew the wavering of mans minde above all matters, or ignorantly forced by the volubilitie and incomprehensible-nesse of all matters: What meaneth this burdon?
In a slippery and gliding place let us suspend our belief, For as Euripides saith,

Les œuvres de Dieu en diverses
Façons, 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. Cogitationes mortalium timide et incertæ ad inventiones nostræ, et providentiae (Wisd. c. ix. 14). The thoughts of mortal men are fearful, 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 it selfe 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 ammuse us in pursuit of things, of whose obtaining wee despaire. Plutarke reporteth a like example of one who would not bee 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 (Sen. Epist. 89 f.). 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 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 disdaine 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 seene in this other example, which they for honour-sake have so often in their mouths. 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 endevoured 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: Unicuique ista pro ingenio finguntur, non ex Scientiae 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 fantasticall 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 Platos Republic
latter have gained credit. It is the miserie of our condition, that often what offers it selfe unto our imagination for the likelyest, presents not it selfe unto it for the most beneficall unto our life. The boldest sects, both Epicurian, Pirrbonian and new Academike, when they have cast their acoumpt, 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 speake, they are many times forced to forge divers feeble and fond conjectures: Not that themselves tooke them for a ground-worke, nor to establish a truth, but for an exercise of their studie. Non tam id sensisse, quod dicerent, quam exercere ingenia materie difficultate videntur voluisse. They seeme 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 we 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 guessse 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 becuse 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 incomprehensible power, chiefe beginning and preserver of all things; all goodnes, all perfection; accepting in good part the honour and reverence which mortall men did yeeld him, under what usage, name and manner soever it was.

Jupiter omnipotens rerum, regumque, Deumque,
Progenitor, genitrixque,
Almightie Jove, 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 Policies 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 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
Worth of Catholic symbols

most excusable, *Pythagoras* shadowed the truth somewhat neerer, judgeing that the knowledge of this first cause and *Ens entium* must be undefined, without any prescription or declaration. That it was nothing else but the extreme indovement 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 meerly 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 it selfe to be circumscribed to corporall limits: *His supernaturall and celestiall Sacraments beare signes of our terrestrial condition.* His adoration is exprest by offices and sensible words; for, it is man that beleeveth and praieth. I omit other arguments, that are emplyed about this subject. But I could hardly be made beleevve, 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 won-derous beneficell 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.

—the 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’esprit, l’ame du monde, ardent et flamboyant,
En la cource d’un jour tout le Ciel tournoyant,
Plein d’immense grandeur, rond, vagabond et ferme:
Lequel tient dessous luy tout le monde pour terme,
En repos sans repos, oysif, et sans sejour,
Fils ainsè de nature, et le pere du jour.

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 egressé takes;
Who with his Vertues knowne, doth fill this universe
With one cast of his eyes doth us all cloudes disperse,
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 only glorious piece of this vaste-worlds-frame, which we perceive to be furthest from us: And by that meane so little known, as they are pardonable, that entered into admiration, and reverence of it. Thales, who was the first to enquire and finde out this matter, esteemed God to bee a spirit, who made all things of water. Anaximander thought the Gods did dy, and were new borne at divers seasons: and that the worlds were infinite in number. Anaximenes deemed the ayre to be a God, which was created immense, and alwaies 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. Alcmaon 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 four 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 circuitions were Gods, and othertimes this Nature, which disperseth these images; and then our knowledge and intelligence. Plato scattereth his believe after diverse semblances. In his Tymeus, 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, admitting 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 eight, the Sunne and the Moone. Heraclides Ponticus doth but roame among his opinions, and in fine depriveth God of sense, and makes him remove and transchange himselfe from one form 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. Strato, that it is Nature having power to engender, to augment and to diminish, without forme or sense. Zeno, the naturall Lawe, commanding the good, and prohibiting
the evil; which Lawe is a breathing creature; and removeth the accustomed Gods, Jupiter, Juno 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 oth-while the supreme heat, enfoulding and containing all. Persæus Zenoes disciple hath beene 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 Gods, bright-shining, transparent and perfiable, placed as it were between two Forts, between two Worlds, safely sheltered from all blowes, invested with a humane shape, and with our members, which unto them are of no use.

Ego Dæum genus esse semper duxi, et dicam calitum,
Sed eos non curare opinor, quid agat humanum genus.

—ENN., CICE. Div. 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 conceptions 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 contrary one to another in this subject, than the schooles: Wherby 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 bee deified. Wherefore, to make gods of our selves (as antiquitie hath done,) it exceeds the extreme weaknesse of discourse. I would rather have folowed those that worshipped the Serpent, the Dogge and the Oxe, forsomuch 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 condition, whose imperfections we should know, and to have attributed desire, choler, revenge, marriages, generation, alliances, love and jealousie, our limbes and our bones, our infirmities, our plea-
God in the likeness of men sures, our deaths, and our Sepulchres unto them, hath of necessity proceeded from a meere and egregious sottishnesse, or drunkenesse of mans wit.

Quæ procul usque adeo divino ab numine distant.
Inque Deum numero quae sint indigna videri.

—LuCR. v. 123.

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

Formæ, ætates, vestitus, ornatus noti sunt:
genera, conjugia, cognitiones, omniaque traducta
ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanae:
nam et perturbatis animis inducuntur,
accipimus enim Deorum cupidititates, agritudines, iracundias.

Their shapes, their ages, their apparrell, their furnitures are knownen; their kindes, their marriages, their kindred, and all translated to the likeness of mans weaknesse: For they are also brought in with mindes much troubled: for we reade of the lust-fulnesse, 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 curvae in terris animae et caelestium inanes!


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 wisdome forbad upon paine of hanging, that no man should dare to say, that Serapis and Isis their Gods, had whilome beeue but men, when all knew they had beeue so. And their images or pictures drawne with a finger a crosse their mouthes imported (as Varro saith) this mysterious rule unto their priests, to conceal their mortall off-spring, which by a necessary reason disanulled all their veneration. Since man desired so much to equall himselfe to God, it had beeue 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, done both the one and other. When Philosophers blazon and display the Hierarchy of their gods, and to the utmost of their skill endevour to distinguish their aliances, their charges, and their powers. I cannot beleeve 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.

SECRET! celant colles, et myriia circum
Sylvæ tegit, curæ non ipsa in morte reliquunt.

—Virg. Æn. vi. 443.

Them paths aside conceale, a mirtle grove
Shades them round; cares in death doe not remove.
When Mahomet promiseth unto his followers
a paradise all tapistred, 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 foolishnesse, thereby to enhonny and allure us to these opinions and hopes fitting our mortall appetite. Even so are some of our men falne into like errours by promising unto themselves after their resurrection a terrestriall and temporall life, accompanied with al 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 unspakable 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 eternall 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 or 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 inimaginable, 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. 9). And if to make us capable of it (as thou saith *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, we shall be no more our selves:

_Hector erat tunc cum bello certabat, at ille_
_Tractus ab Aemonio non erat Hector equo._


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.
The Flower that once has blown for ever dies

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

—Lucr. 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 predecessors were? Of a Phenixes cinders, first (as they say) is engendred a worme and then another Phenix: who can imagine that this second Phenix be no other and different from the first? Our Silk-wormes 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 Silke-worm? what hath once lost his being, is no more.

*Nec si materiam nostram collegerit atas
Post obitum, rursumque redegerit, ut sita nunc est
Atque iterum nobis fuerint data lumina vite,
Pertineat quidquam tamen ad nos id quoque factum,
Interrupta semel cum sit repetentia nostra.—Ib. 890.*
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.

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 avulsis radicibus ut nequit ullam  
> Dispicere ipse oculus rem seorsum corpore toto.  
> —Ib. 580.

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 enjoy-  
ing shall appertaine; for we are built of two  
principall essentiaall parts, the separation of which,  
is the death and consummation of our being.

> Inter enim jacta est vitai causa vageque  
> Deerrarunt passim motus ab sensibus omnes.—Ib. 903.

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  
> Corporis atque animæ consistimus uniter apti.—Ibid. 888.

This nought concern’s us, who consist of union,  
Of minde and body joyn’d in meet communion.

Moreover, upon what ground of their justice,
Danger of by-paths can the Gods reward man and be thankful unto him after his death, for his good and virtuous 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 stray-ing, 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 beene 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 her selfe a thousand diverse wayes. 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 meery 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 facul-ties, 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 apparrrell 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, replenish-ing 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.
Blood-thirsty sacrifices

—Sulmone creatos
Quatuor hie juvenes, totidem, quos educat Ufens,
Viventes rapit, inferias quos immolet umbris.
—Virg. Æn. x. 517.

Foure young-men borne of Sulmo, and foure more
Whom Ufens 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 journey to
their God Zamolxis. From five to five yeares,
they dispatch some one among themselves toward
him, to require him of necessarie things. This
deputy of theirs is chosen by lots; And the
manner to dispatch him, after they have by
word of mouth instructed 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 wicked and
execrable man, and then chuse another. Amestr's
mother unto Xerxes, being become aged, caused
at one time 14. 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 cimented 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. i. 102.

Religion so much mischeefe could
Persuade, where it much better should.

The Carthaginians were wont to sacrifice their own 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 flattered and wantonized their Diana, by torturing of yong 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 mæta parentis.—Ibid. 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
Vicarious offerings to the gods enemies. Que fuit tanta Deorum iniquitas, ut placari populo Romano non possint, nisi tales viri occidissent? What injustice of the Gods was so great, as they could not be appeased, unless 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 accompliseth 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 humor 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 jewel 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 dismembirings of the Corybantes, of the Mænades, and now a dayes of the Mahumetans, who skar, and gash their faces, their stomacke and their limbes, 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 perturbata mentis et sedibus suis pulse furor, ut sic Dii placentur, quemadmodum ne homines quidem sæviunt (Aug. Civ. Dei, vi. c. 10). 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 outrageous. 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. *Ubi iratos Deos timent, qui sic propitios habere merentur. In regia libidinis voluptatem castrati sunt quidam; sed nemo sibi, ne vir esset, jubente Domino, manus intulit* (Ibid. e Senec.). Where are they afeard of Gods anger, who in such sort deserve to have his favour; some have beeene 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.*

—_Lucr. i. 82._

Religion hath oft times in former times Bred execrable facts, ungodly crimes.

