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THE WORKS
OF
SIR THOMAS BROWNE

I
RELIGIO MEDICI, HYDRIOTAPHIA,
THE GARDEN OF CYRUS, CHRISTIAN MORALS

SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S WORKS

I. RELIGIO MEDICI, HYDRIOTAPHIA,
THE GARDEN OF CYRUS, CHRISTIAN MORALS

WORKS

RELIGIO MEDICI, HYDRIOTAPHIA
THE GARDEN OF CYRUS
CHRISTIAN MORALS

OF
SIR THOMAS BROWNE

WITH A GLOSSARY

BY

WILLIAM SWAN SONNENSCHN



LONDON

GEORGE ROUTLEDGE & SONS, LIMITED

NEW YORK: E. P. DUTTON & CO.

BY
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OF CYRUS, CE
Annotated Gloss

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P R E F A C E

FOR the present edition of Sir Thomas Browne's four principal works the texts have been closely compared with those of several previous editors, notably Mr Simon Wilken (1835-6), and Dr Greenhill (1881-96), to whom acknowledgment is due for their contributions towards the settlement of occasional obscure passages.

The principles adopted for the modernization of spellings and of punctuation (the latter of which, in the case of an author at times so difficult to interpret as Sir Thomas Browne, is a matter of no inconsiderable importance) are my own.

With regard to orthography, the spelling of all words which are still current in the senses they possessed in Browne's time has been conformed to that of the present day; the spellings of obsolete words, however, have been maintained in their original forms, partly with the intention of preserving their archaic flavour, but chiefly because arbitrary modernization is, in my opinion, an offence, the function of the modernizer being to record, not to invent or prophesy.

As for punctuation, I have throughout had regard for grammar, *i.e.* meaning, rather than euphony or facility in reading aloud. Browne is not an author who is ever likely to be recited; and the sense of a great many passages in his writings has been greatly obscured by former editors, all of whom have retained the over-punctuation peculiar to the seventeenth century, when authors and publishers left this department of their work to their printers.

The Glossary appended to this edition consists of a vocabulary of more or less difficult words extracted from the Annotated Glossary which forms part of a more elaborate edition of Browne's works to be published within the next few weeks as a volume of Messrs Routledge's *English Library*.

The footnotes to the pages of this edition are those of the author. Additions to them are indicated by square brackets.

W. S. S.

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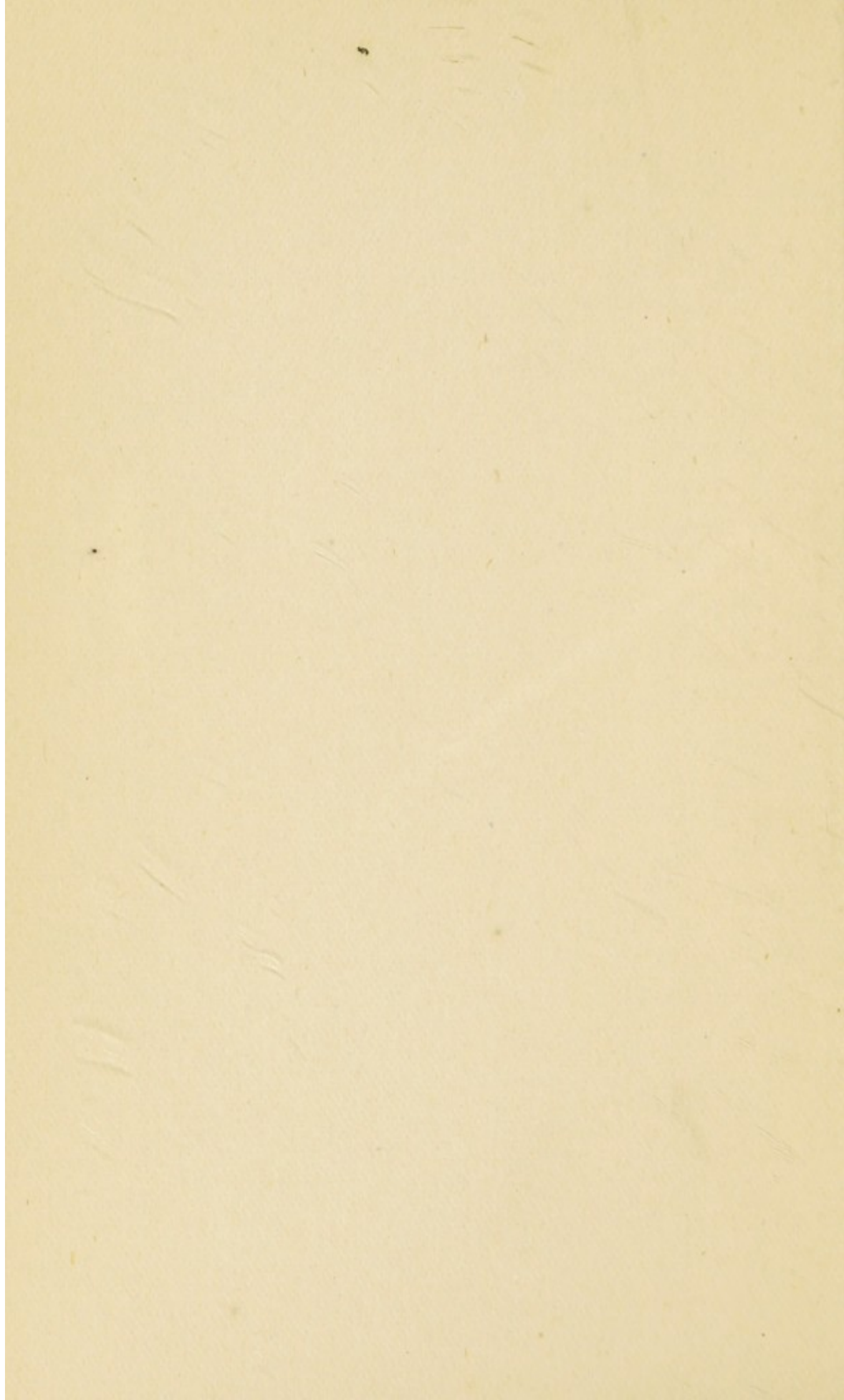
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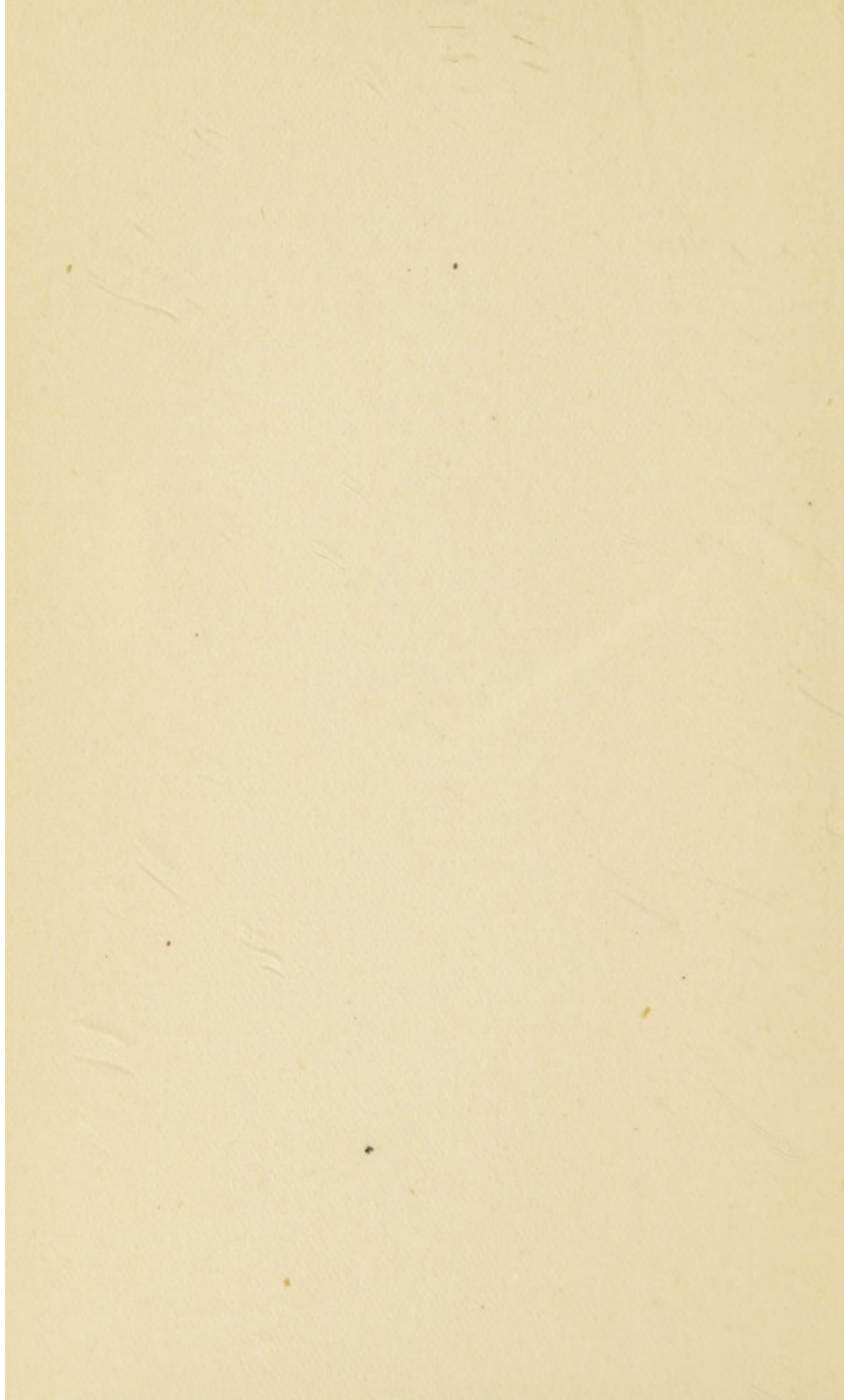
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RELIGIO MEDICI



TO THE READER

CERTAINLY that man were greedy of Life who should desire to live when all the world were at an end ; and he must needs be very impatient who would repine at death in the society of all things that suffer under it. Had not almost every man suffered by the press, or were not the tyranny thereof become universal, I had not wanted reason for complaint ; but in times wherein I have lived to behold the highest perversion of that excellent invention, the name of his Majesty, defamed, the honour of Parliament depraved, the writings of both depravedly, anticipatively, counterfeitly, imprinted, complaints may seem ridiculous in private persons ; and men of my condition may be as incapable of affronts as hopeless of their reparations. And truly, had not the duty I owe unto the importunity of friends and the allegiance I must ever acknowledge unto truth prevailed with me, the inactivity of my disposition might have made these sufferings continual, and time, that brings other things to light, should have satisfied me in the remedy of its oblivion. But, because things evidently false are not only printed but many things of truth most falsely set forth, in this latter I could not but think myself engaged ; for, though we have no power to redress the former, yet in the other, the reparation being within ourselves, I have at present represented unto the world a full and intended copy of that piece which was most imperfectly and surreptitiously published before.

This, I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction I had at leisurable hours composed ; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by transcription successively corrupted, until it arrived in a most depraved copy at the press. He that shall peruse that work, and shall take notice of sundry particularities and personal expressions therein, will easily discern the intention was not

public ; and, being a private exercise directed to myself, what is delivered therein was rather a memorial unto *me* than an example or rule unto any other ; and therefore, if there be any singularity therein correspondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them ; or, if dissentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in such a place and with such disadvantage that (I protest) from the first setting of pen unto paper I had not the assistance of any good book whereby to promote my invention or relieve my memory ; and therefore there might be many real lapses therein which others might take notice of, and more that I suspected myself. It was set down many years past, and was the sense of my conceptions at that time, not an immutable law unto my advancing judgment at all times ; and therefore there might be many things therein plausible unto my past apprehension which are not agreeable unto my present self. There are many things delivered rhetorically, many expressions therein merely tropical and as they best illustrate my intention ; and therefore also there are many things to be taken in a soft and flexible sense, and not to be called unto the rigid test of reason. Lastly, all that is contained therein is in submission unto maturer discernments ; and, as I have declared, shall no further father them than the best and learned judgments shall authorize them¹ : under favour of which consideration I have made its secrecy public, and committed the truth thereof to every Ingenuous Reader.

THO. BROWNE

¹ [See p. 65, l. 27].

RELIGIO MEDICI

THE FIRST PART

FOR my religion, though there be several circumstances that might persuade the world I have none at all (as the general scandal of my profession, the natural course of my studies, the indifferency of my behaviour and discourse in matters of religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention opposing another), yet, in despite thereof, I dare without usurpation assume the honourable style of a Christian. Not that I merely owe this title to the font, my education, or the clime wherein I was born (as being bred up either to confirm those principles my parents instilled into my unwary understanding, or by a general consent proceed in the religion of my country); but, having in my riper years and confirmed judgment seen and examined all, I find myself obliged by the principles of grace and the law of mine own reason to embrace no other name but this. Neither doth herein my zeal so far make me forget the general charity I owe unto humanity, as rather to hate than pity Turks, Infidels, and (what is worse) Jews; rather contenting myself to enjoy that happy style than maligning those who refuse so glorious a title.

But, because the name of a Christian is become too general to express our faith (there being a geography of religions as well as lands, and every clime distinguished not only by their laws and limits but circumscribed by their doctrines and rules of faith), to be particular, I am of that reformed new-cast religion wherein I dislike nothing but the name; of the same belief our Saviour taught, the Apostles disseminated, the Fathers authorized, and the Martyrs confirmed,

but by the sinister ends of princes, the ambition and avarice of prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native beauty that it required the careful and charitable hands of these times to restore it to its primitive integrity. Now the accidental occasion whereupon, the slender means whereby, the low and abject condition of the person by whom so good a work was set on foot, which in our adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fills me with wonder, and is the very same objection the insolent pagans first cast at Christ and His disciples.

Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate resolutions (who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom than bring her in to be new trimmed in the dock; who had rather promiscuously retain all than abridge any, and obstinately be what they are than what they have been) as to stand in diameter and sword's point with them. We have reformed from them, not against them; for (omitting those impropriations and terms of scurrility betwixt us which only difference our Affections and not our Cause) there is between us one common name and appellation, one faith and necessary body of principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them or for them. I could never perceive any rational consequence from those many texts which prohibit the children of Israel to pollute themselves with the temples of the heathens, we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might profane our prayers or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved conscience may not adore her Creator anywhere, especially in places devoted to His service; where, if *their* devotions offend Him, mine may please Him; if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it. Holy-water and crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgment, nor abuse my devotion at all. I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that which misguided zeal terms *superstition*. My common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour,

sometimes not without morosity ; yet at my devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible notions which may express or promote my invisible devotion. I should violate my own arm rather than a church ; nor willingly deface the name of saint or martyr. At the sight of a cross or crucifix I can dispense with my hat, but scarce with the thought or memory of my Saviour. I cannot laugh at, but rather pity, the fruitless journeys of pilgrims, or contemn the miserable condition of friars ; for, though misplaced in circumstances, there is something in it of devotion. I could never hear the Ave-Mary bell without an elevation ; or think it a sufficient warrant, because *they* erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is, in silence and dumb contempt. Whilst, therefore, they directed their devotions to *Her*, I offered mine to God, and rectified the errors of their prayers by rightly ordering mine own. At a solemn procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts, blind with opposition and prejudice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter. There are, questionless, both in Greek, Roman, and African Churches, solemnities and ceremonies whereof the wiser zeals do make a Christian use, and stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of truth, and those unstable judgments that cannot consist in the narrow point and centre of virtue without a reel or stagger to the circumference.

As there were many reformers, so likewise many reformations, every country proceeding in a particular way and method according as their national interest, together with their constitution and clime, inclined them ; some angrily, and with extremity ; others calmly, and with mediocrity ; not rending, but easily dividing, the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation, which though peaceable spirits do desire, and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that shall consider the present antipathies between the two extremes, their contrarieties in condition, affection,

and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the poles of heaven.

But (to difference myself nearer, and draw into a lesser Circle) there is no Church whose every part so squares unto my conscience, whose articles, constitutions, and customs seem so consonant unto reason, and as it were framed to my particular devotion, as this whereof I hold my belief, the Church of England, to whose faith I am a sworn subject, and therefore in a double obligation subscribe unto her Articles, and endeavour to observe her constitutions. Whatsoever is beyond, as points indifferent, I observe according to the rules of my private reason or the humour and fashion of my devotion, neither believing this because Luther affirmed it, or disproving that because Calvin hath disavouched it. I condemn not all things in the Council of Trent, nor approve all in the Synod of Dort. In brief, where the Scripture is silent, the Church is my text; where that speaks, 'tis but my comment; where there is a joint silence of both, I borrow not the rules of my religion from Rome or Geneva but the dictates of my own reason. It is an unjust scandal of our adversaries, and a gross error in ourselves, to compute the nativity of our religion from Henry the Eighth, who, though he rejected the Pope, refused not the faith of Rome, and effected no more than what his own predecessors desired and assayed in ages past, and was conceived the State of Venice would have attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in *us* to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of Rome, to whom as a temporal prince we owe the duty of good language. I confess there is cause of passion between us: by his sentence I stand excommunicated; *heretic* is the best language he affords me; yet can no ear witness I ever returned him the name of *Antichrist*, *Man of Sin*, or *Whore of Babylon*. It is the method of Charity to suffer without reaction: those usual satires and invectives of the pulpit may perchance produce a good effect on the vulgar, whose ears are opener to rhetoric than logic; yet do they in no wise confirm the faith of wiser believers, who know

that a good cause needs not to be patroned by passion, but can sustain itself upon a temperate dispute.

I could never divide myself from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that from which perhaps within a few days I should dissent myself. I have no genius to disputes in religion, and have often thought it wisdom to decline them, especially upon a disadvantage, or when the cause of truth might suffer in the weakness of my patronage. Where we desire to be informed, 'tis good to contest with men above ourselves; but, to confirm and establish our opinions, 'tis best to argue with judgments below our own, that the frequent spoils and victories over their reasons may settle in ourselves an esteem and confirmed opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper champion for truth, nor fit to take up the gauntlet in the cause of verity: many from the ignorance of these maxims, and an inconsiderate zeal unto truth, have too rashly charged the troops of error and remain as trophies unto the enemies of truth. A man may be in as just possession of truth as of a city, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace than to hazard her on a battle. If, therefore, there rise any doubts in my way, I do not forget them, or at least defer them till my better settled judgment and more manly reason be able to resolve them; for I perceive every man's own reason is his best *Œdipus*, and will, upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgments. In philosophy, where truth seems double-faced, there is no man more paradoxical than myself: but in divinity I love to keep the road; and, though not in an implicit yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church, by which I move, not reserving any proper poles or motion from the epicycle of my own brain. By this means I leave no gap for heresies, schisms, or errors, of which at present I hope I shall not injure truth to say I have no taint or tincture. I must confess my greener studies have been polluted with two or three; not any begotten in the latter

centuries, but old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine ; for indeed heresies perish not with their authors, but, like the river Arethusa, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another. One General Council is not able to extirpate one single heresy : it may be cancelled for the present, but revolution of time, and the like aspects from Heaven, will restore it, when it will flourish till it be condemned again. For, as though there were a metempsychosis and the soul of one man passed into another, opinions do find, after certain revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. To see ourselves again, we need not look for Plato's year : every man is not only himself ; there hath been many Diogenes, and as many Timons, though but few of that name : men are lived over again¹ ; the world is now as it was in ages past ; there was none then but there hath been some one since that parallels him, and is as it were his revived self.

Now the first of mine was that of the Arabians, that the souls of men perished with their bodies, but should yet be raised again at the Last Day. Not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the soul ; but, if that were (which faith, not philosophy, hath yet thoroughly disproved), and that both entered the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do of the body, that it should rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last alarum. A serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did make me backward from challenging this prerogative of my soul : so that I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto eternity.

The second was that of Origen, that God would not persist in His vengeance for ever, but, after a definite time of His wrath, He would release the damned souls from torture. Which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great attribute of God His Mercy, and did a little cherish it in myself, because I

¹ [See p. 249, ll. 6-7].

found therein no malice and a ready weight to sway me from the other extreme of despair, whereunto melancholy and contemplative natures are too easily disposed.

A third there is, which I did never positively maintain or practise but have often wished it had been consonant to truth and not offensive to my religion, and that is the Prayer for the Dead, whereunto I was inclined from some charitable inducements whereby I could scarce contain my prayers for a friend at the ringing of a bell, or behold his corpse without an orison for his soul¹. 'Twas a good way, methought, to be remembered by posterity, and far more noble than an history.

These opinions I never maintained with pertinacy, or endeavoured to inveigle any man's belief unto mine, nor so much as ever revealed or disputed them with my dearest friends; by which means I neither propagated them in others, nor confirmed them in myself; but, suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuel, they went out insensibly of themselves. Therefore these opinions, though condemned by lawful councils, were not heresies in me, but bare errors and single lapses of my understanding, without a joint depravity of my will. Those have not only depraved understandings but diseased affections which cannot enjoy a singularity without an heresy, or be the author of an opinion without they be of a sect also. This was the villainy of the first schism of Lucifer, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his faction many legions of spirits; and upon this experience he tempted only Eve, as well understanding the communicable nature of sin, and that to deceive but one was tacitly and upon consequence to delude them both.