Now can nothing of ours, in what manner soever, be either compared or referred unto divine nature, that doth not blemish or defile the same with as much imperfection. How can this infinit beauty, power and goodnes admit any correspondencie or similitude with a thing
Our knowledge is so base and abject as we are, without extreme interest and manifest derogation from his divine greatnesse? *Infirnum Dei fortius est hominibus; et stultum Dei sapientius est hominibus* (1 Cor. i. 25). The weaknesse of God is stronger than men: and the foolishnesse of God is wiser than men. *Stilpo* the Philosopher, being demanded, whether the Gods 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 apparences 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 infinit 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 little Cell wherein thou art placed: The question is, whether
thou seest it: His divinity hath an infinit jurisdiction far beyond that: This piece is nothing in respect of the whole.

—omn{	extquoteleft}a cum caelo terraque marique,

Nil sunt ad summam summatotius omnem.

—Lucr. 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 allegest is but a municipall law, and thou knowest not what the universall is: Tie thy selfe unto that, whereto thou are 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 soare up unto the clouds, this is for thee. The Sunne incessantly goeth his ordinary course: The bounds of the Seas and of the earth cannot be confounded: The water is ever fleeting, wavering, and without firmenesse: 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 off. He hath testified unto Christians, that when ever it pleased him
Plurality of worlds
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 persuadeth thee a plurality of worlds.

Terramque et solem, lunam, mare, cætera quæ sunt,
Non esse unica, sed numero magis innumerali.
—Ib. ii. 1094.

The earth, the Sunne, the Moone, the sea and all
In number numberlesse, not one they call.

The famouseth wits of former ages have beleeved it, yea and some of our moderne, as forced thereunto by the apparence of humane reason. For as much as whatsoever we see in this vast worlds frame, there is no one thing alone, single and one:

—cum in summa res nulla sit una,
Unica quæ gignatur, et unica solaque crescat.—Ib. 1086.

Whereas in generall summe, nothing is one,
To be bred only one, grow only one.

and that all severall kindes are multiplied in some number: Whereby it seemeth unlikely, that God hath framed this peece of worke 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 materiæ,
Qualis hic est avido complexu quem tenet Æther.—Ib. 1073.
Wherefore you must confesse, againe againe,
Of matter such like meetings elsewhere raigne
As this, these skies in greedy gripe containe.

Namely, if it be a breathing creature, as it’s 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
We call eyes and mouthes in their breasts; where all are Hermaphrodites; where they creep 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 halfe fish, and live in the water; Where women are brought a bed at five yeares 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 goe 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 disordred. 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 any thing 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:

And not without apparence. For, wherefore doe we from that instant take a title of being, which is but a twinkleling 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,
Irreverence of limiting God's power 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: Mansiphanes 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 infirmitities 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 canvasing 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 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 Pyrhonian Phylosophers, 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 conceipt is more certainly conceived by an interrogation: What can I tell? As I beare it in
an Imprese of a paire of ballances. Note how some prevale with this kinde of unreverent and unhallowed speech. In the disputations that are now-adayes in our religion, if you overmuch urge the adversaries, 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 what is past, but of forgetfulness. And that this society betwene 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 endeavour to finde out this foolish-boldnesse of speech, that so they may turne and winde God almighty according to their measure.
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 infinitie 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 speakes it, but our understanding can no whit apprehend it. Yet will our selfe overweening sift his divinitie through our searce: 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 invitatate successu (Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. c. 23). 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 doe the Stoikes charge Epicurus, because he holds, that to be perfectly good and absolutely happy, belongs but only unto God; and that the wiseman 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,
The infinitely great and the infinitely little

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 but slight and ordinary unto us. *Magna dii curant, parva negligunt* (Cic. Nat. Deor. ii.). *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 reges omnia minima curant* (Cic. Ib. iii.). *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 it selfe 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 workeman 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 Priestes. 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 judgements. *Quod beatum aeternumque sit, id nec habere, negotii quicquam, nec exhibere alteri* (Cic. *Ib. i.*). That which is blessed and eternall, nor is troubled it selfe, nor troubleth others. 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 conjoinde to their bodies, they could not see. Men (saith Saint Paul) when they professed themselves to bee wise, they became fooles, for they turned the glory of the incorruptible God to the similitude of the image of a corruptible man (*Rom. i. 22, 23*). Marke I pray you a little the jugling of ancient Deifications. After the great, solme and proud pompe of funerals, when the fire began to burne the top of the Piramide: and to take hold of the bed or hearce 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 our selves with our owne foolish devises and apish inventions,

Quod finxere timent.—Lucan. i. 484.
Of that they stand in feare, Which they in fancie beare.

as children will be afeard of their fellows 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 Jupiter, 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 senselesse 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 it selfe.

\[\text{Nosse cui Divos et mai numina soii,} \\
\text{Aut soli nescire datum. — Lucan. i. 452.}\]

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 hee 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 our selves 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 our
What selves, 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 bee offended, are equall witnesses of imbecillitie; 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 not 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 modell! 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.

—non si te ruperis, inquit.
—Hor. Serm. ii. Sat. iii. 324.

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 ills, sed sibi comparant. Of a truth, they conceiving, not God, whom they cannot conceive, but themselves instead of God, doe not compare him, but themselves, not to him, but themselves. In natural things the effects doe but halfe referre their causes. What this? It is above natures order, it's 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 [Senis] 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 her selfe in the armes of a wanton lover of hers. Varro the most subtil, 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 night saw that God in her armes, saying moreover unto her, that the next day, the first man she met withall, should heavenly pay her her wages.- It fortuned 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 had she 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 beleived 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 untouch't 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 blazoned in favor of their children? In Mahomet's religion, by the easie beleefe of that people are many Merlins found; That is to say fatherles 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 it's owne being (the Lyon, the Eagle and the Dolphin esteeme nothing above their kinde) 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 unpossible it should exceede 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 cogitetur, forma occurrit humana (Cic. Nat. Deo. i.)*. 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 pleasantly, that if beasts frame any Gods unto themselves, (as likely it is they doe) 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 favorably looke 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 feede 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
Man imputes no work to the gods region. *Tam blanda conciliatrix, et tam sui est lена ipsa natura (Cic. Nat. Deo. ib.).* 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. Survey but the register, which Philosophy hath kept these two thousand yeares and more, of heavenly affaires. The Gods never acted, and never spake, but for man: She ascribeth no other consultation, nor imputeth other vacation unto them. Loe how they are up in armes against us.

—*domitosque Herculea manu Telluris juvenes, unde periculum Fulgens contremuit domus Saturni veteris.—Hor. Car. ii. Od. xii. 6*  
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're 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 Juno Sceas sævissima portas Prima tenet.—Virg. Æn. ii. 610.*

*Neptunus* with his great three-forked mace  
Shak's 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 jelousie 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: Adeo 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 garlike; 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—

His armor here
His chariots there appeare.

O sancte Apollo, qui umbilicum certum terrarum obtines.

—Cic. Div. ii.

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

Pallada Cecropidae, Minoya Creta Dianam,
Vulcanum tellus Hipsipilae colit.
Junonem Sparte, Pelopeiadesque Mycena,
Pinigerum Fauni Maenalis ora caput:
Mars Latio venerandus.—Ovid. Fast. iii. 81.
Bèsmeared with bloud and goare.

Th’ Athenians Pallas; Minos-Candy coast
Diana; Lemnos Vulcan honor’s most;
Mycene and Sparta, Juno thinke divine;
The coast of Menalus Faune 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.

\[\text{Junctaque sunt magno templo nepotis a\textsuperscript{o}.}\]
\[\text{—i. 294.}\]

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 the threshold. Four 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.

\[\text{Quos, quoniam c\textsuperscript{e}l\textsuperscript{i} nondum dignamur honore,}\]
\[\text{Quas dedimus certe terras, habitare sinamus.}\]
\[\text{—Ovid. Metam. i. 194.}\]

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 poeticall, and some civill, some of a meane condition, betweene divine and humane nature, mediators, and spokes-men betweene us and God: wor-
shipped in a kind 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 betwixt God and him. Nay is he not his countrieman?


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

Behold the excuse, that Scevola 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. *Quum 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 perceive things, but by the formes of his knowledge. And we remember not the downfall of miserable Phaeton, forsomuch as he untertooke 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 enquire of Philosophy, what matter the Sun is composed of? What will it answer, but of yron and stone, or other stuffe for his use? Demand of Zeno, what Nature is? A fire (saith
The wisest judgment concerning 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 demised or tooke to rent: and that Polyænus, who therein had beene a famous and principall Docter, 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 blacke those he looketh upon; that wee fixly looke upon the fire, and that fire consumeth and killeth all plants and hearbs. 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 judge of *Dæmons* and spirits, saith, it is an enterprise far exceeding my skill and ability: we must believe what those ancient forefathers have said of them, who have said to have been 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 possible attaine, to devise and forge them another body, and of our owne invention to give them a false forme? as is seen 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, grose and corporall springs and wards:

—*temo aureus, aurea summa Curvatura rote, 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 had 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 celestiall bodies diapred in colours, according to *Plato*, about the spindle of necessity.
Mondus domus est maxima rerum,
Quam quinque altitœ fragmine zone
Cingunt, per quam limbus pictus bis sex signis,
Stellimicantibus, alius, in obliquo æthere, Lunae
Bigas acceptat.

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

They are all dreams, and mad follies. Why
will not nature one day be pleased to open her
bosome to us, and make us perfectly 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 poore understanding, and weake knowledge!
I am deceived, if she hold one thing directly in
it's point; and I shall part hence more ignorant
of all other things, than mine ignorance. Have
I not seen this divine saying in Plato, that Na-
ture is nothing but an ænigmaticall poesie? As
a man might say, an overshadowed and darke
picture, enter-shining with an infinit varietie of
false lights, to exercise our conjectures. Lat-
ten ista omnia crassis occultata et circumfusa tene-
bris ut nulla acies humani ingenii tanta sit, quæ
penetrare in cælum, terram intrare possit (Cic.
Acad. Q. iv.). 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 more than humane Sciences are decked and enrobed with a Poeticall stile. Even as women, when their naturall teeth faile them, use some of yvorie, 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 bumbasted 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 liew of currant payment and presupposition, delivereth us those things, which she her selfe teacheth us to be meere inventions: For, these *Epicycles, Excen-triques, 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 apperance, likelyhood, 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,
Man, 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 poore seely 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 seats 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 vacation? 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 joyne and reunite him together againe, and to stuffe him, every one according to his fantasie, and yet they neither have nor possesse 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 botcht together with a thousand false patches, and fantasticall pieces. 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 shadowes: 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 theirs 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 ammusing himselfe in the contemplation of heavens-wide-bounding vault, and ever holding his eyes aloft, laid something in his way to make him stumble, therby to warne and put him in minde, that he should not ammuse his thoughts about matters above the clowds, 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: cali scrutantur plagas,—Cic. Div. 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 knowledge 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
The body may be known, that which is before him. For, every Philosopher is ignorant of what his neighbour doth, yea, he knowes not what himselfe 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:

Quae mare compescant causa, quid temperet annum,
Stella sponte sua, jusseve vangentur et errent:
Quid praemat obscurem Luna, quid proferat orbem,
Quid velit et possit rerum concordia discors.

—Hor. i. Epist. xii. 16.

What cause doth calme 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.

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 stir 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 nature majestate abdita* (Plin.). *All uncertaine in reason, and hid in the majesty of nature,* Saith Plinie, And Saint Augustine, *Modus, quo corporibus adhaerent spiritus, omnino mirus est,* nec comprehendi ab homine potest, et hoc ipse homo est (Aug. De Spir. et Anim.). The meane is clearly wonderfull, whereby spirits cleave to our bodies, nor can it be comprehended by man, and that is very man. Yet is there no doubt made of him: For mens opinions are received after ancient believe, by authority and upon credit; as if it were a religion and a law. What is commonly held of it, is received as a gibrish 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 weaknes lieth: Men only debate
Conceptions of the nature of things 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 beliefes 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 of 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 of 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 Museus, 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 cleare-sighted vigilancie brings forth in whatsoever it medleth withal) as I should of Aristotles 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 con-clude afterward what they please, as Geometri-cians doe by their granted 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 beleewed 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 ne-gotiation of learning, we have taken the saying of Pythagoras for currant payment; which is, that every expert man ought to be beleewed in his owne trade. The Logitian referreth himselfe to the Grammarian for the signification of words: The Rethoritian borroweth the places of argu-
ments from the Logitian: The Poet his measures from the Musitian: 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 immediatly 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 Platoes Philodoxes, or lovers of their owne opinions. We must know whether fire be hot, whether snow be white, whether in our knowledge there be any thing hard or soft. And touching the answeres, whereof they tell old tales, as to him who made a doubt of heat, to whom one replied, that to trie he should cast 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 appareances, 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 speake so. But from them it is, that we have learn't 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 wherof, all things are knowne and discerned. This answer were good among the Canibals, who without any of Aristotle's 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 commandement 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, that 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 abutttings 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
Man's reason and God's admit, nor approve any thing, but by the way of reason: It is their touchstone, to trie all kindes of Essayes. But surely it is a touchstone full of falsehood, errors, imperfection and weaknesse: 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 any thing, 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 essentiall 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 empart 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; nor 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 animai,
Ñata sit, an contra nascentibus insinuetur,
Et simul interest nobiscum morte dirempta,
An tenebras orci visat, vastasque lacunas,
An pecudes alias divinitus insinuet se.

—Lucr. 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 Dicaearchus 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 bloud:

Sanguineam vomit ille animam—
—VIRG. Æn. ix. 349.

His soule of purple-bloud he vomits out.

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

Igneus est ollis vigor, et calestis origo:
—vi. 730.

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

To Hyppocrates, a spirit dispersed thorow the body: To Varro, an aire 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 quendam vitalem corporis esse,
Harmoniam Græci quam dicunt.—LuCR. 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 it selfe (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: Lactantius, 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 quae vera sit, Deus aliquis viderit (Cic. Tus. Qu. i.). Which of these opinions is true, let some God looke unto it, (saith Cicero). I know by my selfe (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 Daemons, maintained nevertheless, 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 braine: Democritus and Aristotle, through all the body:
As health is of the body said to be,
Yet is no part of him, in health we see.

Epicurus in the stomacke.

Hæc exultat enim pavor ac metus, hæc loca circum
Lætitiae mulcent.

For in these places feare doth domineere,
And neere these places joy keepes merry 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 forbad the eating of beasts bloud, 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 habitet, nec quærendum quidem est (Cic. Tusc. Qu. i.). We must not so much as enquire, what face the minde beares, or where it dwels: 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, will prove the soule to be about the heart, is not to be forgotten. It is (saith he) because when we will affirme or sweare anything we lay our hand upon the stomacke; And when we will pro-
The body nounce, ἐγώ, which signifieth, my selfe, we put downe our chin toward 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-eied, but sometimes shal fall a sleep or slumber.* What shal we feare to say? Behold the Stoickes, fathers of humane wisdome, who devise that the soule of man, overwhelmed with any ruine, laboureth and panteth a long time to get out, unable to free her selfe 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 beene 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 body of the Sun, must of necessitie have a very rare and particular measure of alteration. The extremeties of our curious search turne to a glimmering and all to a daze-ling. As Plutarke saith, of the off-spring of Histories, that after the manner of Cards or Maps, the utmost limits of knowne Countries, are
set downe to be full of thicke marrish grounds, shady forrests, desart and uncouth places. See here wherefore the grossest and most Childish dotings, are more commonly found in these which treat of highest and furthest matters; even confounding and overwhelming themselves in their owne curiositie and presumption. The end and beginning of learning are equally accompted foolish. Marke but how Plato taketh and raiseth his flight aloft in his Poeticall clouds, or cloudy Poesies. Behold and read in him the gibbrish of the Gods. But what dream'd 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 downward, 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 casuall 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 beleeve that an infinit number of Greek Letters confusedly scattered in some open place, might one day meet and joyne together to the contexture of th' 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 wisdome, and we are part of the world: Then the world is wise. There are infinit like examples scene, 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 reproches 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 meanes 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 mans sufficiencie so high, there are found so grosse
errors, and so apparent defects. As for me, I would rather believe, that they have thus casually treated learning, even as a sporting child's 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 unmasked: 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 imbecillitie 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 perswade some body in Italy, who laboured very much to speake Italian, that alwayes provided,
he desired but to be understood, and not to seek to excell others therein, he should onely impoy 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 several forms 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 dreams and devises 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* (Cic. Div. ii.). *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, 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 help of any discipline: And weake and faint as they were, when I have had a desire to expresse them, and to make them appeare to the world a little more comely and decent, I have somewhat in-devoured to aide 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 worn and spent. A new figure: An unpremeditated Philosopher and a casual. 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 always a soule, which by her rationall faculty, 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 several 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
Caeli Phæbus iter: radiis tamen omnia lustrat.

Never the Sunne forsakes heav'ns middle wayes,
Yet with his rayes he light's all, all surveyes.
Sources of the soul as the Sunne spreadeth his light, and infuseth his power from heaven, and therewith filleth the whole world.

Caetera pars animæ per totum dissita corpus
Paret, et ad numen mentis nomenque movetur.
—Lucr. iii. 144.

Th' other part of the soul 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 culumque profundum:
Hinc pecudes; armenta, viros, genus omne ferarum,
Quemque sibi tenues nascentem arcessere vitas,
Scilicet hic reddi deinde, ac resoluta referri
Omnia: nec morti esse locum—

For God through all the earth to passe is found,
Through all Sea currents, through the heav'n pro-found,
Here hence men, heard, 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 affoord.

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 that they returne to it againe.
The common sort of antiquitie, that they are
begotten from Father to Sonne, after the same
manner and production, that all other naturall
things are; arguingso by the resemblances, which
are betweene Fathers and Children.

Instillata patris virtus tibi,—
Thy Fathers vertues be
Instilled into thee.

Fortes creantur fortibus et bonis,
—Hor. Car. iv. Od. iv. 29.
Of valiant Sires and good,
There comes a valiant brood.

and that from fathers we see descend unto chil-
dren, not only the marks of their bodies, but also
a resemblance of humours, of complexions, and
inclinations of the soule.

Denique cur acrum violentia triste Leonum
Seminium 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?
—Lucr. iii. 766, 771.

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 thereupon,
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 beeene 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.

—is in corpus nascentibus insinuatur,
Cur super anteaactam etatem meminisse nequimus,
Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?

—Lucri. 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 beeene such, being freed from the corporall prison, aswell 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 erronious. First, because we doe not precisely remember what we are taught, and that if memorie did meerely 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 imploy 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 [acknowledge] 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 forepast 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.

—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 accompl-able 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 sickenesse, of the time and season where she had
beene forced and compelled to draw the judgement and condemnation of infinite and endless 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. \textit{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 \textit{Epicurus} and \textit{Democritus}, which hath most beene received, following these goodly apparences. That her birth was seene, when the body was capable of her; her vertue and strength was perceived as the corporall encreased; in her infancie might her weakenesse be discerned, and in time her vigor and ripeness, then her decay and age, and in the end her decrepitude:

\begin{quote}
\textit{gigni pariter cum corpore, et una}
\textit{Crescere sentimus, pariterque senescere mentem.}
\end{quote}

\textit{Ib. 450.}

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

They perceived her to be capable of diverse
passions, and agitated by many languishing and painfull motions, where through she fell into wearinesse and griefe, 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 aegrum
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; re-

moved 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.—Ib. 176.

The nature of the minde must needs corporeall bee,
For with corporeall darts and strokes it's grieve'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 slavering of a mastive dog shed upon Socrates his hands, to trouble all his wisdome, to distemper his great and regular imaginations, and so to vanquish and annull
The soul disturbed them, that no signe or shew of his former knowledge was left in him:

—vis animai
Conturbatur, et divisa seorsum
Disiectatur codem illo distracta veneno.

—Ib. 501.

The soules force is disturbed, seperated, 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 horror, and quelled with amazement, if by the contagion of a mad dog, he had fallen into that sickness, which Physitians call Hydrophobia, or fear of waters.

—vis morbi distracta per artus
Turbat agens animam, spumantes aquore salso
Ventorum ut validis fervescunt viribus unde.—Ib. 495.

The force of the disease dispersst 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 of patience, or if it be overcostly to be found, of 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 to this inconvenience, wherewith 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 furtur in altum
Æternumque soporem, oculis nutuque cadenti.

—Ib. 467.

The minde in bodies sicknesse often wandring strayes:
For it enraged rave's, and idle talke outbrayes:
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 harp't upon this string, no more than another 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. They are two omissions, which in their dis-
The soul considered capable of death courses doe often offer themselves unto me. I come to the first againe: the soule loseth the use of that Stoicall chiefe felicitie, so constant and so firme. Our goodly wisdome must necessarily in this place yeeld her selfe, and quit her weapons. As for other matters, they also considered by the vanitie of mans reason, that the mixture and societie of two so different parts, as is the mortall and the immortall is inimaginable:

Quippe etenim mortale aeterno 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, immortali atque perenni
Junctum in concilio sævus tolerare procellas?
—Ib. 831.