That heresies should arise we have the prophecy of Christ²; but that old ones should be abolished we hold no prediction. That there must be heresies is true, not only in our Church, but also in any other³; even in doctrines heretical there will be super-heresies; and

¹ [See p. 76, ll.16-8].

² *Matt.* xxiv, 5, *sqq.*

³ *I Cor.* xi, 19.

Arians not only divided from their Church but also among themselves. For heads that are disposed unto schism and complexionally propense to innovation are naturally indisposed for a community, nor will be ever confined unto the order or economy of one body ; and therefore, when they separate from others, they knit but loosely among themselves ; nor contented with a general breach or dichotomy with their Church do subdivide and mince themselves almost into atoms. 'Tis true that men of singular parts and humours have not been free from singular opinions and conceits in all ages, retaining something not only beside the opinion of his own Church or any other but also any particular author ; which, notwithstanding, a sober judgment may do without offence or heresy, for there is yet, after all the decrees of Councils and the niceties of the Schools, many things untouched, unimagined, wherein the liberty of an honest reason may play and expatiate with security and far without the circle of an heresy.

As for those wingy mysteries in divinity, and airy subtleties in religion, which have unhinged the brains of better heads, they never stretched the *pia mater* of mine. Methinks there be not impossibilities enough in religion for an active faith ; the deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated but maintained by syllogism and the rule of reason. I love to lose myself in a mystery, to pursue my reason to an *O altitudo !* 'Tis my solitary recreation to pose my apprehension with those involved enigmas and riddles of the Trinity, with Incarnation and Resurrection. I can answer all the objections of Satan and my rebellious reason with that odd resolution I learned of Tertullian : *Certum est, quia impossibile est.* I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point, for to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith but persuasion¹. Some believe the better for seeing Christ's sepulchre ; and, when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the miracle. Now, contrarily, I bless myself and am thankful that I lived not in the days of miracles, that I never saw Christ nor His disciples. I would not have been

¹ [See p. 54, ll. 17-8].

one of those Israelites that passed the Red Sea, nor one of Christ's patients on whom He wrought His wonders ; then had my faith been thrust upon me, nor should I enjoy that greater blessing pronounced to all that believe and saw not¹. 'Tis an easy and necessary belief to credit what our eye and sense hath examined. I believe He was dead, and buried, and rose again ; and desire to see Him in His glory rather than to contemplate Him in His cenotaph or sepulchre. Nor is this much to believe ; as we have reason, we owe this faith unto history : *they* only had the advantage of a bold and noble faith who lived before His coming, who upon obscure prophecies and mystical types could raise a belief and expect apparent impossibilities.

'Tis true there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easy metaphor we may say the *sword* of faith ; but in these obscurities I rather use it in the adjunct the Apostle gives it, a *buckler*², under which I conceive a wary combatant may lie invulnerable. Since I was of understanding to know we knew nothing, my reason hath been more pliable to the will of faith ; I am now content to understand a mystery without a rigid definition, in an easy and Platonic description. That allegorical description of Hermes pleaseth me beyond all the metaphysical definitions of divines. Where I cannot satisfy my reason, I love to humour my fancy : I had as lief you tell me that *Anima est angelus hominis, est Corpus Dei*, as *Entelecheia* ; *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*. Where there is an obscurity too deep for our reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration ; for, by acquainting our reason how unable it is to display the visible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtleties of faith ; and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of faith. I believe there was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy parents tasted, though in the same chapter when God forbids it 'tis positively said the plants of the field were not yet grown, *for God had not caused it to rain upon the earth*³. I believe that the

¹ John, xx, 29.

² Eph., vi, 16.

³ Gen., ii, 5.

Serpent (if we shall literally understand it) from his proper form and figure made his motion on his belly before the curse¹. I find the trial of the pucelage and virginity of women, which God ordained the Jews, is very fallible². Experience and history informs me that not only many particular women, but likewise whole nations, have escaped the curse of childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole sex³. Yet do I believe that all this is true which indeed my reason would persuade me to be false; and this I think is no vulgar part of faith, to believe a thing not only above but contrary to reason and against the arguments of our proper senses.

In my solitary and retired imagination

*Neque enim cum porticus aut me
Lectulus accepit, desum mihi,*

I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate Him and His attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, His wisdom and eternity. With the one I recreate, with the other I confound, my understanding; for who can speak of eternity without a solecism, or think thereof without an ecstasy? Time we may comprehend; 'tis but five days elder than ourselves, and hath the same horoscope with the world; but to retire so far back as to apprehend a beginning, to give such an infinite start forwards as to conceive an end, in an essence that we affirm hath neither the one nor the other, it puts my reason to St Paul's sanctuary. My philosophy dares not say the angels can do it. God hath not made a creature that can comprehend Him; 'tis a privilege of His own nature. I AM THAT I AM was His own definition unto Moses⁴; and 'twas a short one, to confound mortality, that durst question God or ask Him what He was. Indeed, He only is; all others have [been] and shall be. But in eternity there is no distinction of tenses; and therefore that terrible term *predestination*, which hath troubled so many weak heads to conceive and the

¹ *Gen.*, iii, 14.

² *Deut.*, xxii, 13, etc.

³ *Gen.*, iii, 16.

⁴ *Exod.*, iii, 14.

wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious determination of our estates to come, but a definite blast of His will already fulfilled, and at the instant that He first decreed it ; for to His eternity, which is indivisible and all together, the last trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in Abraham's bosom¹. St Peter speaks modestly when he saith *A thousand years to God are but as one day*² ; for, to speak like a philosopher, those continued instances of time which flow into a thousand years make not to Him one moment : what to us is to come, to His eternity is present, His whole duration being but one permanent point, without succession, parts, flux, or division.

There is no attribute that adds more difficulty to the mystery of the Trinity, where, though in a relative way of Father and Son, we must deny a priority. I wonder how Aristotle could conceive the world eternal, or how he could make good two eternities. His similitude of a triangle comprehended in a square doth somewhat illustrate the trinity of our souls, and that the Triple Unity of God ; for there is in us not three, but a trinity, of souls ; because there is in us, if not three distinct souls, yet differing faculties that can and do subsist apart in different subjects, and yet in us are so united as to make but one soul and substance. If one soul were so perfect as to inform three distinct bodies, that were a petty trinity : conceive the distinct number of three, not divided nor separated by the intellect but actually comprehended in its unity, and that is a perfect trinity. I have often admired the mystical way of Pythagoras and the secret magic of numbers. *Beware of philosophy* is a precept not to be received in too large a sense ; for in this mass of nature there is a set of things that carry in their front (though not in capital letters, yet in stenography and short characters) something of divinity, which to wiser reasons serve as luminaries in the abyss of knowledge, and to judicious beliefs as scales and roundles to mount the pinnacles and highest pieces of divinity. The severe Schools shall never laugh me out of the philosophy of Hermes,

¹ Luke, xvi, 22.

² II Peter, iii, 8.

that this visible world is but a picture of the invisible, wherein, as in a portrait, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes and as they counterfeit some more real substance in that invisible fabric.

That other attribute wherewith I recreate my devotion is His wisdom, in which I am happy; and for the contemplation of this only do not repent me that I was bred in the way of study: the advantage I have of the vulgar, with the content and happiness I conceive therein, is an ample recompense for all my endeavours in what part of knowledge soever. Wisdom is His most beauteous attribute; no man can attain unto it, yet Solomon pleased God when he desired it¹. He is wise, because He knows all things, and He knoweth all things, because He made them all; but His greatest knowledge is in comprehending *that* He made not, that is Himself. And this is also the greatest knowledge in man. For this do I honour my own profession, and embrace the counsel even of the Devil himself: had he read such a lecture in Paradise as he did at Delphos, we had better known ourselves, nor had we stood in fear to know *him*. I know He is wise in all, wonderful in what we conceive, but far more in what we comprehend not; for we behold Him but asquint, upon reflex or shadow; our understanding is dimmer than Moses' eye²; we are ignorant of the back-parts or lower side of His divinity; therefore to pry into the maze of His counsels is not only folly in man but presumption even in angels. Like us, they are His servants, not His senators; He holds no counsel but that mystical one of the Trinity, wherein, though there be three Persons, there is but one mind that decrees without contradiction. Nor needs He any: His actions are not begot with deliberation—His wisdom naturally knows what's best; His intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest ideas of goodness; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in Him, His actions springing from His power at the first touch of His will. These are contemplations metaphysical:

¹ 1 *Kings*, iii, 5, etc.

² *Exod.*, xxxiii, 12, etc.

my humble speculations have another method, and are content to trace and discover those expressions He hath left in His creatures, and the obvious effects of nature. There is no danger to profound these mysteries, no *sanctum sanctorum* in philosophy. The world was made to be inhabited by beasts, but studied and contemplated by man: 'tis the debt of our reason we owe unto God, and the homage we pay for not being beasts. Without this, the world is still as though it had not been, or as it was before the sixth day, when as yet there was not a creature that could conceive or say there was a world. The wisdom of God receives small honour from those vulgar heads that rudely stare about and with a gross rusticity admire His works: those highly magnify Him whose judicious inquiry into His acts and deliberate research into His creatures return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. Therefore

Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason go,
 To ransom Truth, even to the abyss below;
 Rally the scattered causes; and that line,
 Which nature twists, be able to untwine.
 It is thy Maker's will, for unto none
 But unto reason can He e'er be known.
 The devils do know thee, but those damnèd meteors
 Build not Thy glory, but confound Thy creatures.
 Teach my endeavours so Thy works to read,
 That learning them in Thee, I may proceed.
 Give Thou my reason that instructive flight,
 Whose weary wings may on Thy hands still light.
 Teach me to soar aloft, yet ever so,
 When near the sun, to stoop again below.
 Thus shall my humble feathers safely hover,
 And, though near earth, more than the heavens discover.
 And then at last, when homeward I shall drive,
 Rich with the spoils of nature, to my hive,
 There will I sit like that industrious fly,
 Buzzing Thy praises, which shall never die,
 Till death abrupts them, and succeeding glory
 Bid me go on in a more lasting story.

And this is almost all wherein an humble creature

may endeavour to requite and some way to retribute unto his Creator: for if *not he that saith 'Lord, Lord', but he that doth the will of his Father, shall be saved*¹; certainly our wills must be our performances, and our intents make out our actions: otherwise our pious labours shall find anxiety in our graves, and our best endeavours not hope but fear a resurrection.

There is but one first cause, and four second causes, of all things. Some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as angels; some without form, as the first matter; but every essence, created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its essence and operation. This is the cause I grope after in the works of nature; on this hangs the Providence of God. To raise so beauteous a structure as the world and the creatures thereof was but His Art; but their sundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the treasure of His wisdom. In the causes, nature, and affections of the eclipses of the sun and moon there is most excellent speculation; but to profound farther, and to contemplate a reason why His Providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle as to conjoin and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of reason and a diviner point of philosophy. Therefore sometimes and in some things there appears to me as much divinity in Galen his books *De Usu Partium* as in Suarez' metaphysics. Had Aristotle been as curious in the inquiry of this cause as he was of the other, he had not left behind him an imperfect piece of philosophy, but an absolute tract of divinity.

Natura nihil agit frustra is the only indisputed axiom in philosophy. There are no grotesques in nature, not anything framed to fill up empty cantons and unnecessary spaces. In the most imperfect creatures, and such as were not preserved in the Ark, but, having their seeds and principles in the womb of nature, are everywhere where the power of the sun is, in these is the wisdom of His hand discovered. Out of this rank Solomon chose the object of his

¹ *Matthew*, vii, 21.

admiration¹. Indeed, what reason may not go to school to the wisdom of bees, ants, and spiders? What wise hand teacheth *them* to do what reason cannot teach *us*? Ruder heads stand amazed at those prodigious pieces of nature, whales, elephants, dromedaries and camels: these, I confess, are the Colossus and majestic pieces of her hand; but in these narrow engines there is more curious mathematics, and the civility of these little citizens more neatly sets forth the wisdom of their Maker. Who admires not Regio-Montanus his fly beyond his eagle, or wonders not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies than but one in the trunk of a cedar? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the flux and reflux of the sea, the increase of Nile, the conversion of the needle to the north; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of nature, which without farther travel I can do in the cosmography of myself. We carry with us the wonders we seek without us: there is all Africa and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature which he that studies wisely learns in a compendium what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume.

Thus there are two books from whence I collect my divinity: besides that written one of God, another of His servant nature, that universal and public manuscript that lies expanded unto the eyes of all: those that never saw Him in the one have discovered Him in the other. This was the Scripture and theology of the heathens: the natural motion of the sun made *them* more admire Him than its supernatural station did the Children of Israel²; the ordinary effects of nature wrought more admiration in *them* than in the other all His miracles. Surely the heathens knew better how to join and read these mystical letters than we Christians, who cast a more careless eye on these common hieroglyphics and disdain to suck divinity from the flowers of nature. Nor do I so forget God as to adore the name of nature, which I define not, with

¹ *Prov.*, vi, 6; xxx, 28.

² *Josh.*, x, 12, 13.

the Schools, to be the principle of motion and rest, but that straight and regular line, that settled and constant course the wisdom of God hath ordained the actions of His creatures according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day is the nature of the sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve but by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion. Now this course of nature God seldom alters or perverts, but, like an excellent artist, hath so contrived His work that with the self-same instrument, without a new creation, He may effect His obscurest designs. Thus He sweeteneth the water with a wood¹, preserveth the creatures in the Ark, which the blast of His mouth might have as easily created; for God is like a skilful geometrician, who, when more easily and with one stroke of his compass he might describe or divide a right line, had yet rather do this in a circle or longer way, according to the constituted and fore-laid principles of His art. Yet this rule of His He doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the world with His prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question His power and conclude He could not. And thus I call the effects of nature the works of God, Whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe His actions unto her is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writings. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind or species of creature whatsoever. I cannot tell by what logic we call a toad, a bear, or an elephant ugly, they being created in those outward shapes and figures which best express the actions of their inward forms, and having passed that general visitation of God, Who saw that all that He had made was good²—that is, conformable to His Will, which abhors deformity and is the rule of order and beauty. There is no deformity but in monstrosity, wherein, notwithstanding, there

¹ *Exod.*, xv, 25,

² *Genesis*, i, 31.

is a kind of beauty, Nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular parts as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal fabric. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never anything ugly or misshapen but the Chaos, wherein notwithstanding (to speak strictly) there was no deformity because no form, nor was it yet impregnant by the voice of God. Now nature is not at variance with art, nor art with nature, they being both servants of His Providence. Art is the perfection of nature. Were the world now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a Chaos. Nature hath made one world, and art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for nature is the art of God.

This is the ordinary and open way of His Providence, which art and industry have in a good part discovered, whose effects we may foretell without an oracle: to foreshow these is not prophecy, but prognostication. There is another way, full of meanders and labyrinths, whereof the Devil and spirits have no exact ephemerides; and that is a more particular and obscure method of His Providence directing the operations of individuals and single essences: this we call *Fortune*¹, that serpentine and crooked line whereby He draws those actions His Wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret way. This cryptic and involved method of His Providence have I ever admired; nor can I relate the history of my life, the occurrences of my days, the escapes of dangers, and hits of chance, with a *Bezo las manos* to Fortune or a bare *Gramercy* to my good stars. Abraham might have thought the ram in the thicket² came thither by accident; human reason would have said that mere chance conveyed Moses in the Ark to the sight of Pharaoh's daughter³: what a labyrinth is there in the story of Joseph⁴, able to convert a Stoic! Surely there are in every man's life certain rubs, doublings, and wrenches, which pass a while under the effects of chance, but at the last, well examined, prove the mere hand of God. 'Twas not dumb chance that, to discover the Fougade or Powder

¹ See p. 209, l. 4.

² *Gen.*, xxii, 13.

³ *Ex.*, ii, 3, etc.

⁴ *Gen.*, xxxvii, etc.

Plot, contrived a miscarriage in the letter. I like the victory of '88 the better for that one occurrence which our enemies imputed to our dishonour and the partiality of Fortune, to wit, the tempests and contrariety of winds. King Philip did not detract from the nation when he said *he sent his Armada to fight with men, and not to combat with the winds*. Where there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces of two several agents, upon a maxim of reason we may promise the victory to the superior; but, when unexpected accidents slip in and unthought of occurrences intervene, these must proceed from a power that owes no obedience to those axioms; where, as in writing upon the wall¹, we may behold the hand but see not the spring that moves it. The success of that petty Province of Holland (of which the Grand Seigneur proudly said *if they should trouble him as they did the Spaniard, he would send his men with shovels and pickaxes, and throw it into the sea*) I cannot altogether ascribe to the ingenuity and industry of the people, but the mercy of God, that hath disposed them to such a thriving genius, and to the will of His Providence, that disposeth her favour to each country in their pre-ordinate season. All cannot be happy at once; for, because the glory of one State depends upon the ruin of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and must obey the swing of that wheel, not moved by Intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all estates arise to their *zenith* and vertical points according to their predestinated periods. For the lives not only of men, but of commonwealths and the whole world, run not upon an *helix*, that still enlargeth, but on a circle, where, arriving to their meridian, they decline in obscurity and fall under the horizon again.

These must not therefore be named the effects of Fortune but in a relative way and as we term the works of nature. It was the ignorance of man's reason that begat this very name, and by a careless term miscalled the Providence of God; for there is no liberty for causes to operate in a loose and straggling way, nor any effect

¹ *Daniel*, v, 5.

whatsoever but hath its warrant from some universal or superior Cause. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to say a prayer before a game at tables; for even in *sortileges* and matters of greatest uncertainty there is a settled and preordered course of effects. It is we that are blind, not Fortune: because our eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the Providence of the Almighty. I cannot justify that contemptible proverb that *Fools only are fortunate*, or that insolent paradox, that *A wise man is out of the reach of Fortune*; much less those opprobrious epithets of poets, *whore, bawd, and strumpet*. 'Tis, I confess, the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind to be destitute of those of Fortune, which doth not any way deject the spirit of wiser judgments, who thoroughly understand the justice of this proceeding; and, being enriched with higher donatives, cast a more careless eye on these vulgar parts of felicity. It is a most unjust ambition to desire to engross the mercies of the Almighty, not to be content with the goods of mind without a possession of those of body or Fortune; and it is an error worse than heresy to adore these complemental and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections and essential points of happiness wherein we resemble our Maker. To wiser desires it is satisfaction enough to deserve, though not to enjoy, the favours of Fortune: let Providence provide for fools. 'Tis not partiality but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural parents: those that are able of body and mind He leaves to their deserts; to those of weaker merits He imparts a larger portion and pieces out the defect of one by the excess of the other. Thus have we no just quarrel with nature for leaving us naked: or to envy the horns, hoofs, skins, and furs of other creatures, being provided with reason, that can supply them all. We need not labour with so many arguments to confute judicial astrology; for, if there be a truth herein, it doth not injure Divinity. If to be born under *Mercury* disposeth us to be witty, under *Jupiter* to be wealthy, I do not owe a knee unto

these, but unto that merciful Hand that hath ordered my indifferent and uncertain nativity unto such benevolous aspects. Those that hold that all things are governed by fortune had not erred, had they not persisted there. The Romans, that erected a temple to Fortune, acknowledged therein, though in a blinder way, somewhat of divinity; for, in a wise supputation, all things begin and end in the Almighty. There is a nearer way to heaven than Homer's chain; an easy logic may conjoin heaven and earth in one argument, and with less than a *sorites* resolve all things unto God. For, though we christen effects by their most sensible and nearest causes, yet is God the true and infallible Cause of all; whose concourse, though it be general, yet doth it subdivide itself into the particular actions of everything, and is that spirit by which each singular essence not only subsists but performs its operation.

The bad construction and perverse comment on these pair of second causes, or visible hands of God, have perverted the devotion of many unto atheism; who, forgetting the honest advisoes of faith, have listened unto the conspiracy of passion and reason. I have therefore always endeavoured to compose those feuds and angry dissentions between affection, faith, and reason; for there is in our soul a kind of triumvirate, or triple government of three competitors, which distract the peace of this our commonwealth not less than did that other the State of Rome.

As reason is a rebel unto faith, so passion unto reason: as the propositions of faith seem absurd unto reason, so the theorems of reason unto passion, and both unto faith¹. Yet a moderate and peaceable discretion may so state and order the matter that they may be all kings and yet make but one monarchy, every one exercising his sovereignty and prerogative in a due time and place according to the restraint and limit of circumstance. There is, as in philosophy so in divinity, sturdy doubts and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us. More of these no man hath known than myself,

¹ [See p. 77, l. 15].

which I confess I conquered not in a martial posture but on my knees. For our endeavours are not only to combat with doubts, but always to dispute with the Devil. The villainy of that spirit takes a hint of infidelity from our studies, and, by demonstrating a naturality in one way, makes us mistrust a miracle in another. Thus, having perused the *Archidoxis* and read the secret sympathies of things, he would dissuade my belief from the miracle of the Brazen Serpent¹, make me conceit that image worked by sympathy, and was but an Egyptian trick to cure their diseases without a miracle. Again, having seen some experiments of *bitumen*, and having read far more of *naphtha*, he whispered to my curiosity the fire of the Altar might be natural; and bid me mistrust a miracle in Elias², when he entrenched the altar round with water; for that inflammable substance yields not easily unto water, but flames in the arms of its antagonist. And thus would he inveigle my belief to think the combustion of Sodom might be natural, and that there was an asphaltic and bituminous nature in that lake before the fire of Gomorrah³. I know that *manna* is now plentifully gathered in Calabria; and Josephus⁴ tells me in his days it was as plentiful in Arabia: the Devil therefore made the query, *Where was then the miracle in the days of Moses? The Israelites saw but that in his time the natives of those countries behold in ours.* Thus the Devil played at chess with me, and yielding a pawn thought to gain a queen of me, taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and, whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my reason, he strived to undermine the edifice of my faith.

Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of me as to incline me to any point of infidelity or desperate positions of atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion there was never any. Those that held religion was the difference of man from beasts have spoken probably, and proceed upon a principle as inductive as the other. That doctrine of Epicurus

¹ *Numb.*, xxi, 9.

² *I Kings*, xviii.

³ *Gen.*, xix, 24.

⁴ *Antiq. of Jews*, iii, 1, §6.

that denied the Providence of God was no atheism, but a magnificent and high strained conceit of His Majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial actions of those inferior creatures. That *Fatal Necessity* of the Stoics is nothing but the immutable law of His Will. Those that heretofore denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost have been condemned but as heretics; and those that now deny our Saviour (though more than heretics) are not so much as atheists; for, though they deny two persons in the Trinity, they hold, as we do, there is but one God.

That villain and secretary of Hell, that composed that miscreant piece *Of the Three Impostors*, though divided from all religions and was neither Jew, Turk, nor Christian, was not a positive atheist. I confess every country hath its Machiavel, every age its Lucian, whereof common heads must not hear, nor more advanced judgments too rashly venture on: it is the rhetoric of Satan, and may pervert a loose or prejudicate belief.

I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief; yet are there heads carried off with the wind and breath of such motives. I remember a Doctor in Physic of Italy who could not perfectly believe the immortality of the soul, because Galen seemed to make a doubt thereof¹. With another I was familiarly acquainted in France, a divine and a man of singular parts, that on the same point was so plunged and gravelled with three lines of Seneca that all our antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and philosophy, could not expel the poison of his error. There are a set of heads that can credit the relations of mariners yet question the testimonies of St Paul, and peremptorily maintain the traditions of Ælian or Pliny, yet in histories of Scripture raise queries and objections, believing no more than they can parallel in human authors. I confess there are in Scripture stories that do exceed the fables of poets, and to a captious reader sound like *Garagantua* or *Bevis*. Search all the legends of times past and the fabulous conceits of these

¹ *Opera*, ed. Kühn, vol. iv, p. 775.

present, and 'twill be hard to find one that deserves to carry the buckler unto Sampson ; yet is all this of an easy possibility if we conceive a divine concourse or an influence but from the little finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that, either in the discourse of man or in the infallible voice of God, to the weakness of our apprehensions there should not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies : myself could shew a catalogue of doubts, never yet imagined nor questioned, as I know, which are not resolved at the first hearing ; not fantastic queries or objections of air ; for I cannot hear of atoms in divinity. I can read the history of the pigeon that was sent out of the Ark and returned no more¹, yet not question how she found out her mate that was left behind ; that Lazarus was raised from the dead², yet not demand where in the interim his soul awaited ; or raise a law-case whether his heir might lawfully detain his inheritance bequeathed unto him by his death, and he, though restored to life, have no plea or title unto his former possessions. Whether Eve was framed out of the left side of Adam³ I dispute not, because I stand not yet assured which is the right side of a man, or whether there be any such distinction in nature : that she was edified out of the rib of Adam I believe, yet raise no question who shall arise with that rib at the resurrection. Whether Adam was an hermaphrodite, as the rabbis contend upon the letter of the text⁴, because it is contrary to reason there should be an hermaphrodite before there was a woman, or a composition of two natures before there was a second composed. Likewise, whether the world was created in autumn, summer, or the spring, because it was created in them all ; for, whatsoever sign the sun possesseth, those four seasons are actually existent. It is the nature of this luminary to distinguish the several seasons of the year, all which it makes at one time in the whole earth, and successive in any part thereof. There are a bundle of curiosities not only in philosophy but in divinity, proposed and discussed by men of most

¹ *Gen.*, viii, 8, etc.

² *John*, xi.

³ *Gen.*, ii, 21.

⁴ *Ib.*, i, 27.

supposed abilities, which indeed are not worthy our vacant hours, much less our serious studies: pieces only fit to be placed in *Pantagruel's* library, or bound up with Tartaretus, *De Modo Cacandi*.

These are niceties that become not those that peruse so serious a mystery. There are others more generally questioned and called to the bar, yet methinks of an easy and possible truth.

'Tis ridiculous to put off or drown the general Flood of Noah in that particular inundation of Deucalion. That there was a deluge once seems not to me so great a miracle as that there is not one always. How all the kinds of creatures, not only in their own bulks but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one ark and within the extent of three hundred cubits¹, to a reason that rightly examines it will appear very feasible. There is another secret not contained in the Scripture which is more hard to comprehend, and put the honest Father to the refuge of a miracle; and that is, not only how the distinct pieces of the world and divided islands should be first planted by men, but inhabited by tigers, panthers, and bears. How America abounded with beasts of prey and noxious animals, yet contained not in it that necessary creature, a horse, is very strange. By what passage those, not only birds but dangerous and unwelcome beasts, came over; how there be creatures there which are not found in this Triple Continent (all which must needs be strange unto us that hold but one Ark, and that the creatures began their progress from the mountains of Ararat): they who, to salve this, would make the Deluge particular proceed upon a principle that I can no way grant; not only upon the negative of Holy Scriptures, but of mine own reason, whereby I can make it probable that the world was as well peopled in the time of Noah as in ours; and fifteen hundred years to people the world, as full a time for them as four thousand years since have been to us.

There are other assertions and common tenets drawn from Scripture, and generally believed as Scripture, whereunto, notwithstanding, I would never betray

¹ *Genesis*, vi, 14, etc.

the liberty of my reason. 'Tis a postulate to me that Methuselah was the longest lived of all the Children of Adam¹; and no man will be able to prove it when from the process of the text I can manifest it may be otherwise. That Judas perished by hanging himself there is no certainty in Scripture; though in one place it seems to affirm it, and by a doubtful word² hath given occasion to translate it, yet in another place³, in a more punctual description, it makes it improbable and seems to overthrow it. That our fathers after the Flood erected the Tower of Babel to preserve themselves against a second Deluge is generally opinioned and believed; yet is there another intention of theirs expressed in Scripture⁴: besides, it is improbable from the circumstance of the place—that is, a plain in the Land of Shinar. These are no points of faith, and therefore may admit a free dispute.

There are yet others, and those familiarly concluded from the text, wherein (under favour) I see no consequence. The Church of Rome confidently proves the opinion of tutelary angels from that answer when Peter knocked at the door: *'Tis not He, but his Angel*⁵; that is (might some say) his *messenger*, or some body from him; for so the original⁶ signifies, and is as likely to be the doubtful families' meaning. This exposition I once suggested to a young divine, that answered upon this point; to which I remember the Franciscan opponent replied no more but that *it was a new and no authentic interpretation.*

These are but the conclusions and fallible discourses of man upon the Word of God, for such I do believe the Holy Scriptures; yet, were it of man, I could not choose but say it was the singularest and superlative piece that hath been extant since the Creation. Were I a pagan, I should not refrain the lecture of it, and cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy, that thought not his library complete without it. The *Alcoran* of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill-composed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous

¹ *Gen.*, v, 27. ² *Matth.*, xxvii, 5: ἀπήξατο. ³ *Acts*, i, 18.

⁴ *Gen.*, xi, 4. ⁵ *Acts*, xii, 15. ⁶ ἄγγελος.

errors in philosophy, impossibilities, fictions, and vanities beyond laughter, maintained by evident and open sophisms, the policy of ignorance, deposition of Universities and banishment of learning, that hath gotten foot by arms and violence: this without a blow hath disseminated itself through the whole earth. It is not unremarkable, what Philo first observed, that the Law of Moses continued two thousand years without the least alteration¹; whereas, we see the laws of other commonweals do alter with occasions, and even those that pretended their original from some divinity to have vanished without trace or memory. I believe besides Zoroaster there were divers that writ before Moses who, notwithstanding, have suffered the common fate of time. Mens' works have an age, like themselves; and, though they outlive their authors, yet have they a stint and period to their duration: this only is a work too hard for the teeth of time, and cannot perish but in the general flames, when all things shall confess their ashes.

I have heard some with deep sighs lament the lost lines of Cicero, others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library of Alexandria; for my own part, I think there be too many in the world, and could with patience behold the urn and ashes of the Vatican, could I, with a few others, recover the perished leaves of Solomon². I would not omit a copy of Enoch's Pillars, had they many nearer authors than Josephus, or did not relish somewhat of the fable. Some men have written more than others have spoken; Pineda quotes more authors in one word than are necessary in a whole world. Of those three great inventions in Germany there are two which are not without their incommodities, and 'tis disputable whether they exceed not their use and commodities. 'Tis not a melancholy *Utinam* of my own, but the desires of better heads, that there were a general Synod, not to unite the incompatible difference of religion, but for the benefit of learning to reduce it as it lay at first, in a few and solid authors, and to condemn to the fire those

¹ *De Vita Mosis*, ii, 3.

² *I Kings*, iv, 32-3.

swarms and millions of rhapsodies, begotten only to distract and abuse the weaker judgments of scholars and to maintain the trade and mystery of typographers.

I cannot but wonder with what exception the Samaritans could confine their belief to the Pentateuch, or five Books of Moses. I am ashamed at the rabbinical interpretation of the Jews upon the Old Testament as much as their defection from the New; and truly it is beyond wonder how that contemptible and degenerate issue of Jacob, once so devoted to ethnic superstition and so easily seduced to the idolatry of their neighbours, should now in such an obstinate and peremptory belief adhere unto their own doctrine, expect impossibilities, and in the face and eye of the Church persist without the least hope of conversion. This is a vice in *them* that were a virtue in *us*; for obstinacy in a bad cause is but constancy in a good. And herein I must accuse those of my own religion, for there is not any of such a fugitive faith, such an unstable belief, as a Christian; none that do so oft transform themselves, not unto several shapes of Christianity and of the same species, but unto more unnatural and contrary forms of Jew and Mahometan; that from the name of *Saviour* can condescend to the bare term of *Prophet*; and, from an old belief that He is come, fall to a new expectation of His coming. It is the promise of Christ to make us all one flock¹; but how and when this union shall be is as obscure to me as the last day. Of those four members of religion we hold a slender proportion. There are, I confess, some few additions, yet small to those which accrue to our adversaries, and those only drawn from the revolt of pagans, men but of negative impieties, and such as deny Christ but because they never heard of him. But the religion of the Jew is expressly against the Christian, and the Mahometan against both. For the Turk, in the bulk he now stands, he is beyond all hope of conversion; if he fall asunder, there may be conceived hopes, but not without strong improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all fortunes; the persecutions of fifteen

¹ *John*, x, 16.

hundred years hath but confirmed them in their error : they have already endured whatsoever may be inflicted, and have suffered in a bad cause, even to the condemnation of their enemies. Persecution is a bad and indirect way to plant religion : it hath been the unhappy method of angry devotions, not only to confirm honest religion but wicked heresies and extravagant opinions. It was the first stone and basis of our faith ; none can more justly boast of persecutions, and glory in the number and valour of martyrs. For, to speak properly, those are true and almost only examples of fortitude : those that are fetched from the field or drawn from the actions of the camp are not oft-times so truly precedents of valour as audacity, and at the best attain but to some bastard piece of fortitude. If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which Aristotle requires to true and perfect valour¹, we shall find the name only in his master, Alexander, and as little in that Roman worthy, Julius Cæsar ; and, if any in that easy and active way have done so nobly as to deserve that name, yet in the passive and more terrible piece these have surpassed, and in a more heroical way may claim the honour of that title. 'Tis not in the power of every honest faith to proceed thus far, or pass to heaven through the flames. Every one hath it not in that full measure, nor in so audacious and resolute a temper, as to endure those terrible tests and trials ; who, notwithstanding, in a peaceable way, do truly adore their Saviour, and have (no doubt) a faith acceptable in the eyes of God.

Now, as all that die in the war are not termed *soldiers*, so neither can I properly term all those that suffer in matters of religion *martyrs*. The Council of Constance condemns John Huss for an heretic ; the stories of his own party style him a martyr : he must needs offend the divinity of both that says he was neither the one nor the other. There are many (questionless) canonized on earth that shall never be saints in Heaven ; and have their names in histories and martyrologies who in the eyes of God are not so perfect martyrs as was that

¹ *Eth. Nicom.*, iii, 6-9.

wise heathen Socrates, that suffered on a fundamental point of religion, the unity of God. I have often pitied the miserable bishop that suffered in the cause of Antipodes; yet cannot choose but accuse *him* of as much madness, for exposing his living on such a trifle, as those of ignorance and folly that condemned him. I think my conscience will not give me the lie if I say there are not many extant that in a noble way fear the face of death less than myself; yet, from the moral duty I owe to the commandment of God and the natural respects that I tender unto the conservation of my essence and being, I would not perish upon a ceremony, politic points, or indifferency; nor is my belief of that untractable temper as not to bow at their obstacles, or connive at matters wherein there are not manifest impieties. The leaven, therefore, and ferment of all not only civil but religious actions is wisdom, without which to commit ourselves to the flames is homicide, and (I fear) but to pass through one fire into another.

That miracles are ceased I can neither prove nor absolutely deny, much less define the time and period of their cessation. That they survived Christ is manifest upon the record of Scripture¹; that they outlived the Apostles also, and were revived at the conversion of nations many years after, we cannot deny, if we shall not question those writers whose testimonies we do not controvert in points that make for our own opinions. Therefore that may have some truth in it that is reported by the Jesuits of their miracles in the Indies; I could wish it were true or had any other testimony than their own pens. *They* may easily believe those miracles abroad who daily conceive a greater at home, the transmutation of those visible elements into the body and blood of our Saviour. For the conversion of water into wine, which He wrought in Cana², or, what the Devil would have had Him done in the wilderness, of stones into bread³, compared to this will scarce deserve the name of a miracle; though indeed, to speak properly, there is not one miracle greater than another, they being the extraordinary effects of the hand of God, to

¹ Acts, iii, 16. ² John, ii. ³ Matth., iv, 3.

which all things are of an equal facility, and to create the world as easy as one single creature. For this is also a miracle, not only to produce effects against or above nature, but before nature; and to create nature as great a miracle as to contradict or transcend her. We do too narrowly define the power of God, restraining it to our capacities. I hold that God can do all things; how He should work contradictions I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny. I cannot see why the angel of God should question Esdras to recall the time past¹, if it were beyond His own power; or that God should pose mortality in that which He was not able to perform Himself. I will not say God cannot, but He will not, perform many things which we plainly affirm He cannot. This, I am sure, is the mannerliest proposition, wherein, notwithstanding, I hold no paradox; for, strictly, His power is the same with His will, and they both, with all the rest, do make but one God.

Therefore that miracles have been I do believe; that they may yet be wrought by the living I do not deny; but have no confidence in those which are fathered on the dead. And this hath ever made me suspect the efficacy of relics, to examine the bones, question the habits and appurtenances of saints, and even of Christ Himself. I cannot conceive why the Cross that Helena found, and whereon Christ Himself died, should have power to restore others unto life. I excuse not Constantine from a fall off his horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nails on his bridle which our Saviour bore upon the Cross in His Hands. I compute among your *piæ fraudes*, nor many degrees before consecrated swords and roses, that which Baldwin, King of Jerusalem, returned the Genovese for their cost and pains in his war, to wit, the ashes of John the Baptist. Those that hold the sanctity of their souls doth leave behind a tincture and sacred faculty on their bodies speak naturally of miracles, and do not salve the doubt. Now one reason I tender so little devotion unto relics is, I think, the

¹ *II Esdras*, iv, 5.

slender and doubtful respect I have always held unto antiquities. For that indeed which I admire is far before antiquity—that is, eternity, and that is, God Himself, Who, though He be styled *The Ancient of Days*, cannot receive the adjunct of antiquity; Who was before the world, and shall be after it, yet is not older than it; for in His years there is no climacter; His duration is eternity, and far more venerable than antiquity.

But above all things I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of oracles; and in what swoon their reasons lay, to content themselves and sit down with such a far-fetched and ridiculous reason as Plutarch allegeth for it¹. The Jews, that can believe the supernatural solstice of the sun in the days of Joshua, have yet the impudence to deny the eclipse, which every pagan confessed, at His death: but for this, it is evident beyond all contradiction the Devil himself confessed it. Certainly it is not a warrantable curiosity to examine the verity of Scripture by the concordance of human history, or seek to confirm the chronicle of Ester or Daniel by the authority of Megasthenes or Herodotus. I confess I have had an unhappy curiosity this way, till I laughed myself out of it with a piece of Justin, where he delivers that the Children of Israel for being scabbed were banished out of Egypt. And truly, since I have understood the occurrences of the world and know in what counterfeit shapes and deceitful vizards times present represent on the stage things past, I do believe them little more than things to come. Some have been of my opinion, and endeavoured to write the history of their own lives; wherein Moses hath outgone them all, and left not only the story of his life², but (as some will have it) of his death also.

It is a riddle to me how this story of oracles hath not wormed out of the world that doubtful conceit of spirits and witches; how so many learned heads should so far forget their metaphysics, and destroy the ladder and scale of creatures, as to question the existence of spirits.

¹ *De Orac. Defectu.*

² *Deut.*, xxxiv.

For my part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are witches: they that doubt of these do not only deny *them* but spirits; and are obliquely and upon consequence a sort not of infidels but atheists. Those that to confute their incredulity desire to see apparitions shall questionless never behold any, nor have the power to be so much as witches; the Devil hath them already in a heresy as capital as witchcraft; and to appear to them were but to convert them. Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality there is not any that puzzleth me more than the legerdemain of changelings. I do not credit those transformations of reasonable creatures into beasts, or that the Devil hath a power to transpeciate a man into a horse, who tempted Christ (as a trial of His Divinity) to convert but stones into bread¹. I could believe that spirits use with man the act of carnality, and that in both sexes; I conceive they may assume, steal, or contrive a body wherein there may be action enough to content decrepitude, lust, or passion to satisfy more active veneries, yet in both without a possibility of generation; and therefore that opinion that Antichrist should be born of the tribe of Dan by conjunction with the Devil, is ridiculous, and a conceit fitter for a rabbi than a Christian. I hold that the Devil doth really possess some men, the spirit of melancholy others, the spirit of delusion others; that, as the Devil is concealed and denied by some, so God and good angels are pretended by others, whereof the late detection of the Maid of Germany hath left a pregnant example.

Again, I believe that all that use sorceries, incantations, and spells are not witches, or, as we term them, *magicians*. I conceive there is a traditional magic, not learned immediately from the Devil but at second-hand from his scholars, who, having once the secrets betrayed, are able, and do empirically practise without his advice, they both proceeding upon the principles of nature; where actives, aptly conjoined to disposed passives, will under any master produce their effects. Thus I think at first a great part of philosophy was

¹ *Matthew*, iv, 3.

witchcraft; which, being afterward derived to one another, proved but philosophy, and was indeed no more but the honest effects of nature: what, invented by us, is philosophy, learned from him, is magic. We do surely owe the discovery of many secrets to the discovery of good and bad angels. I could never pass that sentence of Paracelsus without an asterisk or annotation: *Ascendens constellationum multa revelat quærentibus magnalia naturæ* (i.e. *opera Dei*). I do think that many mysteries ascribed to our own inventions have been the courteous revelations of spirits (for those noble essences in Heaven bear a friendly regard unto their fellow natures on earth); and therefore believe that those many prodigies and ominous prognostics, which forerun the ruins of States, princes, and private persons, are the charitable premonitions of good angels, which more careless enquiries term but the effects of chance and nature.

Now, besides these particular and divided spirits there may be (for aught I know) an universal and common spirit to the whole world. It was the opinion of Plato, and it is yet of the hermetical philosophers. If there be a common nature that unites and ties the scattered and divided individuals into one species, why may there not be one that unites them all? However, I am sure there is a common spirit that plays within us, yet makes no part of us; and that is the spirit of God, the fire and scintillation of that noble and mighty essence which is the life and radical heat of spirits and those essences that know not the virtue of the sun, a fire quite contrary to the fire of Hell. This is that gentle heat that brooded on the waters¹, and in six days hatched the world; this is that irradiation that dispels the mists of Hell, the clouds of horror, fear, sorrow, despair; and preserves the region of the mind in serenity. Whosoever feels not the warm gale and gentle ventilation of this spirit, though I feel his pulse, I dare not say he lives: for, truly, without this to me there is no heat under the tropic, nor any light, though I dwelt in the body of the sun.

¹ *Genesis*, i, 2.