For what immortall is, mortall to joyne unto,
And thinke they can agree, and mutuall duties doe,
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 communion?

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

—simul ævo fessa fatiscit,—Ib. 463.

It joyntly faint's in one,
Wearied as age is gone.

Which thing (according to Zeno) the image of sleep doth manifestly shew unto us. For he esteemeth, that it is a fainting and declination
of the soul, as well as of the body. *Contrahi animum, et quasi labi putat atque decidere* (Cic. *Div. ii.*). He thinks the mind is contracted, and doth as it were slide and fall downe. And that (which is perceived in some) it’s 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 seen 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 weakness or decay seen so universall, but some entire and vigorous parts will remaine.

*Non alio pacto quam si pes cum dolet egri, In nullo caput interea sit forté dolore.*—*LuCR. iii. iii.*

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 blindness, 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...
The inforsed 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 beliefe: Rem gratissimam promittentium magis quam probantium. Who rather promise than approve a thing most acceptable. He hath hidden himselfe under the clouds of intricat and ambiguous words, and unintelligible senses, and hath left his Sec- taries as much cause to dispute upon his judging, 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 im- ployed all his wit to frame him selfe a new, (as impaciont 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 her selfe, is ever, and in all places questing and searching comforts, hopes, founda-
tions, and forraine circumstances, on which she may take hold and settle her selfe. And how light and fantastical soever his invention doth frame them unto him, he notwithstanding relieth more surely upon them, and more willingly, than upon himselfe: 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 dreams 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 wherewith to lay hold on her, and keepe her; and that this reason hath not the power to prevale with it. All things produced by our owne discourse and suficiencie, 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, downefall and confusion of Babels Tower. Whatsoever we attempt without his assistance, what ever we see without the lampe of his grace, is but vanity 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 himselfe, it is Gods permission that he ever commeth to that confusion, whose image he so lively repre-
senteth 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 Pyramides, or Heaven-menacing Tower. Perdam sapientiam sapientium, et prudentiam prudentium reprobabo (1 Cor. i. 19). I will destroy the wisdome of the wise, and reprove the providence of them that are most prudent. The diversitie of tongues and languages, wherewith he dis-turbed that worke, and overthrew that proudly-raisd Pile; what else is it, but this infinit alteration, and perpetuall discordance of opinions and reasons, which accompanieth and entangleth the frivolous frame of mans learning, or vaine building of humane 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 utilitatis 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, doe we not carrie 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 believe, since from his liberalitie alone we receive the fruit of immortalitie, which consisteth in enjoying of eternall blessednesse. Let us ingenuously confess, 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 nor 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 Stoike 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 leve momentum apud nos habet consensus hominum, aut timentium inferos aut coelentium. Utor hac publica persuasione (Sen. Epist. 117). When we discourse of the immortalitie of soules in my conceit the consent of those men is of no small authority, who either feare or adore the infernall powers. This publike perswasion I make use of. Now the weaknes of humane 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 (Cic. Tusc. Qu. i.). 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 [give] unto soules a life beyond this but finite. The most universall and received fantasie, and which endureth to this
The Pythagorean doctrine

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 passe 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 remembred to have beene Æthaledes, then Euphorbus, afterward Hermotimus, at last from Pyrrhus to have passed into Pythagoras: having memorie of himselfe, the space of two hundred and six yeares: some added more, that the same soules doe sometimes ascend up to heaven, and come downe againe:

O Pater anne aliquas ad calum hinc ire putandum est
Sublimes animas, iterumque ad tarda reverti
Corpora? Que lucis miseris tam dira cupido?
—Virg. Æn. vi. 739.

Must we thinke (Father) some soules hence doe go, Raized 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 reconjoyne themselves unto their first bodies. Chrysippus, that that must come to passe after a certaine space of time unknowne, and not limitted. 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. Behold her progresse elsewhere: He that hath lived well, reconjourneth himselfe unto that Star or Planet, to which he is assigned: Who evill, passeth into a woman: And if then he amend not himselfe, 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 vertue of reason, he have de- prived himselfe of those grosse, 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 passe 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 should 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 beene living.
Lastly, ridiculous it is, soules should be prest
To Venus meetings, and begetting of a beast:
That they to mortall lims immortall be addrest
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, therwith 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 immortall:
Others, make it immortall, without any science
or knowledge. Nay there are some of ours,
who have deemed, that of condemned mens
soules divels were made: As Plutarke thinks,
that Gods are made of those soules which are
saved: For, there be few things that this authour
dothe 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, ver-
tuous 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 purifed,
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 whosoever 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 Daemon; 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 it selfe[; if it] once goe 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 childhood. 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 she teacheth us touching our corporall parts. Let us make choyse 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 marvel if in a thing so high and so ancient, mans wit is troubled and confounded. Archelaus the Physition, to whom (as Aristoxenus affirmeth) Socrates was Disciple and Minion, assevered that both men and beastes had beene made of milkie
slime or mudde, expressed by the heat 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 hee argueth thus, because that place feeleth first the wearinessse which followeth the generative businesse.

*Alcmæon*, a part of the braines-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 soule and the body: *Aristotle*, an excrement drawne from the nourishment of the bloud, the last scattereth it selfe in our severall members; others, blood, concocted and disgested by the heat 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 infinite 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 mee, by mine owne example I take their part, that maintain, a woman may goe eleven months with childe. The world 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, then in the spirituall. We have proposed himselfe to himselfe, and his reason to his reason, to see what shee can tell us of it. Mee thinkes I have sufficiently declared, how little understanding shee hath of her selfe. And hee who hath no understanding of himselfe, what can he have understanding of? Quasi verò mensuram ullius rei possit agere qui sui nesciat (Plin. Nat. Hist. ii. cap. i). As though he could take measure of any thing that knowes not his owne measure. Truely Protagoras told us prettie tales, when hee makes man the measure of all things, who never knew so much as his owne. If it be not he, 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 Compass and the Compasser. When Thales judgeth the knowledge of man very hard unto man, bee 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 worke (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 fence, 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 seldom and very sparingly be put in practise. 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 stricke, for feare he should hurt Gobrias, he called unto him, and bade him smite boldly, although he should smite through both (Justin. i.). I have heard, armes, and conditions of single combates being desperate, and in which he that offered them, put both himselfe and his enemy in danger of an end inevitable to both, reproved as unjust, and condemned as unlawfull. The Portugals tooke 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 sparkles of fire to fal 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 subtill, and so curious. Remember what the Italian proverbe saith,

*Chi troppo s'assottiglia, si scazezza.*

—Petr. p. i. canz. xiii. 48.

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

*I persuade 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 inventions and strangenesse. All extravagant waies displease me. You, who by the authority and preheminence, 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.*

END OF VOL. III.
The present issue of Florio's translation of "Montaigne's Essays" has been edited by Mr. A. R. Waller, who has revised the text, and added the Marginalia, Glossary, and Notes.

I. G

May Morning, 1897.
NOTES

Texts.—The three Folios of Florio are indicated in the Notes thus: A = 1603; B = 1613; C = 1632. M = Montaigne.

Page 3. continue one. End of the quotation beginning “it is at all times.”

5. He that toucht but one step, etc.: “Qui en a touché une marche,” M. Marche = note on the keyboard.—Duval.

6. cowardish, A; ocwardish, B and C.

7. Lucullus conceived . . . kim only: “Lucullus l’ayant prins en bonne opinion, l’employoit à quelque exploit hazardeur, par toutes les plus belles remontrances de quoy il se pouvoit adviser,” M. F.’s amplification is not very clear: Lucullus urged the soldier to some (not “any”) attempt, but the soldier replied as below, “Imploy,” etc.

8. his inclination, i.e., the will of the wind of accidents.


9. may not a courageous act, i.e., a courageous act may not.

10. infamie, infamy.

10. kinde . . . species, kind . . . kind; “escepe . . . escepe,” M.

13. discipline of the rod, discipline and the rod.

14. that some, i.e., that some other.

18. described, discredited, cried down; “descrié,” M.


22. I may without blushing say, that, Concerning nimble jumping; “Du primsault,” M.

24. to make an accompt of drinking, but, i.e., to take no account of drinking, save.
Page