As, when the labouring sun hath wrought his track
 Up to the top of lofty Cancer's back,
 The icy ocean cracks, the frozen pole
 Thaws with the heat of the celestial coal;
 So, when Thy absent beams begin t' impart
 Again a solstice on my frozen heart,
 My winter's ov'r, my drooping spirits sing,
 And every part revives into a spring.
 But if Thy quick'ning beams a while decline,
 And with their light bless not this orb of mine,
 A chilly frost surpriseth every member,
 And in the midst of June I feel December.
 O how this earthly temper doth debase
 The noble soul, in this her humble place;
 Whose wingy nature ever doth aspire
 To reach that place whence first it took its fire.
 These flames I feel, which in my heart do dwell,
 Are not Thy beams, but take their fire from Hell:
 O quench them all, and let Thy light divine
 Be as the sun to this poor orb of mine;
 And to Thy sacred spirit convert those fires,
 Whose earthly fumes choke my devout aspires.

Therefore, for spirits, I am so far from denying their existence that I could easily believe that not only whole countries but particular persons have their tutelary and guardian angels. It is not a new opinion of the Church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato; there is no heresy in it; and, if not manifestly defined in Scripture, yet it is an opinion of a good and wholesome use in the course and actions of a man's life, and would serve as an hypothesis to salve many doubts whereof common philosophy affordeth no solution. Now, if you demand my opinion and metaphysic of their natures, I confess them very shallow; most of them in a negative way, like that of God; or in a comparative, between ourselves and fellow-creatures; for there is in this universe a stair, or manifest scale of creatures, rising not disorderly or in confusion, but with a comely method and proportion. Between creatures of mere existence and things of life there is a large disproportion of nature; between plants and animals or creatures of sense a wider difference; between them and man a far

greater; and, if the proportion hold one, between man and angels there should be yet a greater. We do not comprehend their natures who retain the first definition of Porphyry, and distinguish them from ourselves by immortality; for before his fall, 'tis thought, man also was immortal; yet must we needs affirm that he had a different essence from the angels. Having therefore no certain knowledge of their natures, 'tis no bad method of the schools, whatsoever perfection we find obscurely in ourselves in a more complete and absolute way to ascribe unto them. I believe they have an extemporary knowledge, and upon the first motion of their reason do what we cannot without study or deliberation; that they know things by their forms, and define by specific difference what we describe by accidents and properties; and therefore probabilities to us may be demonstrations unto them; that they have knowledge not only of the specific but numerical forms of individuals, and understand by what reserved difference each single hypostasis (besides the relation to its species) becomes its numerical self; that, as the soul hath a power to move the body it informs, so there's a faculty to move any, though inform none; ours upon restraint of time, place, and distance; but that invisible hand that conveyed Habakkuk to the lion's den¹, or Philip to Azotus², infringeth this rule, and hath a secret conveyance wherewith mortality is not acquainted. If they have that intuitive knowledge whereby as in reflexion they behold the thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny that they know a great part of ours. They that, to refute the invocation of saints, have denied that they have any knowledge of our affairs below, have proceeded too far, and must pardon my opinion, till I can thoroughly answer that piece of Scripture, *At the conversion of a sinner the angels in Heaven rejoice*³. I cannot, with those in that great Father, securely interpret the work of the first day, *Fiat lux*, to the creation of angels; though I confess there is not any creature that hath so near a

¹ *Bel and the Dragon*, 36.

² *Acts*, viii, 40.

³ *Luke*, xv, 10.

glimpse of their nature as light in the sun and elements. We style it a bare accident ; but, where it subsists alone, 'tis a spiritual substance, and may be an angel : in brief, conceive light invisible, and that is a spirit.

These are certainly the magisterial and masterpieces of the Creator, the flower, or (as we may say) the best part of nothing ; actually existing, what we are but in hopes and probability. We are only that amphibious piece between a corporal and spiritual essence, that middle form that links those two together, and makes good the method of God and nature, that jumps not from extremes but unites the incompatible distances by some middle and participating natures. That we are the breath and similitude of God it is indisputable, and upon record of Holy Scripture¹ ; but to call ourselves a microcosm, or little world, I thought it only a pleasant trope of rhetoric, till my near judgment and second thoughts told me there was a real truth therein. For first we are a rude man, and in the rank of creatures which only are, and have a dull kind of being, not yet privileged with life or preferred to sense or reason ; next we live the life of plants, the life of animals, the life of men, and at last the life of spirits, running on in one mysterious nature those five kinds of existences, which comprehend the creatures not only of the world but of the universe. Thus is man that great and true *Amphibium* whose nature is disposed to live not only like other creatures in divers elements but in divided and distinguished worlds ; for, though there be but one to sense, there are two to reason, the one visible, the other invisible ; whereof Moses seems to have left description, and of the other so obscurely that some parts thereof are yet in controversy. And, truly, for the first chapters of *Genesis* I must confess a great deal of obscurity ; though divines have to the power of human reason endeavoured to make all go in a literal meaning, yet those allegorical interpretations are also probable, and perhaps the mystical method of Moses bred up in the hieroglyphical schools of the Egyptians.

Now for that immaterial world, methinks we need

¹ *Genesis*, i, 27 ; ii, 7.

not wander so far as beyond the first movable ; for even in this material fabric the spirits walk as freely exempt from the affection of time, place, and motion as beyond the extremest circumference. Do but extract from the corpulency of bodies, or resolve things beyond their first matter, and you discover the habitation of angels, which if I call the ubiquitary and omnipresent essence of God I hope I shall not offend divinity ; for before the creation of the world God was really all things. For the angels He created no new world or determinate mansion, and therefore they are everywhere where is His essence, and do live at a distance even in Himself. That God made all things for man is in some sense true, yet not so far as to subordinate the creation of those purer creatures unto ours, though as *ministering spirits*¹ they do and are willing to fulfil the will of God in these lower and sublunary affairs of man. God made all things for Himself, and it is impossible He should make them for any other end than His own glory ; it is all He can receive, and all that is without Himself. For, honour being an external adjunct and in the honourer rather than in the person honoured, it was necessary to make a creature from whom He might receive this homage ; and that is in the other world angels, in this, man ; which when we neglect, we forget the very end of our creation, and may justly provoke God, not only to repent that He hath made the world, but that He hath sworn He would not destroy it. That there is but one world is a conclusion of faith : Aristotle with all his philosophy hath not been able to prove it, and as weakly that the world was eternal. That dispute much troubled the pen of the ancient philosophers, but Moses decided that question, and all is salved with the new term of a *creation*, that is a production of something out of nothing. And what is that ? Whatsoever is opposite to something ; or more exactly, that which is truly contrary unto God : for He only is—all others have an existence with dependency, and are something but by a distinction. And herein is divinity conformant unto philosophy,

¹ *Heb.*, i, 14.

and generation not only founded on contrarieties, but also creation; God, being all things, is contrary unto nothing, out of which were made all things, and so nothing became something, and omneity informed nullity into an essence.

The whole creation is a mystery, and particularly that of man. At the blast of His mouth were the rest of the creatures made, and at His bare word they started out of nothing¹; but in the frame of man (as the text describes it²) He played the sensible operator, and seemed not so much to create as make him. When He had separated the materials of other creatures, there consequently resulted a form and soul; but, having raised the walls of man, He was driven to a second and harder creation of a substance like Himself, an incorruptible and immortal soul. For these two affections we have the philosophy and opinion of the heathens, the flat affirmative of Plato, and not a negative from Aristotle. There is another scruple cast in by divinity concerning its production, much disputed in the German auditories, and with that indifferency and equality of arguments as leave the controversy undetermined. I am not of Paracelsus' mind, that boldly delivers a receipt to make a man without conjunction³; yet cannot but wonder at the multitude of heads that do deny traduction, having no other argument to confirm their belief than that rhetorical sentence and *antimetathesis* of Augustine, *Creando infunditur, infundendo creatur*. Either opinion will consist well enough with religion; yet I should rather incline to this, did not one objection haunt me (not wrung from speculations and subtilties, but from common sense and observation; not picked from the leaves of any author, but bred amongst the weeds and tares of mine own brain); and this is a conclusion from the equivocal and monstrous productions in the conjunction of man with beast; for, if the soul of man be not transmitted and transfused in the seed of the parents, why are not those productions merely beasts,

¹ *Gen.*, i, 20-5.

² *Ib.* ii, 7.

³ *Opera*, ed. Francof. vol. vi, p. 201.

but have also an impression and tincture of reason in as high a measure as it can evidence itself in those improper organs? Nor, truly, can I peremptorily deny that the soul, in this her sublunary estate, is wholly and in all acceptions inorganic; but that for the performance of her ordinary actions there is required not only a symmetry and proper disposition of organs, but a crasis and temper correspondent to its operations; yet is not this mass of flesh and visible structure the instrument and proper corpse of the soul, but rather of sense, and that the hand of reason. In our study of anatomy there is a mass of mysterious philosophy, and such as reduced the very heathens to divinity; yet, amongst all those rare discoveries and curious pieces I find in the fabric of man, I do not so much content myself as in that I find not—there is no organ or instrument for the rational soul; for in the brain, which we term the seat of reason, there is not anything of moment more than I can discover in the crany of a beast; and this is a sensible and no inconsiderable argument of the inorganicity of the soul: at least in that sense we usually so receive it. Thus we are men, and we know not how: there is something in us that can be without us, and will be after us; though it is strange that it hath no history what it was before us, nor cannot tell how it entered in us.

Now, for these walls of flesh, wherein the soul doth seem to be immured before the Resurrection, it is nothing but an elemental composition, and a fabric that must fall to ashes. *All flesh is grass*¹ is not only metaphorically but literally true; for all those creatures we behold are but the herbs of the field, digested into flesh in them, or more remotely carnified in ourselves. Nay further, we are what we all abhor, *anthropophagi* and cannibals, devourers not only of men but of ourselves; and that not in an allegory but a positive truth; for all this mass of flesh which we behold came in at our mouths; this frame we look upon hath been upon our trenchers: in brief, we have devoured ourselves. I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras

¹ *Isaiah*. xl, 6.

did ever positively and in a literal sense affirm his metempsychosis, or impossible transmigration of the souls of men into beasts. Of all metamorphoses or transmigrations I believe only one, that is of Lot's wife¹, for that of Nebuchadnezzar² proceeded not so far; in all others I conceive there is no further verity than is contained in their implicit sense and morality. I believe that the whole frame of a beast doth perish, and is left in the same state after death as before it was materialled into life; that the souls of men know neither contrary nor corruption; that they subsist beyond the body, and outlive death by the privilege of their proper natures, and without a miracle; that the souls of the faithful, as they leave earth, take possession of heaven: and those apparitions and ghosts of departed persons are not the wandering souls of men, but the unquiet walks of devils, prompting and suggesting us unto mischief, blood, and villainy, instilling and stealing into our hearts that the blessed spirits are not at rest in their graves, but wander solicitous of the affairs of the world. But that those phantasms appear often, and do frequent cemeteries, charnel-houses, and churches—it is because they are the dormitories of the dead, where the Devil, like an insolent champion, holds with pride the spoils and trophies of his victory over Adam.

This is that dismal conquest we all deplore that makes us so often cry, *O Adam, quid fecisti?* I thank God I have not those straight ligaments or narrow obligations to the world as to dote on life, or be convulsed and tremble at the name of death. Not that I am insensible of the dread and horror thereof; or, by raking into the bowels of the deceased, continual sight of anatomies, skeletons, or cadaverous relics, like vespilloes, or grave-makers, I am become stupid or have forgot the apprehension of mortality; but that, marshalling all the horrors and contemplating the extremities thereof, I find not anything therein able to daunt the courage of a man, much less a well-resolved Christian; and therefore am not angry at the error

¹ *Gen.*, xix, 26.

² *Dan.*, iv, 33.

of our first parents or unwilling to bear a part of this common fate, and like the best of them to die, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a farewell of the elements, to be a kind of nothing for a moment, to be within one instant of a spirit. When I take a full view and circle of myself without this reasonable moderator and equal piece of justice, Death, I do conceive myself the miserablest person extant. Were there not another life that I hope for, all the vanities of this world should not entreat a moment's breath from me: could the Devil work my belief to imagine I could never die, I would not outlive that very thought. I have so abject a conceit of this common way of existence, this retaining to the sun and elements, I cannot think this is to be a man or to live according to the dignity of humanity. In expectation of a better, I can with patience embrace this life, yet in my best meditations do often defy death; I honour any man that contemns it, nor can I highly love any that is afraid of it: this makes me naturally love a soldier, and honour those tattered and contemptible regiments that will die at the command of a sergeant. For a pagan there may be some motives to be in love with life; but for a Christian to be amazed at death, I see not how he can escape this dilemma, that he is too sensible of this life, or hopeless of the life to come.

Some divines count Adam thirty years old at his creation¹, because they suppose him created in the perfect age and stature of man. And surely we are all out of the computation of our age, and every man is some months elder than he bethinks him; for we live, move, have a being, and are subject to the actions of the elements and the malice of diseases, in that other world, the truest microcosm, the womb of our mother. For, besides that general and common existence we are conceived to hold in our chaos, and whilst we sleep within the bosom of our causes, we enjoy a being and life in three distinct worlds, wherein we receive most manifest graduations. In that obscure world, the womb of our mother, our time is short, computed by the moon, yet longer than the days of many creatures

¹ [See p. 233, ll. 13-4].

that behold the sun ; ourselves being not yet without life, sense, and reason ; though for the manifestation of its actions it awaits the opportunity of objects, and seems to live there but in its root and soul of vegetation. Entering afterwards upon the scene of the world, we arise up and become another creature, performing the reasonable actions of man, and obscurely manifesting that part of divinity in us ; but not in complement and perfection till we have once more cast our secondine, that is, this slough of flesh, and are delivered into the last world, that is that ineffable place of Paul¹, that proper *ubi* of spirits. The smattering I have of the philosopher's stone (which is something more than the perfect exaltation of gold) hath taught me a great deal of divinity, and instructed my belief how that immortal spirit and incorruptible substance of my soul may lie obscure and sleep awhile within this house of flesh. Those strange and mystical transmigrations that I have observed in silk-worms turned my philosophy into divinity. There is in these works of nature, which seem to puzzle reason, something divine, and hath more in it than the eye of a common spectator doth discover.

I am naturally bashful ; nor hath conversation, age, or travel, been able to effront or enharden me ; yet I have one part of modesty which I have seldom discovered in another, that is (to speak truly), I am not so much afraid of death as ashamed thereof. 'Tis the very disgrace and ignominy of our natures that a moment can so disfigure us that our nearest friends, wife, and children, stand afraid and start at us : the birds and beasts of the field, that before in a natural fear obeyed us, forgetting all allegiance, begin to prey upon us. This very conceit hath in a tempest disposed and left me willing to be swallowed up in the abyss of waters, wherein I had perished unseen, unpitied, without wondering eyes, tears of pity, lectures of mortality, and none had said :

Quantum mutatus ab illo !

Not that I am ashamed of the anatomy of my parts,

¹ *II Corinth.*, xii, 4.

or can accuse nature for playing the bungler in any part of me, or my own vicious life for contracting any shameful disease upon me whereby I might not call myself as wholesome a morsel for the worms as any.

Some, upon the courage of a fruitful issue, wherein, as in the truest chronicle, they seem to outlive themselves, can with greater patience away with death. This conceit and counterfeit subsisting in our progenies seems to me a mere fallacy, unworthy the desires of a man that can but conceive a thought of the next world; who, in a nobler ambition, should desire to live in his substance in Heaven rather than his name and shadow in the earth. And therefore at my death I mean to take a total adieu of the world, not caring for a monument, history, or epitaph, not so much as the bare memory of my name to be found anywhere but in the universal register of God. I am not yet so cynical as to approve the testament of Diogenes; nor do I altogether allow that *rodomontado* of Lucan:

*Cælo tegitur qui non habet urnam*¹

He that unburied lies wants not his hearse,
For unto him a tomb's the universe;

but commend in my calmer judgment those ingenuous intentions that desire to sleep by the urns of their fathers and strive to go the neatest way unto corruption. I do not envy the temper of crows and daws, nor the numerous and weary days of our fathers before the Flood. If there be any truth in astrology, I may outlive a jubilee: as yet I have not seen one revolution of Saturn, nor hath my pulse beat thirty years; and yet, excepting one, have seen the ashes and left underground all the kings of Europe; have been contemporary to three emperors, four grand signiors, and as many popes. Methinks I have outlived myself, and begin to be weary of the sun; I have shaken hands with delight; in my warm blood and canicular days, I perceive I do anticipate the vices of age²; the world to me is but a dream or mock-show, and we all therein but pantaloons and antics, to my severer contemplations.

¹ *Pharsalia*, vii, 819.

² [See p. 233, ll. 11-2].

It is not, I confess, an unlawful prayer to desire to surpass the days of our Saviour, or wish to outlive that age wherein He thought fittest to die; yet, if (as Divinity affirms) there shall be no gray hairs in Heaven, but all shall rise in the perfect state of men, we do but outlive those perfections in this world, to be recalled unto them by a greater miracle in the next, and run on here but to be retrograde hereafter. Were there any hopes to outlive vice, or a point to be superannuated from sin, it were worthy our knees to implore the days of Methuselah. But age does not rectify, but incurvate, our natures¹, turning bad dispositions into worsen habits, and (like diseases) brings on incurable vices; for every day as we grow weaker in age we grow stronger in sin, and the number of our days doth but make our sins innumerable. The same vice committed at sixteen is not the same, though it agree in all other circumstances, at forty, but swells and doubles from the circumstances of our ages; wherein, besides the constant and inexcusable habit of transgressing, the maturity of our judgment cuts off pretence unto excuse or pardon. Every sin, the oftener it is committed, the more it acquireth in the quality of evil; as it succeeds in time, so it proceeds in degrees of badness; for as they proceed they ever multiply, and, like figures in arithmetic, the last stands for more than all that went before it. And though I think no man can live well once but he that could live twice, yet for my own part I would not live over my hours past, or begin again the thread of my days—not upon Cicero's ground, because I have lived them well, but for fear I should live them worse. I find my growing judgment daily instruct me how to be better, but my untamed affections and confirmed vitiosity makes me daily do worse. I find in my confirmed age the same sins I discovered in my youth; I committed many then, because I was a child; and because I commit them still I am yet an infant. Therefore I perceive a man may be twice a child before the days of dotage, and stand in need of Æson's bath before threescore.

¹[See p. 220, l. 35].

And truly there goes a great deal of Providence to produce a man's life unto threescore: there is more required than an able temper for those years; though the radical humour contain in it sufficient oil for seventy, yet I perceive in some it gives no light past thirty: men assign not all the causes of long life that write whole books thereof. They that found themselves on the radical balsam or vital sulphur of the parts, determine not why Abel lived not so long as Adam. There is therefore a secret glome or bottom of our days: 'twas His wisdom to determine them, but His perpetual and waking Providence that fulfils and accomplisheth them; wherein the spirits, ourselves, and all the creatures of God in a secret and disputed way do execute His will. Let *them* not therefore complain of immaturity that die about thirty; they fall but like the whole world, whose solid and well-composed substance must not expect the duration and period of its constitution: when all things are completed in it, its age is accomplished, and the last and general fever may as naturally destroy it before six thousand as me before forty. There is therefore some other hand that twines the thread of life than that of nature: we are not only ignorant in antipathies and occult qualities; our ends are as obscure as our beginnings; the line of our days is drawn by night, and the various effects therein by a pencil that is invisible; wherein, though we confess our ignorance, I am sure we do not err if we say it is the hand of God.

I am much taken with two verses of Lucan, since I have been able not only, as we do at school, to construe, but understand:

*Victurosque Dei celant, ut vivere durent,
Felix esse mori*¹.

We're all deluded, vainly searching ways
To make us happy by the length of days;
For cunningly to make's protract this breath,
The Gods conceal the happiness of death.

There be many excellent strains in that poet wherewith

¹ *Pharsalia*, iv, 510-1.

his stoical genius hath liberally supplied him ; and truly there are singular pieces in the philosophy of Zeno and doctrine of the Stoics which I perceive, delivered in a pulpit, pass for current divinity ; yet herein are they in extremes that can allow a man to be his own assassin and so highly extol the end and suicide of Cato. This is indeed not to fear death, but yet to be afraid of life. It is a brave act of valour to contemn death ; but, where life is more terrible than death, it is then the truest valour to dare to live. And herein religion hath taught us a noble example ; for all the valiant acts of Curtius, Scævola, or Codrus, do not parallel or match that one of Job ; and sure there is no torture to the rack of a disease, nor any poniards in death itself like those in the way or prologue to it.

Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihil curo.

I would not die, but care not to be dead.

Were I of Cæsar's religion, I should be of his desires, and wish rather to go off at one blow than to be sawed in pieces by the grating torture of a disease. Men that look no farther than their outsides think health an appurtenance unto life, and quarrel with their constitutions for being sick ; but I, that have examined the parts of man and know upon what tender filaments that fabric hangs, do wonder that we are not always so ; and, considering the thousand doors that lead to death, do thank my God that we can die but once. 'Tis not only the mischief of diseases and the villainy of poisons that make an end of us ; we vainly accuse the fury of guns and the new inventions of death ; it is in the power of every hand to destroy us, and we are beholding unto every one we meet he doth not kill us. There is therefore but one comfort left, that, though it be in the power of the weakest arm to take away life, it is not in the strongest to deprive us of death : God would not exempt Himself from that ; the misery of immortality in the flesh, He undertook not that was immortal. Certainly there is no happiness within this circle of flesh, nor is it in the optics of these eyes to behold felicity. The first day of our jubilee is death ;

the Devil hath therefore failed of his desires : we are happier with death than we should have been without it ; there is no misery but in himself, where there is no end of misery ; and so indeed, in his own sense, the Stoic is in the right. He forgets that he can die who complains of misery ; we are in the power of no calamity while death is in our own.