24. except it be the first draught, at the first draught [i.e., the second is relished better].
24. Between “lawes” and “drinking-meetings” add “acknowledges.”
24. ult. After “being” add “said he.”
25 That wine is capable, etc. This clause is a continuation of the previous paragraph concerning Plato’s injunctions.
25. The “Carthaginian restrictions” are those that follow, each beginning “Let.”
26. is her last perfection, A; in her, etc., B and C.
26. seele, A; seele, B and C.
27. that other sect: the Stoicks.—Coste.
27–8. the very same sect: the Epicureans.—Coste.
28. After “threaten me” add “Is this all thou canst do?”
28. Oh faint hearted warlet, etc. The sentence is an exclamation, not an interrogation.
29. surprised, shackled.
29. After “grapple” add “and fight.”
30. And take her owne word for it, i.e., And for which she is responsible.
31. to be suffered in this life, when it [i.e., death] comes to us, for there are in life many worse accidents to be suffered than death itself.
38. defeat, destroy; “desfaire,” M.
41. After “suddenly” add “surrounded and.”
42. food, dogs’ food; “curee,” M.
42. last line. After “which” add “scattering themselves and.”
44. Marot, the good Marot.
45. After “perfumes” add “in abundance.”
48. as one enraged, disdaining him, disdaining him as one enraged.
49. on a light fire, on fire.
50. They are lesse than several [=separate]. This clause belongs to the sentence that precedes it. It would be better to begin a fresh sentence with “what discourse.”
53. Omit “grand-children” before “and nephewes.”
54. line 4, daughter, daughters.
54. *To morrow is a new day*: "A demain des affaires," M.
55. conversation, A; conversion, B and C.
55. we dare now both speake, A; we dare not, etc., B and C.
56. being on the instance of, i.e., discoursing upon.
56. passe by this information, i.e., suffer this examination.
56. preventeth, forestalls: the relative "who," two lines before, refers to the examination by torture.
56. accusation, i.e., false accusation.
57. savour, A and B; favor, C.
57. as well to live, as to die, to die, as to live.
57. I have now enured, etc., I was soon forced to live, etc.
57. retreite, A; petreite, B and C.
57. astonied, stunned and overthrown.
58. for two hours, for more than two long hours.
58. which thing now I have proved. M. refers back to his accident.
59. After "sprinkled" add "and licked."
60. tainted, i.e., with being knocked about.
60. my bruses, the shock of my crash,
60. for being ... espy him, i.e., for I had seen him at my heels.
61. several, separate; preferably subtle, fine; "menus," M.
61. No break is needed between "profitable" and "I impart": supply "if" after "erre not."
62-1. whereas ... un-nose himselfe, instead of wiping a child's nose it is cut off.
62. because ... drunke. These words would be more clear after "wine," line above.
63. If they write, if they do not write; "S'ils n'en escrivent," M.
63. our neighbours: the Protestants.—Coste.
64. Who forbids, i.e., He who forbids.
64-4. upon himselfe, under himself.
64. truly only, alone sincerely.
65. proper additions in armes: certain marks in coats-of-arms.
66. the same, i.e., the Order of St. Michael.
67. the greatest part, and most parts, the most part and the greatest parts [=qualities].
68. the last, the Order of the Holy Spirit, instituted in 1578
90. *worthiest, worthiest title.*
90. No semi-colon is needed between "causeth" and "also."
91. *enterprise, foolish enterprise.*
91. *carking care: solitude, M.*
93. No break is needed between "frame" and "It is," nor between "fathers" and "This other."
95. *supposing they solicit, i.e., as though they solicited.*
95–6. *if they be once capable, i.e., when they are capable.*
96. *I spake, I once spake.*
96. After "lewdnesse and wickednesse" add "but that now he was so used to it that he could not keep himself from it."
97. *inured, directed and inured.*
99. *But such is my ill hap: not in M.*
100. No break needed between "husbandry" and "They."
100. *and hath good reason, but hath good reason.*
101. *his fathers, his father, Mahomet's.*
101. *Add "yet" before "women might marry."
102. No break needed between "bed" and "I will."
103–4. *I have sometimes beene familiar in,* I was formerly intimate with.
104. *line 21, who: the antecedent is the widower.*
105. *by reason and, by reason of.*
107. *hers, his own family, or one's own family; her weapons, his weapons, or one's weapons.*
107. *familie, A; familier, B; familiar, C.*
108. *apply himselfe unto it: attach himself unto him.—Coste.*
110. *some . . . their husbands . . . they . . . they.* Singular in M., not plural.
113. *towards him. The speech of the Lord of Monluc ends here.*
113. *Tell me my good friend: "O mon amy!" M. The friend is La Boëtie. "His griefe" = "Sorrowing for him."
114. *especially if he have children: not in M.*
116. *at this last passage . . . their will, can gratify ("oindre," M. = grease) their wishes in the last passage.*
119. *is due, is in any way due.*
120. *engendred in them, engendered in most of them.*
121. *No break is needed between "selves" and "It seemes."*
in vulgare, i.e., in the vulgar tongue.

convince, convict.
of my Discourses, of reason.

trie and refine them, pick them out.

And looke how, In the same way that.

does are matters, these are not matters; "ne sont ce point icy matières," M.

a skipping wit: "un esprit primsaultier," M.; a mind that makes its greatest efforts at the first attempt.

—Coste.

cannot, A; can, B and C; "ne . . . pas," M.

riding . . . apprentice intelligence, do its duty acting upon a feeble and apprentice intelligence [i.e., of the Greek tongue]: rid = despatch; his work = the work of the understanding.

Aristotle, Ariosto.

he reputeth, i.e., the judgment reposites, etc.—the pronoun, down to the Æsop sentence, referring to "judgment."

had he lived, had he had leisure.

our ancestors, the ancients.

Before "of men of his quality" add "alone."

the chiefes Judge of the Roman Poets, Horace.

Author, A (= Terence); Authors, B and C.

After "ring out their words" add "fifty times."

Platoes Dialogismes, even Plato's Dialogues.

thousands of things, better things.

The two first: Plutarch and Seneca.—Coste.

apart, A and B; a part, C.

Omit "and" before "ad Atticum."

After "great Brutus" add "his friend."

confound, shuffle more rudely.

Historians are my right hand, i.e., they are the pleasantest and easiest of my studies; "sont ma droicte balle," M. A phrase allusive of the game of ball, in which it is usually easier to strike back with the right hand than with the left.—Coste.

No break is needed between "judgement" and "Speaking."

by the naked . . . better satisfied, leave to us the entire judgment for the recognition of the truth.
412

NOTES

Page

152. except after . . . every accident: "si, à la mode d'une information judiciaire, on ne confronte les témoignons et receoit les objects sur la preuve des ponctilles de chaque accident," M. If they do not confront witnesses, if they do not receive objections, when it is necessary to prove the least details of each fact.—

Le Clerc.

153. After "I gave of it" add "on the whole."

156. deduction, A; destruction, B and C.

159. After "that led him" add "in this extremity."

160. absolutely, A; absolute, B and C.

160. line 23, him . . . his. The pronouns refer to "vice."

160. her recreation, i.e., virtue's.

161. cause . . . tickled, feel . . . tickled thereby.

162. After "effeminate judgements" add "of some men."

167. contentions, A and B; cotentions, C.

167. recta, A and B; necta, C.

168. all manner of vices, most vices.

169. to cast, to pour out and cast.

169. ult, others, i.e., other vices.

170. No break is needed between "together" and "I doe."

170. shun, follow; "suys," M.

171. without vigor or art, little vigour and no art.

173. fainedly, truly; "vrayes," M.

174. After "sent to heaven" add "in a calm condition."

174. Before "strooke and wounded" add "first."

175. he then thrust it, he then gave himself a third thrust.

176. with filth, A and B; whith f., C.

178. his strength, his strength and breath.

179. I meane . . . worlds-framer: not in M.

183. made it a matter of conscience, i.e., would not.

183. Sebond: born at Barcelona in the fourteenth century, professor of Medicine and Theology at Toulouse, where he died in 1432. His book was published for the first time in 1487.


187. the holy Scriptures, theology.

190. After "fearing lest" add "on the contrary."

193. After "we lend nothing" add "willingly."

194. Had he but, at least he would have.

194. And if we often, And yet we often.
Page 194. what draws . . . desire it selfe, B and C; what envie draws . . . envy it selfe, A; "quelle envie . . . l'envie mesme," M.
194. draws, A; drawes, B; drawet, C.
194. initiated, A and B; initiated, C.
194. persuaded him, in the same way exhorted him.
195. threatneth, A and B; threarneth, C.
195. Another Country, another religion.
196. terrour, A; errour, B and C.
196. They report, A; The report, B and C.
197. line 3, conclude, would conclude.
197. No break is needed between "may be" and "Many."
197. this great soules-fall, the fall of this great soul of Plato.
198. his doubling: his = the bond's.
199. unprofitable, A; profitable, B and C; "inutiles," M.
200. and guide, and first guide.
201. simple, unable; "inceptes," M.
201. (The second Objection.) A side-note in F. Not in M.
201. Only to her: her = Divine Majesty.
202. and that our reason faileth in establishing them, that our reason fails to establish.
205. baffle, revile; "baffoué," M.
207. she make us equall: she = reason.
207. his essence: his = heavens.
208. line 3. After "Moone" add "to dream of mountains and valleys there."
208. After "habitations" add "and dwellings."
209. to which . . . their parts, carves out portions for the animals, his fellows and companions.
213. speaking one word. The speech ends here.
213. that we must not acknowledge from, that we do not recognise in.
213. round, than a square, square, than a round.
214. line 18, imaginary: not in M.
216. (Oh silly wretched man): not in M.
217. After "to endure it" add "the face, feet, hands, legs, shoulders, head, in accordance with the habit to which we are accustomed."
218. that we have added, i.e., now that, etc.
219. The bracket following "for that purpose" should be placed after "to other service."
or essential, or true and essential.
supererogation, A and B; supererogation, C.
my Master... serveth mee, he that keepeth and nourisheth me, who serveth me.
And such as keepe or entertaine beasts. Cf. the inscription on the collar of Beaumarchais' dog:
"Je suis Mlle. Follette, Beaumarchais m'appartient."—Lucas Collius.
line 29. And if, And so.
Before "hooke and line" add "snaring hares and of."
footing hitherto, footsteps to this meeting of the ways.
After "to konne" add "in private."
their chiefest strength, one of their greatest aids.
By which we may judge, and conclude, we may judge of that. We can also say that Elephants, etc.
may wee rightly conclude, we may not rightly conclude; "nous ne pouvons pourtant establir," M.
take that in payment, judge upon that.
and the English a Sucke-stone: an explanation of F.'s. Not, of course, in M.
After "more amazed" add "not without good reason."
that way, i.e., the way the wind would enter.
a wrestling of the letter, i.e., a stretching of the matter.
if any matter, if any water.
entcompass her kennell, seemingly encompass, etc.
when the dead corps was removed thence, the day the body was burned.
where his master was burned, where he was burned.
jealousies, jealousies and envyings.
belonged to, was suitor to.
aire and drie, air, refresh, and dry.
into a kinde of whey, as in milk.
to bud, to germinate and bring forth.
nature of a storehouse, nature and property of a storehouse.
For Paris, etc. M. translates this quotation in his text: "toute l'Asie se perdit, et se consomma en guerres pour le macquerellage de Paris."
familiar suspect, or a jealousie, i.e., domestic jealousy.
Page 250. you have given mee. The apology was probably addressed to Queen Margaret of Navarre, author of "The Heptameron."—Le Clerc.

250. is man, is yet man.
251. calm'd, A; clam'd, B and C.
251. drove them, i.e., the bees.
251. retreating, return from the combat.
252. man who had murtered his maister, men, etc.; upon him, upon them.
252. Ganister, A; Canister, B and C.
254. and lick, and kiss and lick.
257. yea, A; yet, B and C.
258. pulled him out, disengaged and pulled him out.
259. gaping, gaping and open.
261. or as some call it Alcedo or Kings-fisher. The explanation is F.'s. Not in M.
261. Poets faine, that the Iland, Poets indeed say that the one only Island.
261. quiet and made calme, stayed, and made calm and quiet.
262. After "her neast" add "for her little ones."
262. which done, when she hath finished this construction.
265. description, prescription.
266. his arme, his cloathed arm.
273. the humour . . . joints, how this humour is lodged in the joints.
274. at most as riches, at most as beauty, riches.
275. Omit "was disobedience," and for "whose first poison" read "its first poison."
276. After "Ulysses" add "in Homer."
276. Omit "hereditarie" before "portion."
278. in humane (= in human) weakness: "en l'humaine foiblesse," M.; inhumaine w., A, B, and C.
278. Democritus, A and B; Domocritus, C.
279. make shift with his owne: make chickens of his eggs, M.
281. possibly, A and B; possible, C.
281. those Philosophers, the sceptics.
282 A full stop is required between "it selfe" and "who doth belie."
285. After "and seemes" add "to lift us."
NOTES

Page
288. diminish, unfurnish.
289. possibly, A; possiblie, B; possible, C.
289. of no dutie or office, in no office of his duty.
291. who very easily: the antecedent is "a Gascoine."
293. of late, in the times of our fathers.
294. After "Roman Senator" add "of the later ages."
296. emmotions, A; motions, B and C.
297. as little, A; a little, B and C.
298. vanity, ignorance and simplicity.
299. Omit "too late" before "known."
302. weaknesse and ignorance, weakness and human ignorance.
302. Epochistes, A; Epochistes, B and C.
303. not to take any warrant of himself, i.e., nor to be responsible to themselves for anything.
303. revenge: "revenche," M; "revenge, requitall, return of as good, or as much as was brought."—Cotgrave.
308. direct, A; detect, B and C.
309. in shew and taste, i.e., as they seem and taste.
311. so inextricable, so deep and inextricable.
312. as there is, i.e., that there is.
314. instrument at, B and C; wit to, A; "engien," M.
316. No no . . . what it is. In quotation marks in M.
316. noting, A and B; nothing, C.
319. was it reasonable, i.e., it was reasonable.
326. Age: a misprint in M. for "air."
329. No break is needed between "powers" and "I cannot," but a full stop is needed after "earnest" on the next line.
330. were it nothing, A and B; were is nothing, C.
334. After "and revenge" add "upon him."
336. From five to five, i.e., every five.
341. this is for thee, i.e., rules are for man.
346. line 1. After "proveth" add "; others."
346. Mansiphanes, Nausiphanes.
346. No break is needed between "Generall" and "That there." A semicolon is needed between "one" and "Zeno."
346. God cannot dye . . . this or that. The indiscreet and irreverent speech M. refers to just above.
346. his infirmities: his = speech.
347. you are assured, they are assured.
347. himselfe = Rewbarbe.
NOTES

Page 347. What can I tell? F.'s translation of M.'s famous motto, "Que scay-ie?"—What do I know? As M. goes on to say, this sentence was often used by him attached to the device of a pair of scales.

348. Note how . . . unhallored speech. M. refers back to the discussion of the question, "God cannot do this or that."—Coste.

350. all one, more or less.

350. penult. A full stop is needed before "because," and consequently no break is required between "charge us" and "Strato."

350. Strato, A; State, B and C.

351. Piramide, A; Pyramis, B and C.

352. that honest woman Faustina: said in irony.—Duval.

352. a cocke-horse: "à la chevremorte," M. He who is carried "à la chevremorte" is laid upon the back of him who carries, embracing his neck, and placing his thighs and legs round his body.—Coste. With heeles or belly upwards.—Cotgrave.

352. as many Temples as, more Temples than.

353. will you not, i.e., you will not.

354. which is more? An assertion, not a question.

354. Let us raise . . . amplifie, Let us extend, raise, and amplify.

354. swell and swell againe. The word is repeated three times in M.

355. Senis, A; Sina, B and C.

355. should heavenly pay her her wages, i.e., should give her a heavenly reward.

356. No break is needed between "race" and "It was,"

357. these ancient conclusions, i.e., those that follow.


361. we remember not, i.e., do we not remember.

361. the Sun, the heavens and the sun.

361. and stone, or, with Anaxagoras of.


362. Before "so much of it" add "but."

362. hang not for their moving, bow not to their looks, i.e., belong not to them.

365. After "a loose Poet" add "Timon injuriously calls him the Great Forger of Miracles."
Page 371. *without rub or let,* "à bouleveue," M.; *i.e.,* on a sure basis without let or hindrance.

371. After "he will carrie us up" add "by them."

372. *or lovers of their own opinions:* not in M. The explanation is F.'s.

373. *agent . . . patient, doer . . . sufferer.*

374. A full stop is needed after "weaknesse."

376. *or perfection moving of it selfe:* not in M. The explanation is F.'s.

377. *upper eye-lids, eyebrows.*

378. *off-spring, testimony; "teste," M.*

380. After "fardle-up" add "sufficiently."

383. No break is needed between "examples" and "I have."

383. *by her rationall faculty,* by her faculty, reasons.

384. *against the time,* in order that during the time; and compelled . . . continuance, and constrained, judgment and a condemnation of infinite and perpetual duration might be brought about.

387. *acknowlege, A; knowledge, B and C.*

387-8. against the time, in order that during the time; and compelled . . . continuance, and constrained, judgment and a condemnation of infinite and perpetual duration might be brought about.

388. *infinite, A; infinite, B and C.*

390. *or feare of waters:* not in M. The explanation is F.'s.

392. *who give (i.e., the Stoios), A; who gives, B and C.*

398. After "day" add "in divers places."

401. *if it once goe about to (= as soon as it begins to), A; once g, a. t., B and C.*

402. *soule and the body, A; last soule and the body, B and C.*

403. *Tou for whom.* The apology was probably addressed to Queen Margaret of Navarre, author of "The Heptameron."—*Le Clerc.*
INDEX OF WORDS

In the case of words of frequent occurrence the first appearance is, as a rule, the only one given.

A = Florio, 1603; B = Florio, 1613; C = Florio, 1632; M = Montaigne.

ABUTTINGS, boundaries, 373.
ACCOMMODABLE, suitable, 88.
ACCORDS, peace; "Conditions of a.,” Treaties of Peace, 347.
ADAMANT STONE, loadstone, 374.
ADDRESSED, directed, 11, etc.
ADIMIRALL-GALLY, flagship, 239.
ADOE, to do, 7, etc.
ADOING, "long a.,” slowly, 72.
ADVANTAGE (used as a verb), 139.
ADVENTURE, venture, 29.
ADVERTIZED, informed, 42, etc.
ÆQUINOCTIUM, Equinox, 260.
AFEARD, afraid, 352.
AFFECtED, pretended, 312.
AFFECtED TO, inclined towards, 136.
AFFECtion, influence (used in an astrological sense), 206.
AFFIANCE, trust, 190.
ALEAGED, quoted, 38, 62.
AL FOUR, all fours, on hands and knees, 225.
ALLOW, approve, 12, 271, 362.
ALL TO RENT, torn piecemeal, 28.
ALONGST, by the side of, 129, 224.
ALOOF-OFF, at a distance, 253.
AMITY, friendship, 92.
AMMUSE, consider, 83, etc.
AMMUSING, diverting; beguiling, 52, 80.
APPARENCE, appearance, show, 2, etc.
APPAY, pay, satisfy, 53, 312, 337.
APPREHEND, comprehend, 349.
ARGOS-EIEd, observant (Argus was said to have 100 eyes), 378.
ARRESTED, stopped, 48.

ARUSPICES, for telling future things by an examination of the entrails of sacrificed animals, 306.
ASSAYED, tried, 39, etc.
ASSEVERED, positively affirmed, 401.
ASTONIETH, stuns, 15.
ASTONISH, stun, stupefy, 26, etc.
ASTROLABE, an instrument for taking heavenly altitudes at sea, 355.
AT ALL ADVENTURES, at all costs, 194.
AT ALL ASSAVES, at all points, in every way, 9, 46, 130.
ATARAXIE, freedom from passion, 303.
AUCTORITIE, authority, 19, 26, 94.
AWFULL, reverential, 180, 185.

BABION, baboon, 181.
BABLES, toys, 95.
BAITED, incited to fight, 254.
BAKE, back, 50.
BALLANCES, scales, 348.
BANDELS, swaddling-clothes, 360.
BANDIE, toss to and fro, a tennis term, 26, 164.
BARDS, breast armour of a war-horse, 132.
BARE, mere, 151.
BEARETH, “our condition b.,” such is our c., 284, 367.
BEAVERS, a drinking or luncheon between meals, 21.
BEHOVFULL, needful, 215.
BELYE, contradict, 55.
BESCREBBED, scribbled, 152.
BEWRAY, betray, 59.
INDEX OF WORDS

BIASE, BYASE, inclination, tendency, a term in bowls, 4, 301, 380.
BLABBERED, swollen, 265.
BLANCKE, the white mark in the centre of a target, 394.
BLAZONED, disgraced, 356.
Bob, fillip, 134.
BOOTLESSE, fruitlessly, 38.
BOTCHT, clumsily patched, 366.
BOWNING, "high by," high, 357.
BRABLES, quarrels, disputes, 15.
BRAGGES, boasting, 28.
BRAWLETH, 69.
BRAWLING BRAVES, blustering attacks, 189.
BROODING, breeding, 261.
BUDGE, stir, 243.
BUG-BEARSES, spectres, 107.
BUMBASTED VERDUGALS, padded far-thingales, early forms of the crinoline, 365.
BY LIFE, from life, 69.
BY ONE OF HIS WOUNDS, through one, etc., 43.
CABBINS, dwellings, nests, 214.
CADENCE, falling of the voice at the end of a sentence, 147; sinking, 233; rhythm, 315; modulation, 366.
CALIVER, musket, gun, 41.
CALTHROPS, military implements used to prevent an advance of cavalry, made of four iron spikes joined at their bases, so placed that when thrown down one spike always pointed upward, 129.
CANVASING, discussing, 346.
CAPRINGS, dances, 233.
CARIERE, career (originally, running a charge, a tournament term), 269.
CARKE, trouble, anxiety, 107, 226.
CASKE, headpiece, 127, 130.
CATES, delicacies, dainties, 330, 335.
CATHEDRAL MASTER, judge, moderator, 31.
CENSURE, sentence, 139.
CHAPETH, blames, falls out with (s'en prendre à soy, M.), 137; frets, 107, 108.
CHANGE COPPY, quite another thing, 8.
CHARGE, attempt, 135, 144; expense, 33, etc.; office, employment, 1, etc.
CHARGED, burdened, 128, 139, 350.