Now, besides this literal and positive kind of death, there are others whereof divines make mention, and those, I think, not merely metaphorical, as mortification, dying unto sin and the world. Therefore, I say, every man hath a double horoscope, one of his humanity, his birth ; another of his Christianity, his baptism ; and from this do I compute or calculate my nativity, not reckoning those *horæ combustæ* and odd days, or esteeming myself anything before I was my Saviour's, and enrolled in the register of Christ. Whosoever enjoys not this life, I count him but an apparition, though he wear about him the sensible affections of flesh. In these moral acceptations, the way to be immortal is to die daily ; nor can I think I have the true theory of death when I contemplate a skull or behold a skeleton, with those vulgar imaginations it casts upon us ; I have therefore enlarged that common *Memento mori* into a more Christian memorandum, *Memento quatuor novissima*, those four inevitable points of us all, Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell. Neither did the contemplations of the heathens rest in their graves without a further thought of Rhadamanth, or some judicial proceeding after death, though in another way and upon suggestion of their natural reasons. I cannot but marvel from what sibyl or oracle they stole the prophecy of the world's destruction by fire, or whence Lucan learned to say :

*Communis mundo superest rogos, ossibus astra
Mixturus*¹.

There yet remains to th' world one common fire,
Wherein our bones with stars shall make one pyre.

I believe the world grows near its end, yet is neither old

¹ *Pharsalia*, vii, 814-5.

nor decayed, nor shall ever perish upon the ruins of its own principles. As the work of creation was above nature, so is its adversary, annihilation, without which the world hath not its end but its mutation. Now what force should be able to consume it thus far without the breath of God, which is the truest consuming flame, my philosophy cannot inform me. Some believe there went not a minute to the world's creation, nor shall there go to its destruction; those six days, so punctually described¹, make not to them one moment, but rather seem to manifest the method and idea of the great work of the intellect of God than the manner how He proceeded in its operation. I cannot dream that there should be at the last day any such judicial proceeding, or calling to the bar, as indeed the Scripture seems to imply and the literal commentators do conceive; for unspeakable mysteries in the Scriptures are often delivered in a vulgar and illustrative way, and, being written unto man, are delivered not as they truly are but as they may be understood; wherein, notwithstanding, the different interpretations according to different capacities may stand firm with our devotion, nor be any way prejudicial to each single edification.

Now to determine the day and year of this inevitable time is not only convincible and statute-madness but also manifest impiety. How shall we interpret Elias' six thousand years, or imagine the secret communicated to a rabbi which God hath denied unto His angels²? It had been an excellent query to have posed the Devil of Delphos, and must needs have forced him to some strange amphibology. It hath not only mocked the predictions of sundry astrologers in ages past but the prophecies of many melancholy heads in these present, who, neither understanding reasonably things past or present, pretend a knowledge of things to come; heads ordained only to manifest the incredible effects of melancholy and to fulfil old prophecies rather than be the authors of new. *In those days there shall come wars and rumours of wars* to me seems no prophecy but a constant truth, in all times verified since it was

¹ Gen., i.

² Matth., xxiv, 36.

pronounced. *There shall be signs in the moon and stars*¹; how comes He then *like a thief in the night*², when He gives an item of His coming? That common sign drawn from the revelation of Antichrist is as obscure as any: in our common compute He hath been come these many years; but for my own part (to speak freely) I am half of opinion that Antichrist is the philosopher's stone in divinity, for the discovery and invention thereof, though there be prescribed rules and probable inductions, yet hath hardly any man attained the perfect discovery thereof. That general opinion that the world grows near its end hath possessed all ages past as nearly as ours. I am afraid that the souls that now depart cannot escape that lingering expostulation of the saints under the altar: *Quousque, Domine? How long, O Lord?*³, and groan in the expectation of that great jubilee.

This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God, His justice; that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings, and reduce those seeming inequalities and respective distributions in this world to an equality and recompensive justice in the next. This is that one day that shall include and comprehend all that went before it, wherein, as in the last scene, all the actors must enter, to complete and make up the catastrophe of this great piece. This is the day whose memory hath only power to make us honest in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witness.

Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi,

that virtue is her own reward, is but a cold principle, and not able to maintain our variable resolutions in a constant and settled way of goodness. I have practised that honest artifice of Seneca, and in my retired and solitary imaginations, to detain me from the foulness of vice, have fancied to myself the presence of my dear and worthiest friends, before whom I should lose my head rather than be vicious: yet herein I found that

¹ *Luke*, xxi, 25.

² *I Thess.*, v, 2.

³ *Rev.*, vi, 10, and p. 247, l. 23.

there was naught but moral honesty, and this was not to be virtuous for His sake Who must reward us at the last. I have tried if I could reach that great resolution of his, to be honest without a thought of Heaven or Hell; and indeed I found, upon a natural inclination and inbred loyalty unto virtue, that I could serve her without a livery; yet not in that resolved and venerable way, but that the frailty of my nature upon an easy temptation might be induced to forget her. The life, therefore, and spirit of all our actions is the resurrection, and a stable apprehension that our ashes shall enjoy the fruit of our pious endeavours; without this, all religion is a fallacy, and those impieties of Lucan, Euripides, and Julian are no blasphemies, but subtle verities, and atheists have been the only philosophers.

How shall the dead arise¹ is no question of my faith; to believe only possibilities is not faith, but mere philosophy². Many things are true in divinity which are neither inducible by reason nor confirmable by sense; and many things in philosophy confirmable by sense yet not inducible by reason. Thus it is impossible by any solid or demonstrative reasons to persuade a man to believe the conversion of the needle to the north, though this be possible, and true, and easily credible, upon a single experiment unto the sense. I believe that our estranged and divided ashes shall unite again; that our separated dust, after so many pilgrimages and transformations into the parts of minerals, plants, animals, elements, shall at the voice of God return into their primitive shapes and join again to make up their primary and predestinate forms. As at the creation there was a separation of that confused mass into its species, so at the destruction thereof there shall be a separation into its distinct individuals. As at the creation of the world all the distinct species that we behold lay involved in one mass, till the fruitful voice of God separated this united multitude into its several species, so at the last day, when those corrupted relics shall be scattered in the wilderness of forms and seem to have forgot their proper habits, God by a powerful

¹ *I Cor.*, xv, 35.

² [See p. 12, ll. 34-5].

voice shall command them back into their proper shapes, and call them out by their single individuals. Then shall appear the fertility of Adam and the magic of that sperm that hath dilated into so many millions. I have often beheld as a miracle that artificial resurrection and revivification of mercury, how being mortified into a thousand shapes it assumes again its own and returns into its numerical self. Let us speak naturally and like philosophers, the forms of alterable bodies in these sensible corruptions perish not, nor, as we imagine, wholly quit their mansions, but retire and contract themselves into their secret and unaccessible parts, where they may best protect themselves from the action of their antagonist. A plant or vegetable consumed to ashes to a contemplative and School-philosopher seems utterly destroyed, and the form to have taken his leave for ever; but to a sensible artist the forms are not perished, but withdrawn into their incombustible part, where they lie secure from the action of that devouring element. This is made good by experience, which can from the ashes of a plant revive the plant, and from its cinders recall it into its stalk and leaves again. What the art of man can do in these inferior pieces what blasphemy is it to affirm the finger of God cannot do in these more perfect and sensible structures! This is that mystical philosophy from whence no true scholar becomes an atheist, but from the visible effects of nature grows up a real divine, and beholds not in a dream, as Ezekiel¹, but in an ocular and visible object the types of his resurrection.

Now, the necessary mansions of our restored selves are those two contrary and incompatible places we call *Heaven* and *Hell*. To define them, or strictly to determine what and where these are, surpasseth my divinity. That elegant Apostle which seemed to have a glimpse of Heaven hath left but a negative description thereof; *which neither eye hath seen nor ear hath heard, nor can enter into the heart of man*²: he was translated out of himself to behold it³; but, being returned into himself, could not express it. St John's description

¹ ch. xxxvii. ² *I Cor.*, ii, 9. ³ *II Cor.*, xii, 2.

by emeralds, chrysolites, and precious stones¹ is too weak to express the material heaven we behold. Briefly, therefore, where the soul hath the full measure and complement of happiness, where the boundless appetite of that spirit remains completely satisfied that it can neither desire addition nor alteration, that, I think, is truly Heaven; and this can only be in the enjoyment of that essence whose infinite goodness is able to terminate the desires of itself and the unsatiable wishes of ours: wherever God will thus manifest Himself, there is Heaven, though within the cricle of this sensible world. Thus the soul of man may be in Heaven anywhere, even within the limits of his own proper body; and when it ceaseth to live in the body it may remain in its own soul, that is, its Creator: and thus we may say that St Paul, *whether in the body or out of the body*², was yet in Heaven. To place it in the empyrean, or beyond the tenth sphere, is to forget the world's destruction; for, when this sensible world shall be destroyed, all shall then be here as it is now there, an empyreal Heaven, a *quasi*-vacuity, when to ask where Heaven is is to demand where the presence of God is, or where we have the glory of that happy vision. Moses, that was bred up in all the learning of the Egyptians, committed a gross absurdity in philosophy when with these eyes of flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is, Truth itself, to a contradiction³. Those that imagine Heaven and Hell neighbours, and conceive a vicinity between those two extremes, upon consequence of the parable where Dives discoursed with Lazarus in Abraham's bosom⁴, do too grossly conceive of those glorified creatures whose eyes shall easily out-see the sun, and behold without a perspective the extremest distances; for, if there shall be in our glorified eyes the faculty of sight and reception of objects, I could think the visible species there to be in as unlimitable a way as now the intellectual⁵. I grant that two bodies placed beyond the tenth sphere, or in a vacuity according to Aristotle's philosophy, could

¹ *Rev.*, xxi, 19-21. ² *II Cor.*, xii, 2-4. ³ *Ex.*, xxxiii, 18.

⁴ *Luke*, xvi, 19, *sqq.* ⁵ [See p. 239, ll. 33-7].

not behold each other because there wants a body or medium to hand and transport the visible rays of the object unto the sense; but, when there shall be a general defect of either medium to convey, or light to prepare and dispose, that medium, and yet a perfect vision, we must suspend the rules of our philosophy, and make all good by a more absolute piece of optics.

I cannot tell how to say that fire is the essence of Hell: I know not what to make of Purgatory, or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purify, the substance of a soul. Those flames of sulphur mentioned in the Scriptures¹ I take not to be understood of this present Hell, but of that to come, where fire shall make up the complement of our tortures, and have a body or subject wherein to manifest its tyranny. Some who have had the honour to be textuary in divinity are of opinion it shall be the same specific fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make good how even that may prey upon our bodies and yet not consume us; for in this material world there are bodies that persist invincible in the powerfulest flames; and, though by the action of fire they fall into ignition and liquation, yet will they never suffer a destruction. I would gladly know how Moses with an actual fire calcined or burnt the Golden Calf unto powder²; for that mystical metal of gold, whose solary and celestial nature I admire, exposed unto the violence of fire grows only hot and liquefies, but consumeth not; so, when the consumable and volatile pieces of our bodies shall be refined into a more impregnable and fixed temper like gold, though they suffer from the action of flames, they shall never perish, but lie immortal in the arms of fire. And surely if this frame must suffer only by the action of this element, there will many bodies escape; and not only Heaven but Earth will not be at an end but rather a beginning. For at present it is not earth but a composition of fire, water, earth, and air; but at that time, spoiled of these ingredients, it shall appear in a substance more like itself, its ashes. Philosophers that opinioned the world's destruction by fire did never

¹ *Rev.*, xxi, 8.

² *Ex.*, xxxii, 20.

dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last and proper action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass; and therefore some of our chemicks facetiously affirm that at the last fire all shall be cristalized and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that element. Nor need we fear this term *annihilation*, or wonder that God will destroy the works of His creation; for man subsisting, who is and will then truly appear a microcosm, the world cannot be said to be destroyed. For the eyes of God, and perhaps also of our glorified selves, shall as really behold and contemplate the world in its epitome, or contracted essence, as now it doth at large and in its dilated substance. In the seed of a plant to the eyes of God, and to the understanding of man, there exists, though in an invisible way, the perfect leaves, flowers, and fruit thereof; for things that are *in posse* to the sense are actually existent to the understanding. Thus God beholds all things Who contemplates as fully His works in their epitome as in their full volume, and beheld as amply the whole world in that little compendium of the sixth day as in the scattered and dilated pieces of those five before.

Men commonly set forth the torments of Hell by fire and the extremity of corporal afflictions, and describe Hell in the same method that Mahomet doth Heaven. This indeed makes a noise, and drums in popular ears; but, if this be the terrible piece thereof, it is not worthy to stand in diameter with Heaven, whose happiness consists in that part that is best able to comprehend it, that immortal essence, that translated divinity and colony of God, the soul. Surely, though we place Hell under earth, the Devil's walk and purlieu is about it: men speak too popularly who place it in those flaming mountains which to grosser apprehensions represent Hell. The heart of man is the place the Devils dwell in: I feel sometimes a Hell within myself—Lucifer keeps his Court in my breast¹; Legion is revived in me. There are as many Hells as Anaxagoras conceited worlds.

¹ [See p. 83, l. 7].

There was more than one Hell in Magdalene when there were seven Devils¹, for every Devil is an Hell unto himself; he holds enough of torture in his own *ubi*, and needs not the misery of circumference to afflict him; and thus a distracted conscience here is a shadow or introduction unto Hell hereafter. Who can but pity the merciful intention of those hands that do destroy themselves?—the Devil, were it in his power, would do the like, which being impossible, his miseries are endless, and he suffers most in that attribute wherein he is impassible, his immortality.

I thank God, and with joy I mention it, I was never afraid of Hell, nor never grew pale at the description of that place. I have so fixed my contemplations on Heaven that I have almost forgot the idea of Hell, and am afraid rather to lose the joys of the one than endure the misery of the other: to be deprived of them is a perfect Hell, and needs, methinks, no addition to complete our afflictions. That terrible term hath never detained me from sin, nor do I owe any good action to the name thereof. I fear God, yet am not afraid of Him: His Mercies make me ashamed of my sins, before His judgments afraid thereof. These are the forced and secondary method of His wisdom, which He useth out as the last remedy and upon provocation, a course rather to deter the wicked than incite the virtuous to His worship. I can hardly think there was ever any cared into Heaven; they go the fairest way to Heaven that would serve God without a Hell; other mercenaries that crouch into Him in fear of Hell, though they term themselves the servants, are indeed but the slaves, of the Almighty.

And, to be true and speak my soul, when I survey the occurrences of my life and call into account the finger of God, I can perceive nothing but an abyss and mass of mercies, either in general to mankind or in particular to myself. And, whether out of the prejudice of my affection, or an inverting and partial conceit of His mercies, I know not; but those which others term crosses, afflictions, judgments, misfortunes, to

¹ *Luke*, viii, 2.

me who inquire farther into them than their visible effects they both appear, and in event have ever proved, the secret and dissembled favours of His affection. It is a singular piece of wisdom to apprehend truly and without passion the works of God, and so well to distinguish His justice from His mercy as not to miscall those noble attributes; yet it is likewise an honest piece of logic so to dispute and argue the proceedings of God as to distinguish even His judgment into mercies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst than the best deserve; and to say He punisheth none in this world, though it be a paradox, is no absurdity. To one that hath committed murder if the judge should only ordain a fine, it were a madness to call this a punishment and to repine at the sentence rather than admire the clemency of the judge. Thus, our offences being mortal and deserving not only death but damnation, if the goodness of God be content to traverse and pass them over with a loss, misfortune, or disease, what frenzy were it to term this a punishment rather than an extremity of mercy, and to groan under the rod of His judgments rather than admire the sceptre of His mercies! Therefore to adore, honour, and admire Him is a debt of gratitude due from the obligation of our nature, states, and conditions; and, with these thoughts, He that knows them best will not deny that I adore Him. That I obtain Heaven and the bliss thereof is accidental, and not the intended work of my devotion, it being a felicity I can neither think to deserve nor scarce in modesty to expect. For these two ends of us all, either as rewards or punishments, are mercifully ordained and disproportionably disposed unto our actions, the one being so far beyond our deserts, the other so infinitely below our demerits.

There is no salvation to those that believe not in Christ, that is, say some, since His Nativity, and, as divinity affirmeth, before also; which makes me much apprehend the ends of those honest worthies and philosophers which died before His Incarnation. It is hard to place those souls in Hell whose worthy lives do teach us virtue on earth; methinks amongst those many

sub-divisions of Hell there might have been one limbo left for these. What a strange vision will it be to see their poetical fictions converted into verities, and their imagined and fancied Furies into real Devils! How strange to them will sound the history of Adam, when they shall suffer for him they never heard of, when they who derive their genealogy from the gods shall know they are the unhappy issue of sinful man! It is an insolent part of reason to controvert the works of God, or question the justice of His proceedings. Could humility teach others, as it hath instructed me, to contemplate the infinite and incomprehensible distance betwixt the Creator and the creature; or, did we seriously perpend that one simile of St Paul: *Shall the vessel say to the potter 'Why hast thou made me thus¹?'*, would prevent these arrogant disputes of reason; nor could we argue the definitive sentence of God, either to Heaven or Hell. Men that live according to the right rule and law of reason live but in their own kind, as beasts do in theirs, who justly obey the prescript of their natures, and therefore cannot reasonably demand a reward of their actions, as only obeying the natural dictates of their reason. It will, therefore, and must at last, appear that all salvation is through Christ, which verity, I fear, these great examples of virtue must confirm, and make it good how the perfectest actions of earth have no title or claim unto Heaven.

Nor truly do I think the lives of these or of any other were ever correspondent, or in all points conformable, unto their doctrines. It is evident that Aristotle transgressed the rule of his own ethics. The Stoics that condemn passion, and command a man to laugh in Thalaris his Bull, could not endure without a groan a stone of the stone or colic. The Sceptics, that affirmed they knew nothing, even in that opinion confute themselves, and thought they knew more than all the world beside. Diogenes I hold to be the most vain-glorious man of his time, and more ambitious in refusing all honours than Alexander in rejecting none. Vice and the Devil put a fallacy upon our reasons, and, provoking

¹ *Romans*, ix, 20.

us too hastily to run from it, entangle and profound us deeper in it. The Duke of Venice, that weds himself unto the sea by a ring of gold, I will not argue of prodigality, because it is a solemnity of good use and consequence in the State; but the philosopher that threw his money into the sea to avoid avarice was a notorious prodigal. There is no road or ready way to virtue: it is not an easy point of art to disentangle ourselves from this riddle, or web of sin. To perfect virtue, as to religion, there is required a *panoplia*, or complete armour, that, whilst we lie at close ward against one vice, we lie not open to the venny of another. And indeed wiser discretions that have the thread of reason to conduct them offend without pardon; whereas under-heads may stumble without dishonour. There go so many circumstances to piece up one good action that it is a lesson to be good, and we are forced to be virtuous by the book. Again, the practice of men holds not an equal pace, yea, and often runs counter to their theory: we naturally know what is good, but naturally pursue what is evil; the rhetoric wherewith I persuade another cannot persuade myself. There is a depraved appetite in us that will with patience hear the learned instructions of reason, but yet perform no farther than agrees to its own irregular humour. In brief, we all are monsters, that is, a composition of man and beast, wherein we must endeavour to be as the poets fancy that wise man Chiron, that is, to have the region of man above that of beast, and sense to sit but at the feet of reason. Lastly, I do desire with God that all, but yet affirm with men that few, shall know salvation¹; that the bridge is narrow, the passage strait, unto life: yet those who do confine the Church of God either to particular nations, churches, or families have made it far narrower than our Saviour ever meant it.

The vulgarity of those judgments that wrap the Church of God in Strabo's cloak, and restrain it unto Europe, seem to me as bad geographers as Alexander, who thought he had conquered all the world when he had not subdued the half of any part thereof. For we

¹ *I Timothy*, ii, 4.

cannot deny the Church of God both in Asia and Africa, if we do not forget the peregrinations of the Apostles, the deaths of the martyrs, the sessions of many and (even in our reformed judgment) lawful Councils held in those parts in the minority and nonage of ours. Nor must a few differences, more remarkable in the eyes of man than perhaps in the judgment of God, excommunicate from Heaven one another; much less those Christians who are in a manner all martyrs, maintaining their faith in the noble way of persecution, and serving God in the fire, whereas we honour Him but in the sunshine. 'Tis true we all hold there is a number of elect, and many to be saved; yet, take our opinions together, and from the confusion thereof there will be no such thing as salvation, nor shall any one be saved. For first, the Church of Rome condemneth us, we likewise them; the Sub-reformists and sectaries sentence the doctrine of our Church as damnable; the Atomist or Familist reprobates all these; and all these, them again. Thus, while the mercies of God do promise us Heaven, our conceits and opinions exclude us from that place. There must be, therefore, more than one St Peter: particular Churches and sects usurp the gates of Heaven, and turn the key against each other; and thus we go to Heaven against each other's wills, conceits, and opinions, and with as much uncharity as ignorance do err, I fear, in points not only of our own but one another's salvation.

I believe many are saved who to man seem reprobated; and many are reprobated who in the opinion and sentence of man stand elected. There will appear at the Last Day strange and unexpected examples both of His justice and His mercy; and therefore to define either is folly in man and insolency even in the Devils. Those acute and subtle spirits, in all their sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved; which if they could prognostic, their labour were at an end, nor need they compass the earth *seeking whom they may devour*¹. Those who, upon a rigid application of the Law, sentence Solomon unto damnation condemn not only

¹ *I Peter*, v, 8.

him but themselves and the whole world ; for, by the letter and written word of God, we are without exception in the state of death ; but there is a prerogative of God, and an arbitrary pleasure above the letter of His own Law, by which alone we can pretend unto salvation, and through which Solomon might be as easily saved as those who condemn him.

The number of those who pretend unto salvation, and those infinite swarms who think to pass through the eye of this needle, have much amazed me. That name and compellation of *little flock*¹ doth not comfort, but deject, my devotion, especially when I reflect upon mine own unworthiness, wherein, according to my humble apprehensions, I am below them all. I believe there shall never be an anarchy in Heaven ; but, as there are hierarchies amongst the angels, so shall there be degrees of priority amongst the saints. Yet is it (I protest) beyond my ambition to aspire unto the first ranks : my desires only are (and I shall be happy therein) to be but the last man, and bring up the rear in Heaven.

Again, I am confident and fully persuaded, yet dare not take my oath, of my salvation. I am as it were sure and do believe without all doubt that there is such a city as Constantinople, yet for me to take my oath thereon were a kind of perjury, because I hold no infallible warrant from my own sense to confirm me in the certainty thereof. And truly, though many pretend an absolute certainty of their salvation, yet, when an humble soul shall contemplate her own unworthiness, she shall meet with many doubts, and suddenly find how little we stand in need of the precept of St Paul : *Work out your salvation with fear and trembling*². That which is the cause of my election I hold to be the cause of my salvation, which was the mercy and beneplacit of God before I was or the foundation of the world. *Before Abraham was, I am*³ is the saying of Christ ; yet is it true in some sense if I say it of myself, for I was not only before myself but Adam, that is, in the Idea of God, and the decree of that synod held from

¹ *Luke*, xii, 32.

² *Phil.*, ii, 12.

³ *John*, viii, 58.

before the Creation, and at an end before it had a beginning; and thus was I dead before I was alive: though my grave be England, my dying place was Paradise; and Eve miscarried of me before she conceived of Cain.

Insolent zeals that do decry good works and rely only upon faith take not away merit; for, depending upon the efficacy of their faith, they enforce the condition of God, and in a more sophistical way do seem to challenge Heaven. It was decreed by God that only those that lapped¹ in the water like dogs should have the honour to destroy the Midianites; yet could none of those justly challenge, or imagine he deserved, that honour thereupon. I do not deny but that true faith, and such as God requires, is not only a mark or token but also a means of our salvation; but where to find this is as obscure to me as my last end. And, if our Saviour could object unto His own disciples and favourites a faith that to the quantity of a grain of mustard-seed is able to remove mountains², surely that which we boast of is not anything, or at the most but a remove from nothing. This is the tenour of my belief, wherein, though there be many things singular and to the humour of my irregular self, yet, if they square not with maturer judgments, I disclaim them, and do no further father them than the learned and best judgments shall authorize them³.

¹ *Judges*, vii, 4-7. ² *Matth.*, xvii, 20. ³ [See p. 4, l. 27].

RELIGIO MEDICI

THE SECOND PART

Now for that other virtue of Charity, without which faith is a mere notion and of no existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful disposition and humane inclination I borrowed from my parents, and regulate it to the written and prescribed laws of Charity. And, if I hold the true anatomy of myself, I am delineated and naturally framed to such a piece of virtue, for I am of a constitution so general that it consorts and sympathizeth with all things. I have no antipathy, or rather idiosyncrasy, in diet, humour, air, anything. I wonder not at the French for their dishes of frogs, snails, and toadstools, nor at the Jews for locusts and grasshoppers; but being amongst them make them my common viands, and I find they agree with my stomach as well as theirs. I could digest a salad gathered in a churchyard as well as in a garden. I cannot start at the presence of a serpent, scorpion, lizard, or salamander; at the sight of a toad or viper I find in me no desire to take up a stone to destroy them. I feel not in myself those common antipathies that I can discover in others; those national repugnances do not touch me, nor do I behold with prejudice the French, Italian, Spaniard, or Dutch; but, where I find their actions in balance with my countrymen's, I honour, love, and embrace them in the same degree. I was born in the eighth climate, but seem for to be framed and constellated unto all. I am no plant that will not prosper out of a garden. All places, all airs, make unto me one country: I am in England everywhere, and under any meridian. I have been shipwrecked, yet am not enemy with the sea or winds; I can study, play, or sleep in a tempest. In brief, I am averse from nothing: my conscience would give me the lie if I

should say I absolutely detest or hate any essence but the Devil; or so at least abhor anything but that we might come to composition. If there be any among those common objects of hatred I do contemn and laugh at, it is that great enemy of reason, virtue and religion, the Multitude: that numerous piece of monstrosity, which, taken asunder, seem men and the reasonable creatures of God, but, confused together, make but one great beast, and a monstrosity more prodigious than hydra. It is no breach of Charity to call these *fools*; it is the style all holy writers have afforded them, set down by Solomon in canonical Scripture¹, and a point of our faith to believe so. Neither in the name of *Multitude* do I only include the base and minor sort of people; there is a rabble even amongst the gentry, a sort of Plebeian heads whose fancy moves with the same wheel as these, men in the same level with mechanics, though their fortunes do somewhat gild their infirmities, and their purses compound for their follies. But as in casting account three or four men together come short in account of one man placed by himself below them, so neither are a troop of these ignorant *doradoes* of that true esteem and value as many a forlorn person whose condition doth place him below their feet. Let us speak like politicians; there is a nobility without heraldry, a natural dignity whereby one man is ranked with another, another filed before him, according to the quality of his desert, and pre-eminence of his good parts. Though the corruption of these times and the bias of present practice wheel another way, thus it was in the first and primitive commonwealths, and is yet in the integrity and cradle of well-ordered polities, till corruption getteth ground, ruder desires labouring after that which wiser considerations contemn, every one having a liberty to amass and heap up riches, and they a licence or faculty to do or purchase anything.

This general and indifferent temper of mine doth more nearly dispose me to this noble virtue. It is a

¹ *Proverbs*, i, 7, 22, 32, etc.

happiness to be born and framed unto virtue, and to grow up from the seeds of nature rather than the inoculation and forced graffs of education; yet, if we are directed only by our particular natures, and regulate our inclinations by no higher rule than that of our reasons, we are but moralists; divinity will still call us heathens. Therefore this great work of charity must have other motives, ends, and impulsions, I give no alms only to satisfy the hunger of my brother, but to fulfil and accomplish the will and command of my God; I draw not my purse for his sake that demands it, but His that enjoined it: I relieve no man upon the rhetoric of his miseries, nor to content mine own commiserating disposition; for this is still but moral charity, and an act that oweth more to passion than reason. He that relieves another upon the bare suggestion and bowels of pity doth not this so much for his sake as for his own, for by compassion we make others' misery our own, and so by relieving them we relieve ourselves also. It is as erroneous a conceit to redress other men's misfortunes upon the common considerations of merciful natures, that it may be one day our own case; for this is a sinister and politic kind of charity whereby we seem to bespeak the pities of men in the like occasions. And truly I have observed that those professed eleemosynaries, though in a crowd or multitude, do yet direct and place their petitions on a few and selected persons: there is surely a physiognomy, which those experienced and master mendicants observe, whereby they instantly discover a merciful aspect, and will single out a face wherein they spy the signatures and marks of mercy. For there are mystically in our faces certain characters which carry in them the motto of our souls, wherein he that cannot read A B C may read our natures. I hold moreover that there is phytognomy or physiognomy, not only of men but of plants and vegetables; and in every one of them some outward figures which hang as signs or bushes of their inward forms. The finger of God hath left an inscription upon all His works,

not graphical or composed of letters, but of their several forms, constitutions, parts, and operations, which, aptly joined together, do make one word that doth express their natures. By these letters God calls the stars by their names¹; and by this alphabet Adam assigned to every creature a name peculiar to its nature². Now there are, besides these characters in our faces, certain mystical figures in our hands, which I dare not call mere dashes, *à la volée*, or at random, because delineated by a pencil that never works in vain; and hereof I take more particular notice, because I carry that in mine own hand which I could never read of nor discover in another. Aristotle, I confess, in his acute and singular book of *Physiognomy*, hath made no mention of chiromancy; yet I believe the Egyptians, who were nearer addicted to those obstruse and mystical sciences, had a knowledge therein, to which those vagabond and counterfeit Egyptians did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted principles which sometimes might verify their prognostics.

It is the common wonder of all men how among so many millions of faces there should be none alike; now, contrary, I wonder as much how there should be any. He that shall consider how many thousand several words have been carelessly and without study composed out of twenty-four letters, withal, how many hundred lines there are to be drawn in the fabric of one man, shall easily find that this variety is necessary; and it will be very hard that they shall so concur as to make one portrait like another. Let a painter carelessly limb out a million of faces and you shall find them all different; yea, let him have his copy before him, yet after all his art there will remain a sensible distinction; for the pattern or example of every thing is the perfectest in that kind whereof we still come short, though we transcend or go beyond it, because herein it is wide, and agrees not in all points unto the copy. Nor doth the similitude of creatures disparage the variety of nature, nor any way confound the works of God. For even in things alike

¹ *Psalms*, cxlvii, 4.

² *Gen.*, ii, 19-20.

there is diversity; and those that do seem to accord do manifestly disagree. And thus is man like God; for in the same things that we resemble Him we are utterly different from Him. There was never anything so like another as in all points to concur: there will ever some reserved difference slip in, to prevent the identity; without which, two several things would not be alike, but the same—which is impossible.

But to return from philosophy to charity: I hold not so narrow a conceit of this virtue as to conceive that to give alms is only to be charitable, or think a piece of liberality can comprehend the total of charity. Divinity hath wisely divided the act thereof into many branches, and hath taught us in this narrow way many paths unto goodness; as many ways as we may do good, so many ways we may be charitable. There are infirmities not only of body, but of soul and fortunes, which do require the merciful hand of our abilities. I cannot contemn a man for ignorance, but behold him with as much pity as I do Lazarus. It is no greater charity to clothe his body than apparel the nakedness of his soul. It is an honourable object to see the reasons of other men wear our liveries, and their borrowed understanding do homage to the bounty of ours; it is the cheapest way of beneficence, and, like the natural charity of the sun, illuminates another without obscuring itself. To be reserved and caitiff in this part of goodness is the sordidest piece of covetousness, and more contemptible than pecuniary avarice. To this (as calling myself a scholar) I am obliged by the duty of my condition; I make not therefore my head a grave, but a treasure, of knowledge¹; I intend no monopoly, but a community, in learning; I study not for my own sake only, but for theirs that study not for themselves. I envy no man that knows more then myself, but pity them that know less. I instruct no man as an exercise of my knowledge or with an intent rather to nourish and keep it alive in mine own head than beget and propagate it in his; and in the midst of all my

¹ [See p. 207, l. 5].

endeavours there is but one thought that dejects me, that my acquired parts must perish with myself, nor can be legacied among my honoured friends. I cannot fall out or contemn a man for an error, or conceive why a difference in opinion should divide an affection; for controversies, disputes, and argumentations, both in philosophy and in divinity, if they meet with discreet and peaceable natures, do not infringe the laws of charity. In all disputes, so much as there is of passion, so much there is of nothing to the purpose; for then reason, like a bad hound, spends upon a false scent, and forsakes the question first started. And this is one reason why controversies are never determined; for, though they be amply proposed, they are scarce at all handled, they do so swell with unnecessary digressions; and the parenthesis on the party is often as large as the main discourse upon the subject. The foundations of religion are already established, and the principles of salvation subscribed unto by all: there remains not many controversies worth a passion; and yet never any disputed without, not only in divinity but inferior arts. What a *βατραχομνομαχία* and hot skirmish is betwixt S and T in Lucian! How do grammarians hack and slash for the genitive case in *Jupiter*! How do they break their own pates to salve that of Priscian!

Si foret in terris, rideret Democritus.

Yea, even amongst wiser militants, how many wounds have been given and credits slain for the poor victory of an opinion or beggarly conquest of a distinction! Scholars are men of peace: they bear no arms, but their tongues are sharper than Actius his razor; their pens carry farther and give a louder report than thunder: I had rather stand the shock of a basilisco than the fury of a merciless pen. It is not mere zeal to learning, or devotion to the Muses, that wiser princes patron the arts, and carry an indulgent aspect unto scholars; but a desire to have their names eternized by the memory of their writings, and a fear of the revengeful pen of succeeding ages; for these are

the men that, when they have played their parts and had their *exits*, must step out and give the moral of their scenes, and deliver unto posterity an inventory of their virtues and vices. And surely there goes a great deal of conscience to the compiling of an history: there is no reproach to the scandal of a story; it is such an authentic kind of falsehood that with authority belies our good names to all nations and posterity.

There is another offence unto charity which no author hath ever written of, and few take notice of; and that's the reproach, not of whole professions, mysteries, and conditions, but of whole nations, wherein by opprobrious epithets we miscall each other, and by an uncharitable logic, from a disposition in a few, conclude a habit in all.

*Le mutin Anglois, et le bravache Escossois,
Et le fol François,
Le poultron Romain, le larron de Gascongne,
L'Espagnol superbe, et l'Aleman yvrongne.*

St Paul, that calls the Cretans *liars*, doth it but indirectly and upon quotation of their own poet. It is as bloody a thought in one way as Nero's was in another; for by a word we wound a thousand and at one blow assassinate the honour of a nation. It is as complete a piece of madness to miscall and rave against the times, or think to recall men to reason by a fit of passion. Democritus, that thought to laugh the times into goodness, seems to me as deeply hypochondriac as Heraclitus, that bewailed them. It moves not my spleen to behold the multitude in their proper humours, that is, in their fits of folly and madness, as well understanding that wisdom is not profaned unto the world, and 'tis the privilege of a few to be virtuous. They that endeavour to abolish vice, destroy also virtue; for contraries, though they destroy one another, are yet the life of one another. Thus virtue (abolish vice) is an idea. Again, the community of sin doth not disparage goodness; for, when vice gains upon the major part, virtue, in whom

it remains, becomes more excellent¹; and being lost in some, multiplies its goodness in others which remain untouched and persist entire in the general inundation. I can therefore behold vice without a satire, content only with an admonition or instructive reprehension; for noble natures, and such as are capable of goodness, are railed into vice, that might as easily be admonished into virtue; and we should be all so far the orators of goodness as to protect her from the power of vice, and maintain the cause of injured truth. No man can justly censure or condemn another, because indeed no man truly knows another. This I perceive in myself; for I am in the dark to all the world and my nearest friends behold me but in a cloud. Those that know me but superficially think less of me than I do of myself; those of my near acquaintance think more; God, who truly knows me, knows that I am nothing; for He only beholds me and all the world who looks not on us through a derived ray, or a trajection of a sensible species, but beholds the substance without the helps of accidents, and the forms of things as we their operations. Further, no man can judge another, because no man knows himself; for we censure others but as they disagree from that humour which we fancy laudable in ourselves, and commend others but for that wherein they seem to quadrate and consent with us. So that, in conclusion, all is but that we all condemn, self-love. 'Tis the general complaint of these times, and perhaps of those past, that charity grows cold; which I perceive most verified in those which most do manifest the fires and flames of zeal; for it is a virtue that best agrees with coldest natures and such as are complexioned for humility. But how shall we expect charity towards others, when we are uncharitable to ourselves? *Charity begins at home* is the voice of the world; yet is every man his greatest enemy, and, as it were, his own executioner. *Non occides* is the commandment of God², yet scarce observed by any man; for I perceive every man is his own *Atropos*, and lends a hand to cut the thread

¹ [See p. 82, l. 34].

² *Exod.*, xx, 13.

of his own days. Cain was not therefore the first murderer, but Adam, who brought in death; whereof he beheld the practice and example in his own son Abel, and saw that verified in the experience of another which faith could not persuade him in the theory of himself.

There is, I think, no man that apprehends his own miseries less than myself, and no man that so nearly apprehends another's. I could lose an arm without a tear; and with few groans, methinks, be quartered into pieces; yet can I weep most seriously at a play, and receive with true passion the counterfeit grief of those known and professed impostures. It is a barbarous part of inhumanity to add unto any afflicted party's misery, or endeavour to multiply in any man a passion whose single nature is already above his patience. This was the greatest affliction of Job¹, and those oblique expostulations of his friends a deeper injury than the downright blows of the Devil. It is not the tears of our own eyes only, but of our friends also, that do exhaust the current of our sorrows; which, falling into many streams, runs more peaceably, and is contented with a narrower channel. It is an act within the power of charity to translate a passion out of one breast into another, and to divide a sorrow almost out of itself; for an affliction, like a dimension, may be so divided as, if not indivisible, at least to become insensible. Now with my friend I desire not to share or participate, but to engross, his sorrows; that, by making them mine own, I may more easily discuss them; for in mine own reason and within myself I can command that which I cannot entreat without myself and within the circle of another. I have often thought those noble pairs and examples of friendship not so truly histories of what had been as fictions of what should be; but I now perceive nothing in them but possibilities, nor anything in the heroic examples of Damon and Pythias, Achilles and Patroclus, which methinks upon some grounds I could not perform within the narrow compass of myself. That a man should

¹ *Job*, xix.

lay down his life for his friend seems strange to vulgar affections and such as confine themselves within that worldly principle : *Charity begins at home*. For mine own part I could never remember the relations that I held unto myself, nor the respect that I owe unto my own nature, in the cause of God, my country, and my friends. Next to these three, I do embrace myself. I confess I do not observe that order that the schools ordain our affections, to love our parents, wives, children, and then our friends ; for, excepting the injunctions of religion, I do not find in myself such a necessary and indissoluble sympathy to all those of my blood. I hope I do not break the fifth commandment if I conceive I may love my friend before the nearest of my blood, even those to whom I owe the principles of life. I never yet cast a true affection on a woman ; but I have loved my friend as I do virtue, my soul, my God. From hence methinks I do conceive how God loves man, what happiness there is in the love of God. Omitting all other, there are three most mystical unions : (1) two natures in one person ; (2) three persons in one nature ; (3) one soul in two bodies ; for, though indeed they be really divided, yet are they so united as they seem but one, and make rather a duality than two distinct souls.

There are wonders in true affection : it is a body of *enigmas*, mysteries, and riddles, wherein two so become one as they both become two. I love my friend before myself, and yet methinks I do not love him enough : some few months hence my multiplied affection will make me believe I have not loved him at all. When I am from him, I am dead till I be with him ; when I am with him, I am not satisfied but would still be nearer him. United souls are not satisfied with embraces, but desire to be truly each other ; which being impossible, their desires are infinite, and must proceed without a possibility of satisfaction. Another misery there is in affection, that whom we truly love like our own selves, we forget their looks, nor can our memory retain the idea of their faces ; and it is no wonder, for they are ourselves, and our affection makes their looks

our own. This noble affection falls not on vulgar and common constitutions, but on such as are marked for virtue: he that can love his friend with this noble ardour will in a competent degree affect all. Now, if we can bring our affections to look beyond the body and cast an eye upon the soul, we have found out the true object not only of friendship but charity; and the greatest happiness that we can bequeath the soul is that wherein we all do place our last felicity, salvation; which, though it be not in our power to bestow, it is in our charity and pious invocations to desire, if not procure and further. I cannot contentedly frame a prayer for myself in particular without a catalogue for my friends; nor request a happiness wherein my sociable disposition doth not desire the fellowship of my neighbour. I never hear the toll of a passing-bell, though in my mirth, without my prayers and best wishes for the departing spirit¹; I cannot go to cure the body of my patient but I forget my profession, and call unto God for his soul; I cannot see one say his prayers but, instead of imitating him, I fall into a supplication for him, who perhaps is no more to me than a common nature; and, if God hath vouchsafed an ear to my supplications, there are surely many happy that never saw me, and enjoy the blessing of mine unknown devotions. To pray for enemies, that is, for their salvation, is no harsh precept, but the practice of our daily and ordinary devotions. I cannot believe the story of the Italian: our bad wishes and uncharitable desires proceed no farther than this life; it is the Devil, and the uncharitable votes of Hell, that desire our misery in the world to come.