CHARILY, carefully, 107.
CHEAPE, "better c.," cheaper, 20, 226.
CHECKE, "neerely c.," closely observe, 236.
CHIMERAES, wild schemes, 83.
CIRCUMPASSING, encircling, 324.
CLAWING, scratching, 163.
CLEANE, quite, absolutely, 195.
CLIMATES, regions, 367.
CLOKE, hide, cover up, 320.
CLOSE BY THE EARS, in close combat, 404.
CLOSLY, tacitly, 381.
CLOSES, in Music, the end of a passage, 234.
COAPE, covering, arch, 208, 222.
COAT, "others of his c.," similar people, 184.
COCKRING-KIND, pampering, 217.
COILE, confusion, 327.
COLEWORT, cabbage, 14.
COLOURABLE, specious, 109, etc.
COMMIXT, mixed, 43, 73, 169.
COMMODITIES, advantages, 19, etc.
COMPACT, combine, 351.
COMPLEXION, nature, 19, etc.
COMPLOT, conspiracy, 16, 57.
COMPOSITION, terms, 6, 44, 286.
COMPOSITIONS, writings, 18, etc.
CONCEIPT, fantasy, 274.
CONCEIT, belief, thought, idea, 7, etc.; imagine (used as a verb), 310, etc.
CONCEIVE, promise or guarantee (prenons, M.), 133.
CONCENTRIQUES, bodies having the same centre, 365.
CONCUPISCIBLE, having the desire of the eyes, 303.
CONCURIOUS, having the desire of the eyes, 303.
CONFIRM, affirm, establish, 306.
CONJOYING, conjunction, 205, etc.
CONNEKCIT, connection, 170.
CONSCIENCE, "I make a c.," I am troubled, 56.
CONSEQUENCE, inference, 12; "by c.," consequently, 3, 309.
CONTAIN, keep, hold, 32.
CONTENTION, "enter into c. of," exchange, 194.
CONTESTATIONS, disputes, 31.
CONVENIENT, proper, suitable, 33, 89.
CONVERSATION, community, 297.
COPESMATE, partner, associate, 341.
CORDAGES, ropes, 365.
INDEX OF WORDS

Doubt, "make a d.," question, 161, 372.
Downe-steepy, precipitous, 43.
Drift, aim, purpose, 3, 186, 304.
Dumpish retracting, quiet retiring, 233.

Effect, "by e.," "in e.," in reality, 69, etc.
Elevates, lightens, 14.
Embost, hard hunted, 178.
Empairing, growing worse, 19, etc.
Empeached, hindered, 66, 169.
Encresce, growing (creu, M.), 134.
Endeare, value at a higher rate, enrich, 70, etc.
Engaged, gave up, pledged, 46.
Engendred, made, begotten, 96, etc.
Engived, fettered, 128.
Enhonny, entice by sweet means, 330.
Enlarge, release, 75.
Enquest, search, 140.
Ens entium, being of beings, 322.
Enstall, display (estalent, M.), 150.
Ensue you, come to you, 281.
Enterchaine, mix or cling together, 170.
Enter-hinder, mutually b., 21.
Enterludes, entertainments performed between the courses of a banquet, 335.
Enterprise, attempt, expedition, 5, etc.
Enter-shew, mutually show, 254.
Entertain, converse with, 58; mix, 170.
Enter, mutually, 48, 66.
Enter-treat, entreating, treatment, 74, 226.
Ensure, accustom, 22, etc.
Epicraniun, the covering of the skull, 377.
Epicyles, in Ptolemaic astronomy the name given to small circles whose centres described larger circles, 365.
Equality, comparison, 350.
Erst, formerly, 275.
Essayes, trials, attempts, 63, etc.
States, state, 5, etc.
Estridges, ostriches, 268.
Excentriques, bodies not having the same centres, 365.

Cornish, the Welch, or Irish (Basques et les Troglodytes, M. Basques, a Pyrenean race whose language is separate from the European groups; Troglodytes, a Greek name for uncivilised cave-dwellers), 210.

Coult, colts, 344.
Countenance, "in c.," outwardly, 197.
Counterbufle, rude blow, 128.
Counterpeizing (counterposing, A), weighing, putting into the balance, 270.
Counterpoison, antidote, 61.
Covetise, avarice, covetousness, 96.
Cozen, delude, cheat, 107, 111.
Crankes, devious ways, 80.
Crashed, broken down, 25, etc.
Cunnie, rabbit, 287.
Cunny-catching, deceiving (cunny = rabbit), 111.
Curiously, carefully, 11, etc.
Currant payment, authentic, 371.

Dæmon, spirit, 401.
Daining, deigning, 321.
Damnfide, injured, deprived of life, 248.
Debonaire, injured, 8.
Defeat, dispatch, 228.
Defailance, dispatch, 228.
Deflusion, a discharge of humours, 281.

Demised, conveyed, let, 362.
Demisse, cowardly, humble, 10, etc.
Dent, indentation, 369.
Depainted, painted, 364.
Deshight, spite, 212.
Destroyers (boutefeux, M.), fire-brands, those who wilfully set on fire, 33.
Devoirs, duties, 313.
Diapred, diversified, 363.
Discourse, judgment, reason, 3, etc.
Dislike, displease, 327.
Dispoile, strip, 263.
Distempered, disordered, 20, 24, 283.
Dittamy, Origanum Dictamnus, a plant allied to the English marjoram, 228.
Divels, devils, 400.
Dizzied, confused, 233.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INDEX OF WORDS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Exercitation, exercising, 375.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exquisit sufficiencie, showy cleverness, 155.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Extirp, eradicate, 286.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facile, easy, 165.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faine, forced, 152, 337; desire, 279; feign, pourtray; 75, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Falling-evell, falling sickness, fainting, 73.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiars, friends, 180.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fantastiquize, write fantastically, 30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fardle-up, tie up in a faggot or bundle, 380.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faulkners, falconers, 227.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fibrant, fibricant, feverish, 281, 110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fenel, Fassiculum, an aromatic plant, 228.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiercenes, haughtiness, pride, 27, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fittes, &quot;at f.,&quot; intermittently, 136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fixely, fixedly, 362.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flaps, parts, patches, 12.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flead, flayed, 61, 128.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleagne, cold, 276.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fleet (used as a verb), 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flesh, invigorate, urge, 28, 88.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flim flam, lying, 79.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follie, madness, 283.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fond, foolish, 8, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fond-hardy, foolhardy, 137, 138, 404.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fondly, lovingly, 127.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fooleries, foolishness, 380.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fore-past, foregone, 286, 287.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forging, inventing, making, 109, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For-go, lose, 122.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forme, fashion, rank, 141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For our selves, of our selves, 34.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forwardnes, direction in the path, 92.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foulter, falter, stumble, 103.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Froes, Frau's (wife's), 265.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Front, confute, 201.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fustian, mouldy, 369.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaged, wagered, 355.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gaine-said, contradicted, 109, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genuitie, nature, tendency, 223.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gest, deeds, acts, 82.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gessed, guessed, 59.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gibrish, rubbish, 369, 379.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girds, stings, 140.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gladding, pleasing, 335.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glavies, swords, 350.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glisters, clysters, injections, 228.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glorious, pompous, 247.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gloriously, proudly, 115.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glory, vanity, 82.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glosse, comment, 137, 294.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good land, income, 114.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gorgeous, beautiful, lovable (gor-giases, M.), 126.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gournandize, triumph over, 172.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grive, grieve, 9.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grose, &quot;in g.,&quot; in the main, 11, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grosest, roughest, 214, 282.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guiltie-cauterized, seared as though with hot metal, and consequently insensible, 63.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hab or Nab, at all events, 70.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haled, dragged, 231, 383.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hap, condition, 331.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hardly, barely, 2, 110, 131.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health, good condition, plumpness of form (ambonpoint, M.), 338.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heavie-pased, lumbering, 136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hedge-harlot, prostitute, 17.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herb-wife, flower-girl, 245.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hew, hue, 11, 271.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hie, arise quickly, 265.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>His, popular, though false, form of the genitive, 230, 325, 355, 401.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoc, a word used in the consecration of the Host, 347.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hoc age, the reply of the priest to the sacrificer, which recalled the wandering attention of the assembly, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hodge-pot, medley, 151.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold-fast on, grasp of, 189, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holme-tree, holly-tree, 35.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Honesty, honour, 91.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howers, hours, 272.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ho-yes, Oyez! hear ye! 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hovsing, hoisting, 383.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huddle, bring together (not necessarily in a confused manner), 151, 326, 380.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hulling, tossed helplessly to and fro, 4.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurly-burly, clamour, 249, 263, 327.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hurred and haled, jolted and pulled about, 77.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF WORDS

Husbands, economisers, managers, 12, 67.
Hyne-boy, peasant boy, 18.

Ichneumon, an Egyptian quadruped famed for destroying reptiles, 219.

Immure, wall, fortify, 129.
Imprese, "an impress is a device in picture with his motto or word borne by noble or learned personages" (Camden), 11, 348.

Impuissance, feebleness, 103, 107.
Impulsion, impulse, 76.

Inconvenience, accident, 391.

In fine, in the end, 405.

Inhibited, forbade, 48, 83, 196.

Injurie, injure, 194.

Inly, inwardly, 15.

Inned, incorporated, 55.

In respect of, in regard of, in comparison with, 69, 147, 313.

Insipiditie, weakness, 27.

Instantly, strongly, 100.

In steed, instead, 225.

Institutes, undertakes the role of, 319.

Institution, education, 88, etc.

In suite, to law, 289.

Intent, intention, 5, etc.

Interested, concerned, 111.

Invective, aggressive, encroaching, 189.

Invention, declaration, enunciation, 372.

Inward, intimate, 46.

Jolly-quaint, gallant, 21.

Joynter, jointure, settlement, 115.

Joyntlie, unitedly, 202.

Jubeting, hooting, 173.

Juglers, tumblers, players, 230, 231.

Juggling, cheating, 107.

Jumpe, "j. to speake truth," in truth agree with this, alight upon it (rencontrerait plus souvent à dire vray, M.), 3; agree with, 142.

Key of the fields, power, 32.

Kon him thanks, owe him thanks, 55.

Konne, learn, 233.

Largesse, liberal distribution, 87.

Law, liberty, 114.

Leaden-pated, thick-skulled, 117.

Leasings, falsehoods (fadese, M.), 369.

Left, leave, ceased, cease, 158, etc.

Let, hindrance, 1, 160.

Lewd, sad, 37.

Libels, writs, 293.

Licence, release, 53.

Light, fall into, 74.

List, wished, 51, etc.

Lively, notable, perfect, 1; vivid, 35, 72, 78.

Long of, because of, 64, etc.

Longs, belongs, 27.

Lourdans, "a sot, dunce, dullard, grotnoll, jobernoll, blockhead; a lowt, lob, lusk, boare, clown, charle, clustrefist; a proud, ignorant, and unmannery swaine" (Cotgrave), 141.