To do no injury, nor take none, was a principle which to my former years and impatient affections seemed to contain enough of morality; but my more settled years and Christian constitution have fallen upon severer resolutions. I can hold there is no such thing as injury; that, if there be, there is no such injury as revenge, and no such revenge as the contempt

¹ [See p. 11, ll. 10-1].

of an injury ; that to hate another is to malign himself ; and the truest way to love another is to despise ourselves. I were unjust unto mine own conscience if I should say I am at variance with anything like myself. I find there are many pieces in this one fabric of man ; this frame is raised upon a mass of antipathies. I am one methinks, but as the world, wherein notwithstanding there are a swarm of distinct essences, and in them another world of contrarieties ; we carry private and domestic enemies within, public and more hostile adversaries without. The Devil, that did but buffet St Paul¹, plays methinks at sharp with me. Let me be nothing, if within the compass of myself I do not find the battle of Lepanto, passion against reason, reason against faith², faith against the Devil, and my conscience against all. There is another man within me that's angry with me, rebukes, commands, and dastards me. I have no conscience of marble to resist the hammer of more heavy offences ; nor yet so soft and waxen as to take the impression of each single peccadillo or scape of infirmity. I am of a strange belief that it is as easy to be forgiven some sins as to commit some others. For my original sin, I hold it to be washed away in my baptism ; for my actual transgressions I compute and reckon with God but from my last repentance, sacrament, or general absolution ; and therefore am not terrified with the sins or madness of my youth. I thank the goodness of God I have no sins that want a name ; I am not singular in offences ; my transgressions are epidemical, and from the common breath of our corruption. For there are certain tempers of body which, matched with an humorous depravity of mind, do hatch and produce vitiosities whose newness and monstrosity of nature admits no name : this was the temper of that lecher that fell in love with a statua, and the constitution of Nero in his Spintrian recreations. For the heavens are not only fruitful in new and unheard-of stars, the earth in plants and animals, but men's minds also in villainy and vices. Now the dulness of

¹ *II Corinth.*, xii, 7.

² [See p. 24, l. 32].

my reason and the vulgarity of my disposition never prompted my invention nor solicited my affection unto any of these ; yet even those common and quotidian infirmities that so necessarily attend me, and do seem to be my very nature, have so dejected me, so broken the estimation that I should have otherwise of myself, that I repute myself the most abjectest piece of mortality. Divines prescribe a fit of sorrow to repentance : there goes indignation, anger, sorrow, hatred, into mine; passions of a contrary nature, which neither seem to suit with this action nor my proper constitution. It is no breach of charity to ourselves to be at variance with our vices, or to abhor that part of us which is an enemy to the ground of charity, our God ; wherein we do but imitate our great selves, the world, whose divided antipathies and contrary faces do yet carry a charitable regard unto the whole by their particular discords preserving the common harmony, and keeping in fetters those powers whose rebellions, once masters, might be the ruin of all.

I thank God, amongst those millions of vices I do inherit and hold from Adam, I have escaped one, and that a mortal enemy to charity, the first and father-sin not only of man but of the Devil, pride—a vice whose name is comprehended in a monosyllable, but in its nature not circumscribed with a world. I have escaped it in a condition that can hardly avoid it. Those petty acquisitions and reputed perfections that advance and elevate the conceits of other men add no feathers unto mine. I have seen a grammarian tower and plume himself over a single line in Horace, and shew more pride in the construction of one ode than the author in the composure of the whole book. For my own part, besides the *jargon* and *patois* of several provinces, I understand no less than six languages ; yet I protest I have no higher conceit of myself than had our fathers before the confusion of Babel, when there was but one language in the world, and none to boast himself either linguist or critic. I have not only seen several countries, beheld the nature of their climes, the chorography of their provinces, topography

of their cities, but understood their several laws, customs, and policies ; yet cannot all this persuade the dulness of my spirit unto such an opinion of myself as I behold in nimbler and conceited heads that never looked a degree beyond their nests. I know the names, and somewhat more, of all the constellations in my horizon ; yet I have seen a prating mariner that could only name the pointers and the North Star out-talk me, and conceit himself a whole sphere above me. I know most of the plants of my country and of those about me ; yet methinks I do not know so many as when I did but know a hundred, and had scarcely ever simpled farther than Cheapside. For, indeed, heads of capacity, and such as are not full with a handful or easy measure of knowledge, think they know nothing till they know all, which being impossible, they fall upon the opinion of Socrates, and only know they know not anything. I cannot think that Homer pined away upon the riddle of the fishermen, or that Aristotle, who understood the uncertainty of knowledge and confessed so often the reason of man too weak for the works of nature, did ever drown himself upon the flux and reflux of Euripus. We do but learn to-day what our better advanced judgments will unteach to-morrow ; and Aristotle doth but instruct us as Plato did him, that is, to confute himself. I have run through all sorts, yet find no rest in any : though our first studies and *junior* endeavours may style us Peripatetics, Stoics, or Academics, yet I perceive the wisest heads prove at last almost all Sceptics, and stand like Janus in the field of knowledge. I have therefore one common and authentic philosophy I learned in the Schools, whereby I discourse and satisfy the reason of other men ; another more reserved, and drawn from experience, whereby I content mine own. Solomon, that complained of ignorance in the height of knowledge¹, hath not only humbled my conceits but discouraged my endeavours. There is yet another conceit, that hath sometimes made me shut my books, which tells me it is vanity to waste our days in the

¹ *Eccles.*, vii, 23.

blind pursuit of knowledge; it is but attending a little longer, and we shall enjoy that by instinct and infusion which we endeavour at here by labour and inquisition. It is better to sit down in a modest ignorance and rest contented with the natural blessing of our own reason than buy the uncertain knowledge of this life with sweat and vexation, which Death gives every fool *gratis* and is an accessory of our glorification.

I was never yet once, and commend their resolutions who never marry twice; not that I disallow of second marriage, as neither, in all cases, of polygamy, which, considering some times and the unequal number of both sexes, may be also necessary. The whole world was made for man, but the twelfth part of man for woman: man in the whole world, and the breath of God: woman the rib and crooked piece of man. I could be content that we might procreate like trees, without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world without this trivial and worldly way of union: it is the foolishlest act a wise man commits in all his life, nor is there anything that will more deject his cooled imagination when he shall consider what an odd and unworthy piece of folly he hath committed. I speak not in prejudice, nor am averse from that sweet sex, but naturally amorous of all that is beautiful. I can look a whole day with delight upon a handsome picture, though it be but of an horse. It is my temper, and I like it the better, to affect all harmony; and sure there is music even in the beauty, and the silent note which Cupid strikes, far sweeter than the sound of an instrument. For there is a music wherever there is a harmony, order, or proportion; and thus far we may maintain the music of the spheres; for those well-ordered motions and regular paces, though they give no sound unto the ear, yet to the understanding they strike a note most full of harmony. Whosoever is harmonically composed delights in harmony, which makes me much distrust the symmetry of those heads which declaim against all church-music. For myself, not only from my obedience

but my particular genius, I do embrace it; for even that vulgar and tavern-music which makes one man merry, another mad, strikes in me a deep fit of devotion and a profound contemplation of the first Composer. There is something in it of divinity more than the ear discovers: it is an hieroglyphical and shadowed lesson of the whole world and creatures of God; such a melody to the ear as the whole world, well understood, would afford the understanding. In brief, it is a sensible fit of that harmony which intellectually sounds in the ears of God. I will not say, with Plato¹, the soul is an harmony, but harmonical, and hath its nearest sympathy unto music; thus some whose temper of body agrees and humours the constitution of their souls are born poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto rhythm. This made Tacitus, in the very first line of his story, fall upon a verse; and Cicero, the worst of poets but declaiming for a poet, falls in the very first sentence upon a perfect hexameter. I feel not in me those sordid and unchristian desires of my profession; I do not secretly implore and wish for plagues, rejoice at famines, revolve ephemerides and almanacs in expectation of malignant aspects, fatal conjunctions, and eclipses. I rejoice not at unwholesome springs, nor unseasonable winters: my prayer goes with the husbandman's; I desire everything in its proper season, that neither men nor the times be put out of temper. Let me be sick myself, if sometimes the malady of my patient be not a disease unto me. I desire rather to cure his infirmities than my own necessities. Where I do him no good, methinks it is scarce honest gain, though I confess 'tis but the worthy salary of our well-intended endeavours. I am not only ashamed but heartily sorry that, besides death, there are diseases incurable; yet not for my own sake, or that they be beyond my art, but for the general cause and sake of humanity, whose common cause I apprehend as mine own. And, to speak more generally, those three noble professions which all civil commonwealths do honour are raised

¹ *Phædo*, c. 36.

upon the fall of Adam, and are not any way exempt from their infirmities ; there are not only diseases incurable in physic, but cases indissolvable in laws, vices incorrigible in divinity. If General Councils may err, I do not see why particular courts should be infallible : their perfectest rules are raised upon the erroneous reasons of man, and the laws of one do but condemn the rules of another, as Aristotle oft-times the opinions of his predecessors, because, though agreeable to reason, yet were not consonant to his own rules and the logic of his proper principles. Again (to speak nothing of the sin against the Holy Ghost¹, whose cure not only, but whose nature, is unknown) I can cure the gout or stone in some sooner than divinity, pride, or avarice, in others. I can cure vices by physic when they remain incurable by divinity, and shall obey my pills when they contemn their precepts. I boast nothing, but plainly say we all labour against our own cure ; for death is the cure of all diseases. There is no *catholicon* or universal remedy I know but this ; which, though nauseous to queasy stomachs, yet to prepared appetites is nectar and a pleasant potion of immortality.

For my conversation, it is like the sun's—with all men, and with a friendly aspect to good and bad. Methinks there is no man bad, and the worst, best, that is, while they are kept within the circle of those qualities wherein they are good : there is no man's mind of such discordant and jarring a temper to which a tunable disposition may not strike a harmony. *Magnæ virtutes, nec minora vitia* ; it is the posy of the best natures, and may be inverted on the worst ; there are in the most depraved and venomous dispositions certain pieces that remain untouched, which by an *antiperistasis* become more excellent², or by the excellency of their antipathies are able to preserve themselves from the contagion of their enemy vices, and persist entire beyond the general corruption. For it is also thus in nature : the greatest balsams do lie enveloped in the bodies of most powerful corrosives. I say, moreover, and I ground upon experience, that poisons contain

Matth., xii, 31.

² [See p. 73, l. 1].

within themselves their own antidote¹ and that which preserves them from the venom of themselves, without which they were not deleterious to others only but to themselves also. But it is the corruption that I fear within me, not the contagion of commerce without me. 'Tis that unruly regiment within me that will destroy me²; 'tis I that do infect myself; the man without a navel yet lives in me; I feel that original canker corrode and devour me; and therefore *Defenda me Dios de me*, 'Lord, deliver me from myself', is a part of my Litany, and the first voice of my retired imaginations. There is no man alone, because every man is a microcosm, and carries the whole world about him. *Nunquam minus solus quam cum solus*, though it be the apophthegm of a wise man, is yet true in the mouth of a fool. Indeed, though in a wilderness, a man is never alone³, not only because he is with himself and his own thoughts but because he is with the Devil, who ever consorts with our solitude, and is that unruly rebel that musters up those disordered notions which accompany our sequestred imaginations. And, to speak more narrowly, there is no such thing as solitude, nor anything that can be said to be alone and by itself, but God, Who is His own circle and can subsist by Himself; all others, besides their dissimilary and heterogeneous parts, which in a manner multiply their natures, cannot subsist without the concourse of God and the society of that hand which doth uphold their natures. In brief, there can be nothing truly alone and by itself which is not truly one; and such is only God: all others do transcend an unity, and so by consequence are many.

Now for my life, it is a miracle of thirty years, which to relate were not a history but a piece of poetry, and would sound to common ears like a fable. For the world, I count it not an inn, but an hospital; and a place not to live but to die in. The world that I regard is myself; it is the microcosm of my own frame that I cast mine eye on; for the other, I use it but like my globe, and turn it round sometimes for my

¹ [See p. 210, l. 41].

² [See p. 58, l. 39].

³ [See p. 14, l. 17].

recreation. Men that look upon my outside, perusing only my condition and fortunes, do err in my altitude, for I am above Atlas his shoulders. The earth is a point not only in respect of the heavens above us, but of that heavenly and celestial part within us; that mass of flesh that circumscribes me limits not my mind; that surface that tells the heavens it hath an end cannot persuade me I have any; I take my circle to be above three hundred and sixty; though the number of the arc do measure my body, it comprehendeth not my mind; whilst I study to find how I am a microcosm, or little world, I find myself something more than the great. There is surely a piece of divinity in us, something that was before the elements and owes no homage unto the sun. Nature tells me I am the image of God, as well as Scripture¹: he that understands not thus much hath not his introduction or first lesson, and is yet to begin the alphabet of man. Let me not injure the felicity of others, if I say I am as happy as any: *Ruat cælum, fiat voluntas Tua* salveth all; so that, whatsoever happens, it is but what our daily prayers desire. In brief, I am content; and what should Providence add more? Surely this is it we call happiness, and this I do enjoy; with this I am happy in a dream, and as content to enjoy a happiness in a fancy as others in a more apparent truth and reality. There is surely a nearer apprehension of anything that delights us in our dreams than in our waked senses; without this I were unhappy, for my awaked judgment discontents me, ever whispering unto me that I am from my friend; but my friendly dreams in the night requite me, and make me think I am within his arms. I thank God for my happy dreams as I do for my good rest, for there is a satisfaction in them unto reasonable desires, and such as can be content with a fit of happiness; and surely it is not a melancholy conceit to think we are all asleep in this world, and that the conceits of this life are as mere dreams to those of the next—as the phantasms of the night to the conceits of the day. There is an equal delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the

¹ *Genesis*, i, 27.

emblem or picture of the other: we are somewhat more than ourselves in our sleeps, and the slumber of the body seems to be but the waking of the soul. It is the ligation of sense but the liberty of reason, and our waking conceptions do not match the fancies of our sleeps. At my nativity my ascendant was the watery sign of Scorpius; I was born in the planetary hour of Saturn, and I think I have a piece of that leaden planet in me. I am in no way facetious, nor disposed for the mirth and galliardize of company; yet in one dream I can compose a whole comedy, behold the action, apprehend the jests, and laugh myself awake at the conceits thereof. Were my memory as faithful as my reason is then fruitful, I would never study but in my dreams, and this time also would I choose for my devotions; but our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings that they forget the story, and can only relate to our awaked souls a confused and broken tale of that that hath passed. Aristotle, who hath written a singular tract *Of Sleep*, hath not methinks thoroughly defined it; nor yet Galen, though he seem to have corrected it; for those noctambulos and night-walkers, though in their sleep, do yet enjoy the action of their senses. We must therefore say that there is something in us that is not in the jurisdiction of Morpheus; and that those abstracted and ecstatic souls do walk about in their own corpse, as spirits with the bodies they assume, wherein they seem to hear, see, and feel, though indeed the organs are destitute of sense and their natures of those faculties that should inform them. Thus it is observed that men sometimes, upon the hour of their departure, do speak and reason above themselves; for then the soul, beginning to be freed from the ligaments of the body, begins to reason like herself and to discourse in a strain above mortality.

We term sleep a death; and yet it is waking that kills us, and destroys those spirits that are the house of life. 'Tis indeed a part of life that best expresseth death; for every man truly lives so long as he acts his nature or some way makes good the faculties of himself.

Themistocles, therefore, that slew his soldier in his sleep, was a merciful executioner : 'tis a kind of punishment the mildness of no laws hath invented ; I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it. It is that death by which we may be literally said to die daily¹ ; a death which Adam died before his mortality ; a death whereby we live a middle and moderating point between life and death—in fine, so like death, I dare not trust it without my prayers and a half adieu unto the world, and take my farewell in a colloquy with God.

The night is come, like to the day,
 Depart not Thou, great God, away.
 Let not my sins, black as the night,
 Eclipse the lustre of Thy light :
 Keep still in my horizon ; for to me
 The sun makes not the day, but Thee.
 Thou, Whose nature cannot sleep,
 On my temples sentry keep ;
 Guard me 'gainst those watchful foes,
 Whose eyes are open while mine close.
 Let no dreams my head infest,
 But such as Jacob's temples blest.
 While I do rest, my soul advance ;
 Make my sleep a holy trance ;
 That I may, my rest being wrought,
 Awake into some holy thought ;
 And with as active vigour run
 My course, as doth the nimble sun.
 Sleep is a death ; O make me try,
 By sleeping, what it is to die ;
 And as gently lay my head
 On my grave, as now my bed.
 Howere I rest, great God, let me
 Awake again at last with Thee ;
 And thus assured, behold, I lie
 Securely, or to awake or die.
 These are my drowsy days ; in vain
 I do now wake to sleep again :
 O come that hour when I shall never
 Sleep again, but wake for ever².

¹ *I Cor.*, xv, 3.

² [For a Latin translation of this poem v. p. 250].

This is the dormative I take to bedward ; I need no other laudanum than this to make me sleep ; after which I close mine eyes in security, content to take my leave of the sun and sleep unto the Resurrection.

The method I should use in distributive justice I often observe in commutative, and keep a geometrical proportion in both, whereby, becoming equable to others, I become unjust to myself, and supererogate in that common principle, *Do unto others as thou wouldst be done unto thyself*. I was not born unto riches, neither is it, I think, my star to be wealthy ; or, if it were, the freedom of my mind and frankness of my disposition were able to contradict and cross my fates ; for to me avarice seems not so much a vice as a deplorable piece of madness ; to conceive ourselves pipkins, or be persuaded that we are dead, is not so ridiculous nor so many degrees beyond the power of hellebore as this. The opinions of theory, and positions of men, are not so void of reason as their practised conclusions. Some have held that snow is black, that the earth moves, that the soul is air, fire, water ; but all this is philosophy, and there is no delirium, if we do but speculate the folly and indisputable dotage of avarice in that subterraneous idol and god of the earth. I do confess I am an atheist ; I cannot persuade myself to honour that the world adores ; whatsoever virtue its prepared substance may have within my body, it hath no influence nor operation without. I would not entertain a base design or an action that should call me villain for the Indies ; and for this only do I love and honour my own soul, and have methinks two arms too few to embrace myself. Aristotle is too severe that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth and the bountiful hand of Fortune. If this be true, I must confess I am charitable only in my liberal intentions and bountiful well-wishes ; but, if the example of the mite¹ be not only an act of wonder but an example of the noblest charity, surely poor men may also build hospitals, and the rich alone have not erected cathedrals. I have a private method which others observe not ; I take the

¹ *Luke*, xxi, 1-4.

opportunity of myself to do good ; I borrow occasion of charity from mine own necessities, and supply the wants of others when I am in most need myself ; for it is an honest stratagem to take advantage of ourselves, and so to husband the acts of virtue that, where they are defective in one circumstance, they may repay their want and multiply their goodness in another. I have not Peru in my desires, but a competence and ability to perform those good works to which He hath inclined my nature. He is rich who hath enough to be charitable ; and it is hard to be so poor that a noble mind may not find a way to this piece of goodness. *He that giveth to the poor lendeth to the Lord*¹ : there is more rhetoric in that one sentence than in a library of sermons ; and indeed, if those sentences were understood by the reader with the same emphasis as they are delivered by the author, we needed not those volumes of instructions, but might be honest by an epitome. Upon this motive only I cannot behold a beggar without relieving his necessities with my purse, or his soul with my prayers ; these scenical and accidental differences between us cannot make me forget that common and untouched part of us both : there is under these *centos* and miserable outsides, these mutilate and semi-bodies, a soul of the same alloy with our own, whose genealogy is God as well as ours, and in as fair a way to salvation as ourselves. Statists that labour to contrive a commonwealth without poverty take away the object of charity, not understanding only the commonwealth of a Christian but forgetting the prophecy of Christ.