Low-lowting, servile, 237.

Lowting, bowing, 233.

Lumpish, heavy, 199.

Lust, vigour, 69.

Madded, maddened, 207.

Malapertnesse, effrontery, 185.

Mammocks, pieces, portions, 52, 259.

Maquorelage, bawdiness, 86; seduction, 355.

Marble-sounds, shining seas, 250.

Marre, spoil, 79.

Marrish, marshy, 379.

Massie, massive, 36, 131, 369.

Mastive, mastiff, 389.

Meacocke, effeminate fellow, poltroon, 7.

Meane, middle, 210, 360.

Mechanicall, labouring, 151.

Mediane, vein in the fore-arm, 33.

Meed, reward, 227.

Meere, completely, purely, 10, etc.

Meerely, joyously, cheerfully, 118.

Merlins, fatherless children, 356.

Milt, spleen, 368.

Minion, favourite, 401.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Index of Words</td>
<td>This is an index of words used in the text. The table provides definitions for each word.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscre, &quot;make it m.,”</td>
<td>wound it (affoler, M.), 339.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moodily, peevishly,</td>
<td>239.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morions, steel helmets</td>
<td>without visors, used by foot-soldiers, 130.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mortall, deadly, fatal</td>
<td>50, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motes, particles, 379.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Motion, emotion, 161,</td>
<td>162; movements, IX.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mouldred, broken, 52.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moved, angry, nettled</td>
<td>138.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muletier, mule-driver</td>
<td>289, 282.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mummeries, dumb shows</td>
<td>335.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mungrell, mongrel, 343.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mured, walled up, 28.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must, unfermented grape</td>
<td>juice, 15.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nacre, &quot;a Naker; a great, and long</td>
<td>shell-fish, the outside of whose shell is rugged, and browne of colour, the inside smooth, and of a shining hue;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>the forme (broad at the one end, and narrow at the other) somewhat like a Smithes bellowes; (it is but seldome, or never found on our coast) (Cotgrave), 259.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Namely, especially,</td>
<td>22, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neather, under, 266.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New-fangled, taking</td>
<td>hold of things in a new way, 140, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newly, recently, 48.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice, dainty, scrupulous</td>
<td>fastidious, 8, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nicke, stroke of time</td>
<td>67.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nunchions, luncheons</td>
<td>21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obeysance, obedience</td>
<td>203.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offend, attack, 129.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of, &quot;depend o.,&quot; d. upon</td>
<td>188.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of force, sufficiently</td>
<td>robust, 330.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Off-spring, &quot;mortall o.,&quot;</td>
<td>earthly origin, 329.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Of the light, but the</td>
<td>light, 72.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Only, sole, 134, 253,</td>
<td>389; alone, 61.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opinionate, used as</td>
<td>a verb, obstinate, 2, 40, 136.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oppugne, fight against</td>
<td>344.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Original, origin, 375.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Origon, Originum, the</td>
<td>name of the genus of plants to which the marjoram belongs, 228.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Othersome, others, 66,</td>
<td>266, 363.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ought, owed, 300.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out gone, &quot;he hath o. g.,”</td>
<td>he hath freed himself from, 342.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out-lopes, leaps out,</td>
<td>141.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overpaid, too much exalted,</td>
<td>272.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over-weening, arrogance</td>
<td>295, 349, 396.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paillardise, lewdness,</td>
<td>21.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parboyled, boiled, 175.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents, relations, 42.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parly, discuss, 238.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Part, depart, 364.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties, opponents, 200.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parts, commodities, 102.</td>
<td>qualities, 108.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pase, step, 250.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passe and Repasse, a juggling term,</td>
<td>312.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Passibility, capacity to endure,</td>
<td>400.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peeces, helmets, 131.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pell-mell, in a confused manner,</td>
<td>402.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perflable, allowing air to pass through,</td>
<td>326.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perokitoes, parrots, 95.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perswaide, advised, 381, 405; confront, 160.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Petit, little, 22.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophate, discuss,</td>
<td>30.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophicall, physical,</td>
<td>331.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philosophie, philosophise,</td>
<td>26.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piersant, sharp, pointed,</td>
<td>364.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pinnotere, &quot;a little Shel-fish, of the kind of Shrimpes&quot; (Cotgrave), 259.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piots, magpies, 230, 233.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pitch, standing, 14; aim, 141.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pithily, &quot;p. continued,&quot;</td>
<td>ably or well maintained, 55.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pithy, strong, substantial,</td>
<td>136, 143, 144.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Place, rank, 42.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plaine, complain, 73, 215.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pla'st, placed, 323.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plenary, full and complete,</td>
<td>110.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plodding, jogging, 135; labouring, 136, 142.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plot for forme, plain, scheme, 11.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plum, stout, 266.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plunges, &quot;put to his p.,”</td>
<td>placed in difficulty, 273.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Podagrees, gouty feet,</td>
<td>33.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Point of the Effects, in the midst of the business,</td>
<td>66.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
INDEX OF WORDS

SEXTAINE, sacristan, keeper of the temple, 355.
SHAMEFAST, modest, 8.
SHARPE, "at the s. in good earnest, 159.
SHIFT, attend to wants, hunt, 216, etc.; change clothing, 102; change over, 78; movements, 233.
SIDELING, sideways, 379.
SIMBOLIZE, compare, 237.
SIMPLES, herbs, 228.
SINGLE COMBAT, tournaments, lists (camp clos, M.), 9.
SINNOW, sinew, 96, 137, 147.
SITH, since, 12.
SITH-BEARING, scythe-carrying, 76.
SITIENCE, since, 2, etc.
SKOFFE, "a breed a s. sneer, 103.
SKONCE, fortress, 129.
SLEDGE, mallet, 22, 28.
SNIPPERS, pincers, 28.
SOCIETIE, comradiship, 259.
SODAINE, sudden, 136, etc.
SODDEN, boiled or soaked, 130.
SOLEMNE, sumptuous, 169.
SOLSTITIUM, solstice, 260, 261.
SOOTHINGLY ENTERTAINING, making sport of, 108.
SORT, reconcile, 307.
SORTED, suitable, 202.
SOTTISHNESSE, foolishness, 83, 283.
SOULRING, sultry, 281.
SOW' ST, soused, 17.
SPAGNIOLIZED, AND PETRARCHISTIC, after the models of Petrarch and Spanish writers, 140.
SPIGHT, "new s." sudden anger, 7; "in s. in spite of, 92; anger, 249, 283.
SPRITIE, spirit, 7, 78, 290.
SPYNE, thin, 266.
SQUARE, agree, adapt, 143, etc.
SQUAT, hide, 35.
STARTING, sudden action out of the ordinary course, 30.
STATUARY, sculptor, 126.
STAVES, sticks, 22.
STAY, regularity, 168; await, 399.
STEAD, serve, 274, 286, 301.
STERAGE, helm, rudder, 27.
STERNS, rudders, 206, 258.
STILL, ever, 139.
STOCCADO, sword-thrust, 197.
STOCKE, log, 71.
STORE, abundance, 151, etc.
STORIE, history, 43, 194.
STRABLE, wander, 334.
STREEKE, strike, 25.
STRONDE, sand, mud, 228.
SUBORNE, bribe, 110.
SUCCESSE, result, 152.
SUFFERANCES, sufferings, 69, 123, 240.
SUFFICIENT, able, 12, etc.
SUPLE, grease, anoint (graisser, M.), 314.
SUPPLY, "in s." plentifully, 140.
SUPPRESSE, overthrow, subdue, 84, etc.
SURCEASING, giving up, 307.
SURCHARGED, overburdened, 25, etc.
SUTE, lawsuit, 9.
SWaine, country lad, 18, 281.
SWAYING, ruling, 319.
SWOUNE, swoon, 26, 71.
TEMPORIZED, deferred, 56.
TENNONS, joynings, 373.
THEN, than, 386.
THIRLING, hurling, darting, 112, 228.
THOROW, through, 40, etc.
THOROWLY AND THROUGHLY, thoroughly, 13, etc.
THRO'S, thres, 216.
TIPPLE-SQUARE, drink excessively, 16.
TOSPO'T, drunken, 16.
TRACE, track, 30.
TRAINE, result, 79; route, 355.
TRANSCHANGETH, changes, 399.
TRAVELL, travail, labour, 66, 69.
TRUNK SLEEVES, wide sleeves, 365.
TRUSSETH UP, fastens up, 109.

UNDANTED, undaunted, 103, etc.
UNFEATHER, reveal, 134.
UNHANTED, solitary, 255.
UNVALUEABLE, invaluable, 55, 111.

VACATIONS, vocations, 213, 358, 366.
VAILE, sheath, case, outward man, 28.
VANTGARD, vanguard, 258.
VAUNTED, VAUNTED, boasted, 108, etc.
VENERIAN, lustful, 101, 269.
VERTUOUS, courageous, 101.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
<th>Page References</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WIZARDS, vizors, masks</td>
<td>381</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOLUPTUOUSNES, pleasure</td>
<td>20, 160, 162</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAINE, car</td>
<td>364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALLOWETH, rolls</td>
<td>219</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WALLOWISH, flat, insipid</td>
<td>145, 201, 284</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARD, defend</td>
<td>41</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARDS, secret springs, faculties</td>
<td>13, etc</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WARRANT, assert</td>
<td>345; secure, guarantee, 43, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEAKE, weaken</td>
<td>26</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WEALD, govern</td>
<td>104</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WELL SEENE, well skilled</td>
<td>362</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHILOM, formerly</td>
<td>28, 239, 329</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WHIT, &quot;no w.,&quot; in no way</td>
<td>47, 350; &quot;any w.,&quot; any way, 299.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILIE, enticing</td>
<td>318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILLED, ordered</td>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WILL-ON, will go</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WISHLY, earnestly</td>
<td>254</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WIT, mind</td>
<td>140, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITTIE, learned</td>
<td>144</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITTILY, ingeniously</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITTING - EARNESTLY,</td>
<td>purposely, knowingly, 66.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WITTINGLY, knowingly</td>
<td>25.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORKY-DAY, working-day</td>
<td>141</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WOT, know</td>
<td>15, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WRACKE, ruin</td>
<td>40, 108</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WREST, bend, pull out, incline to a common path, 2, etc.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WYRE-DRAWNE, long drawn out</td>
<td>151, 158</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YEELD, render</td>
<td>50, etc.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YONKER, lad, lover</td>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Printed by BALLANTYNE, HANSON & Co.
Edinburgh & London