Now, there is another part of charity, which is the basis and pillar of this, and that is the love of God, for Whom we love our neighbour ; for this I think charity, to love God for Himself and our neighbour for God. All that is truly amiable is God, or as it were a divided piece of Him that retains a reflex or shadow of Himself. Nor is it strange that we should place affection on that which is invisible : all that we truly love is thus ; what we adore under affection of our senses deserves not the

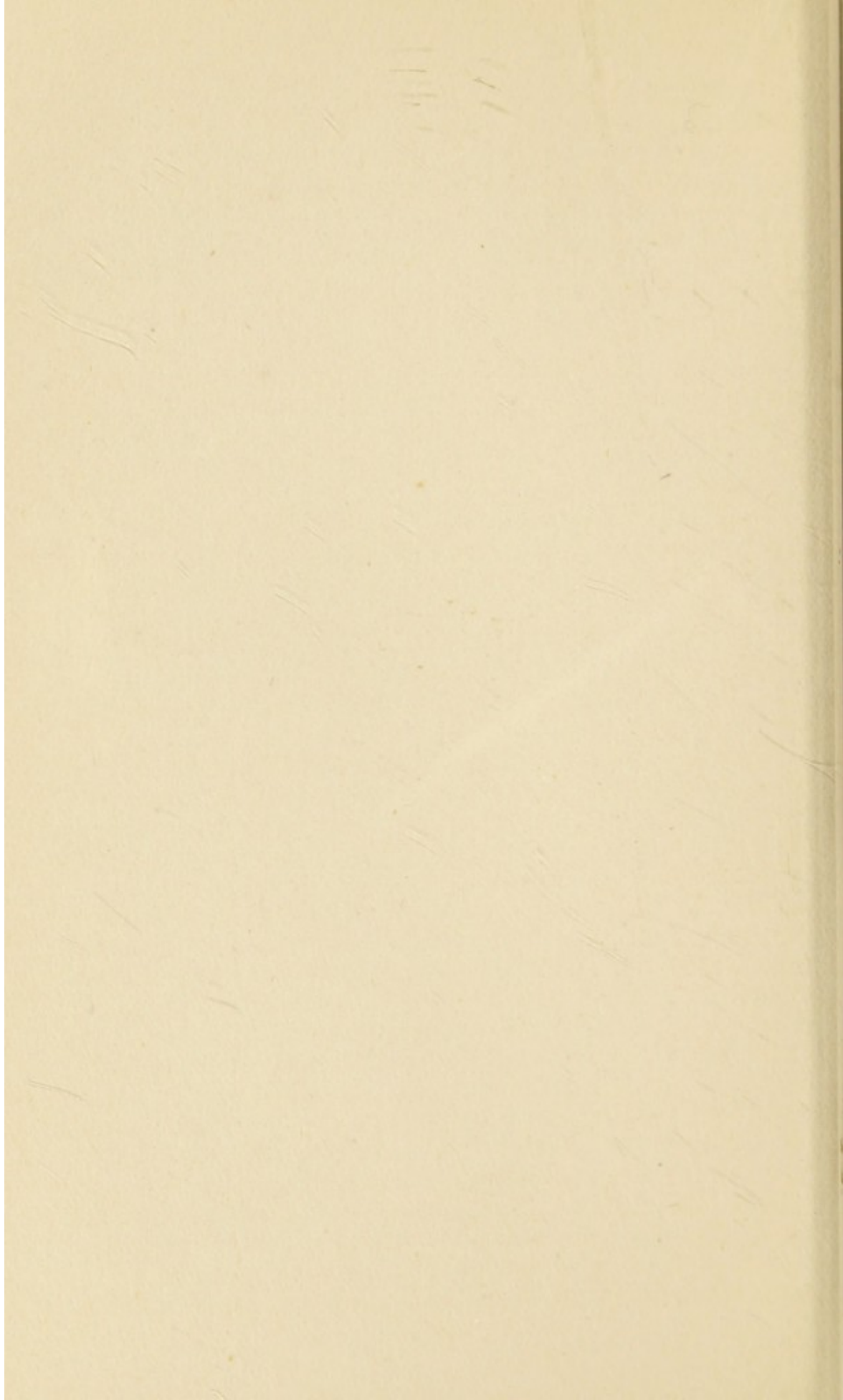
honour of so pure a title. Thus we adore virtue, though to the eyes of sense she be invisible ; thus that part of our noble friends that we love is not that part that we embrace but that insensible part that our arms cannot embrace. God, being all goodness, can love nothing but Himself ; He loves us but for that part which is as it were Himself, and the traduction of His Holy Spirit. Let us call to assize the loves of our parents, the affection of our wives and children, and they are all dumb shows and dreams, without reality, truth, or constancy. For first there is a strong bond of affection between us and our parents ; yet how easily dissolved ! We betake ourselves to a woman, forget our mother in a wife, and the womb that bare us in that that shall bear our image. This woman blessing us with children, our affection leaves the level it held before, and sinks from our bed unto our issue and picture of posterity, where affection holds no steady mansion. They, growing up in years, desire our ends ; or, applying themselves to a woman, take a lawful way to love another better than ourselves. Thus I perceive a man may be buried alive, and behold his grave in his own issue.

I conclude, therefore, and say there is no happiness under (or, as Copernicus will have it, *above*) the sun, nor any crambe in that repeated verity and burden of all the wisdom of Solomon : *All is vanity and vexation of spirit*¹. There is no felicity in that the world adores. Aristotle, whilst he labours to refute the ideals of Plato falls upon one himself ; for his *summum bonum* is a chimera, and there is no such thing as his felicity. That wherein God Himself is happy, the holy angels are happy, in whose defect the devils are unhappy, that dare I call happiness : whatsoever conduceth unto this may with an easy metaphor deserve that name ; whatsoever else the world terms happiness is to me a story out of Pliny, a tale of Boccace or Malizspini¹, an apparition or neat delusion, wherein there is no more of happiness than the name. Bless me in this life with but peace of my conscience, command of my affections, the love of Thyself and my dearest

¹ *Eccles*, ii, 26.

friends, and I shall be happy enough to pity Cæsar. These are, O Lord, the humble desires of my most reasonable ambition, and all I dare call happiness on earth ; wherein I set no rule or limit to Thy Hand or Providence. Dispose of me according to the wisdom of Thy pleasure : Thy will be done, though it is my own undoing.

HYDRIOTAPHIA : URN-BURIAL



TO MY
WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND
THOMAS LE GROS
OF CROSTWICK, ESQUIRE

WHEN the funeral pyre was out and the last valediction over, men took a lasting adieu of their interred friends, little expecting the curiosity of future ages should comment upon their ashes ; and, having no old experience of the duration of their relics, held no opinion of such after-considerations.

But who knows the fate of his bones, or how often he is to be buried ? Who hath the oracle of his ashes, or whither they are to be scattered ? The relics of many lie, like the ruins of Pompeys, in all parts of the earth ; and, when they arrive at your hands, these may seem to have wandered far who, in a direct and meridian travel, have but few miles of known earth between yourself and the pole.

That the bones of Theseus should be seen again in Athens was not beyond conjecture and hopeful expectation ; but that these should arrive so opportunely to serve yourself was an hit of fate and honour beyond prediction.

We cannot but wish these urns might have the effect of theatrical vessels and great hippodrome urns in Rome, to resound the acclamations and honour due unto you. But these are sad and sepulchral pitchers, which have no joyful voices, silently expressing old mortality, the ruins of forgotten times, and can only speak with life, how long in this corruptible frame some parts may be uncorrupted ; yet able to outlast bones long unborn and noblest pile among us.

We present not these as any strange sight or spectacle unknown to your eyes who have beheld the best of urns and noblest variety of ashes, who are yourself no slender master of antiquities, and can daily command the view of so many imperial faces ; which

raiseth your thoughts unto old things and consideration of times before you when even living men were antiquities ; when the living might exceed the dead, and to depart this world could not be properly said to go unto the greater number. And so run up your thoughts upon the Ancient of Days, the antiquary's truest object, unto whom the eldest parcels are young and earth itself an infant, and without Egyptian account makes but small noise in thousands.

We were hinted by the occasion, not caught the opportunity, to write of old things, or intrude upon the antiquary. We are coldly drawn unto discourses of antiquities who have scarce time before us to comprehend new things or make out learned novelties. But, seeing they arose, as they lay almost in silence among us, at least in short account suddenly passed over, we were very unwilling they should die again and be buried twice among us.

Beside, to preserve the living and make the dead to live, to keep men out of their urns and discourse of human fragments in them, is not impertinent unto our profession, whose study is life and death, who daily behold examples of mortality, and of all men least need artificial *mementoes*, or coffins by our bedside, to mind us of our graves.

'Tis time to observe occurrences, and let nothing remarkable escape us ; the supinity of elder days hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the records, that the most industrious heads do find no easy work to erect a new *Britannia*.

'Tis opportune to look back upon old times, and contemplate our forefathers. Great examples grow thin, and to be fetched from the passed world. Simplicity flies away, and iniquity comes at long strides upon us. We have enough to do to make up ourselves from present and passed times, and the whole stage of things scarce serveth for our instruction. A complete piece of virtue must be made from the *centos* of all ages, as all the beauties of Greece could make but one handsome Venus.

When the bones of King Arthur were digged up,

the old race might think they beheld therein some originals of themselves; unto these of our urns none here can pretend relation, and can only behold the relics of those persons who, in their life giving the laws unto their predecessors, after long obscurity now lie at their mercies. But, remembering the early civility they brought upon these countries and forgetting long-passed mischiefs, we mercifully preserve their bones and defile not their ashes.

In the offer of these antiquities we drive not at ancient families, so long outlasted by them. We are far from erecting your worth upon the pillars of your forefathers, whose merits you illustrate. We honour your old virtues, conformable unto times before you, which are the noblest armoury. And, having long experience of your friendly conversation, void of empty formality, full of freedom, constant and generous honesty, I look upon you as a gem of the old rock, and must profess myself even to urn and ashes,

Your ever faithful friend and servant,

THOMAS BROWNE.

NORWICH, *May* 1 [1658].

HYDRIOTAPHIA: URN - BURIAL

CHAPTER I

IN the deep discovery of the subterranean world a shallow part would satisfy some enquirers who, if two or three yards were open about the surface, would not care to rake the bowels of Potosi and regions towards the centre. Nature hath furnished one part of the earth, and man another. The treasures of time lie high, in urns, coins, and monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegetables. Time hath endless rarities, and shows of all varieties; which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth itself a discovery. That great antiquity America lay buried for thousands of years, and a large part of the earth is still in the urn unto us.

Though, if Adam were made out of an extract of the earth, all parts might challenge a restitution, yet few have returned their bones far lower than they might receive them; not affecting the graves of giants, under hilly and heavy coverings, but content with less than their own depth have wished their bones might lie soft, and the earth be light upon them. Even such as hope to rise again would not be content with central interment, or so desperately to place their relics as to lie beyond discovery and in no way to be seen again, which happy contrivance hath made communication with our forefathers, and left unto our view some parts which they never beheld themselves.

Though earth hath engrossed the name, yet water hath proved the smartest grave; which in forty days swallowed almost mankind and the living creation; fishes not wholly escaping, except the salt ocean were handsomely contempered by a mixture of the fresh element.

Many have taken voluminous pains to determine the state of the soul upon disunion; but men have been

most phantastical in the singular contrivances of their corporal dissolution : whilst the soberest nations have rested in two ways, of simple inhumation and burning.

That carnal interment, or burying, was of the elder date the old examples of Abraham¹ and the patriarchs² are sufficient to illustrate, and were without competition, if it could be made out that Adam was buried near Damascus, or Mount Calvary according to some tradition. God Himself, that buried but one, was pleased to make choice of this way, collectable from Scripture expression and the hot contest between Satan and the archangel, about discovering the body of Moses. But the practice of burning was also of great antiquity and of no slender extent³. For (not to derive the same from Hercules) noble descriptions there are hereof in the Grecian funerals of Homer, in the formal obsequies of Patroclus and Achilles ; and somewhat elder in the Theban war, and solemn combustion of Meneceus, and Archemorus, contemporary unto Jair the eighth judge of Israel. Confirmable also among the Trojans, from the funeral pyre of Hector, burnt before the gates of Troy ; and the burning of Penthesilea the Amazonian queen ; and long continuance of that practice in the inward countries of Asia ; while as low as the reign of Julian we find that the king of Chionia burnt the body of his son and interred the ashes in a silver urn.

The same practice extended also far west ; and, besides Herulians, Getes, and Thracians, was in use with most of the Celtæ, Sarmatians, Germans, Gauls, Danes, Swedes, Norwegians, not to omit some use thereof among Carthaginians and Americans. Of greater antiquity among the Romans than most opinion, or Pliny seems to allow ; for (beside the old Table Laws of burning or burying within the city, of making the funeral fire with planed wood, or quenching the fire with wine) Manlius the consul burnt the body of his son ; Numa, by special clause of his will, was not burnt but buried ; and Remus was solemnly burnt, according to the description of Ovid.

Cornelius Sylla was not the first whose body was

¹ *Gen.*, xxv, 9-10. ² *Deut.*, xxxiv, 5-6. ³ *Jude*, ix.

burnt in Rome, but of the Cornelian family; which, being indifferently, not frequently used before, from that time spread and became the prevalent practice. Not totally pursued in the highest run of cremation, for, when even crows were funerally burnt, Poppæa the wife of Nero found a peculiar grave-interment. Now, as all customs were founded upon some bottom of reason, so there wanted not grounds for this, according to several apprehensions of the most rational dissolution. Some being of the opinion of Thales that water was the original of all things thought it most equal to submit unto the principle of putrefaction, and conclude in a moist relentment. Others conceived it most natural to end in fire, as due unto the master principle in the composition, according to the doctrine of Heraclitus; and therefore heaped up large piles, more actively to waft them toward that element, whereby they also declined a visible degeneration into worms and left a lasting parcel of their composition.

Some apprehended a purifying virtue in fire, refining the grosser commixture and firing out the ethereal particles so deeply immersed in it. And such as by tradition or rational conjecture held any hint of the final pyre of all things, or that this element at last must be too hard for all the rest, might conceive most naturally of the fiery dissolution. Others pretending no natural grounds, politicly declined the malice of enemies upon their buried bodies. Which consideration led Sylla unto this practice, who, having thus served the body of Marius, could not but fear a retaliation upon his own—entertained after in the civil wars and revengeful contentions of Rome.

But, as many nations embraced and many left it indifferent, so others too much affected or strictly declined this practice. The Indian Brahmans seemed too great friends unto fire, who burnt themselves alive, and thought it the noblest way to end their days in fire, according to the expression of the Indian burning himself at Athens in his last words upon the pyre unto the amazed spectators: 'Thus I make myself immortal'.

But the Chaldeans, the great idolators of fire,

abhorred the burning of their carcasses as a pollution of that deity. The Persian magi declined it upon the like scruple, and, being only solicitous about their bones, exposed their flesh to the prey of birds and dogs. And the Parsees now in India, which expose their bodies unto vultures and endure not so much as *feretra* or biers of wood, the proper fuel of fire, are led on with such niceties. But whether the ancient Germans, who burned their dead, held any such fear to pollute their deity of Herthus or the Earth, we have no authentic conjecture.

The Egyptians were afraid of fire, not as a deity but a devouring element mercilessly consuming their bodies and leaving too little of them; and therefore by precious embalmments, depositure in dry earths, or handsome enclosure in glasses, contrived the notablest ways of integral conservation. And from such Egyptian scruples, imbibed by Pythagoras, it may be conjectured that Numa and the Pythagorical sect first waived the fiery solution.

The Scythians, who swore by wind and sword, that is by life and death, were so far from burning their bodies that they declined all interment, and made their graves in the air; and the Ichthyophagi or fish-eating nations about Egypt affected the sea for their grave, thereby declining visible corruption and restoring the debt of their bodies. Whereas the old heroes, in Homer, dreaded nothing more than water, or drowning—probably upon the old opinion of the fiery substance of the soul, only extinguishable by that element—and therefore the poet emphatically implieth the total destruction in this kind of death, which happened to Ajax Oileus.

The old Balearians¹ had a peculiar mode, for they used great urns and much wood, but no fire, in their burials, while they bruised the flesh and bones of the dead, crowded them into urns, and laid heaps of wood upon them. And the Chinese², without cremation or urnal interment of their bodies, make use of trees and much burning, while they plant a pine-tree by their grave, and burn great numbers of printed draughts

¹ Diodorus Sic., [v, c. 18]. ² Ramusius, *Navigat.*

of slaves and horses over it, civilly content with their companies *in effigy*, which barbarous nations exact unto reality.

Christians abhorred this way of obsequies, and, though they sticked not to give their bodies to be burned in their lives, detested that mode after death, affecting rather a depositeure than absumption, and properly submitting unto the sentence of God to return not unto ashes but unto dust again, conformable unto the practice of the patriarchs, the interment of our Saviour, of Peter, Paul, and the ancient martyrs. And so far at last declining promiscuous interment with pagans that some have suffered ecclesiastical censures¹ for making no scruple thereof.

The Mussulman believers will never admit this fiery resolution. For they hold a present trial from their black and white angels in the grave, which they must have made so hollow that they may rise upon their knees.

The Jewish nation, though they entertained the old way of inhumation, yet sometimes admitted this practice. For the men of Jabesh burnt the body of Saul; and by no prohibited practice, to avoid contagion or pollution, in time of pestilence burnt the bodies of their friends². And when they burnt not their dead bodies, yet sometimes used great burnings near and about them, deducible from the expressions concerning Jehoram, Zedechias, and the sumptuous pyre of Asa. And were so little averse from pagan burning that the Jews lamenting the death of Cæsar, their friend and revenger on Pompey, frequented the place where his body was burnt for many nights together³. And, as they raised noble monuments and mausoleums for their own nation⁴, so they were not scrupulous in erecting some for others, according to the practice of Daniel, who left that last sepulchral pile in Ecbatana, for the Median and Persian kings⁵.

But even in times of subjection and hottest use they conformed not unto the Roman practice of burning,

¹ Martialis, the Bishop.—Cyprian [*Epist.*, 67, §6].

² *Amos*, vi, 10.

³ Suet., *Vit. Jul. Cæs.* [c. 84].

⁴ cf. *I Macc.*, xiii [27 sqq.]. ⁵ Josephus *Antiq.*, x [§11, §7].

whereby the prophecy was secured concerning the body of Christ, that it should not see corruption, or a bone should not be broken, which we believe was also providentially prevented, from the soldier's spear and nails that passed by the little bones both in his hands and feet; not of ordinary contrivance, that it should not corrupt on the cross, according to the laws of Roman crucifixion, or an hair of his head perish, though observable in Jewish customs to cut the hair of malefactors.

Nor in their long cohabitation with Egyptians crept into a custom of their exact embalming, wherein deeply slashing the muscles and taking out the brains and entrails they had broken the subject of so entire a resurrection, nor fully answered the types of Enoch, Elijah, or Jonah, which yet to prevent or restore was of equal facility unto that rising power, able to break the fasciations and bands of death, to get clear out of the cerecloth, and an hundred pounds of ointment, and out of the sepulchre before the stone was rolled from it.

But, though they embraced not this practice of burning, yet entertained they many ceremonies agreeable unto Greek and Roman obsequies. And he that observeth their funeral feasts, their lamentations at the grave, their music, and weeping mourners, how they closed the eyes of their friends, how they washed, anointed, and kissed the dead, may easily conclude these were not mere pagan civilities. But whether that mournful burden and treble calling out after Absalom¹ had any reference unto the last conclamation and triple valediction used by other nations we hold but a wavering conjecture.

Civilians make sepulture but of the law of nations: others do naturally found it and discover it also in animals. They that are so thick-skinned as still to credit the story of the phœnix may say something for animal burning. More serious conjectures find some examples of sepulture in elephants, cranes, the sepulchral cells of pismires, and practice of bees—which civil society carrieth out their dead and hath exequies, if not interments.

¹ *II Samuel*, xviii, 33.

CHAPTER II

THE solemnities, ceremonies, rites of their cremation or interment, so solemnly delivered by authors, we shall not disparage our reader to repeat. Only the last and lasting part in their urns, collected bones and ashes, we cannot wholly omit, or decline that subject, which occasion lately presented in some discovered among us.

In a field of Old Walsingham not many months past were digged up between forty and fifty urns, deposited in a dry and sandy soil, not a yard deep, nor far from one another. Not all strictly of one figure, but most answering these described: some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jaws, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion, besides the extraneous substances, like pieces of small boxes, or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brass instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kind of opal.

Near the same plot of ground for about six yards compass were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the *ustrina*, or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the *manes*, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the *aræ* and altars unto the gods and heroes above it.

That these were the urns of Romans from the common custom and place where they were found is no obscure conjecture, not far from a Roman garrison and but five miles from Brancaster, set down by ancient record under the name of Brannodunum. And where the adjoining town, containing seven parishes, in no very different sound but Saxon termination, still retains the name of Burnham, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of Romans themselves, or Britons Romanized which observed the Roman customs.

Nor is it improbable that the Romans early possessed this country. For, though we meet not with such

strict particulars of these parts before the new institution of Constantine and military charge of the count of the Saxon shore, and that about the Saxon invasions, the Dalmatian horsemen were in the garrison of Brancaster, yet in the time of Claudius, Vespasian, and Severus we find no less than three legions dispersed through the province of Britain¹. And as high as the reign of Claudius a great overthrow was given unto the Iceni by the Roman lieutenant Ostorius. Not long after the country was so molested that, in hope of a better state, Prasutagus bequeathed his kingdom unto Nero and his daughters²; and Boadicea, his queen, fought the last decisive battle with Paulinus. After which time and conquest of Agricola, the lieutenant of Vespasian, probable it is they wholly possessed this country, ordering it into garrisons or habitations best suitable with their securities; and so some Roman habitations not improbable in these parts as high as the time of Vespasian, where the Saxons after seated, in whose thin-filled maps we yet find the name of Walsingham. Now, if the Iceni were but Gammadims, Anconians, or men that lived in an angle, wedge, or elbow of Britain, according to the original etymology, this country will challenge the emphatical appellation, as most properly making the elbow or *iken* of Icenia.

That Britain was notably populous is undeniable from that expression of Cæsar. That the Romans themselves were early in no small numbers, seventy thousand with their associates slain by Boadicea affords a sure account. And, though not many Roman habitations are now known, yet some by old works, rampiers, coins, and urns do testify their possessions. Some urns have been found at Castor, some also about Southcreak, and not many years past no less than ten in a field at Buxton, not near any recorded garrison. Nor is it strange to find Roman coins of copper and silver among us, of Vespasian, Trajan, Adrian, Commodus, Antoninus, Severus, etc.; but the greater number of Dioclesian, Constantine, Constans, Valens, with many of Victorinus, Posthumius, Tetricus, and the

¹[A.D. 50].

²[A.D. 61].

thirty tyrants in the reign of Gallienus ; and some as high as Adrianus have been found about Thetford, or Sitomagus, mentioned in the *Itinerary* of Antoninus as the way from Venta or Castor unto London. But the most frequent discovery is made at the two Castors by Norwich and Yarmouth, at Burghcastle, and Brancaster.

Besides the Norman, Saxon, and Danish pieces of Cuthred, Canutus, William, Matilda, and others, some British coins of gold have been dispersedly found, and no small number of silver pieces near Norwich¹, with a rude head upon the obverse, and an ill-formed horse on the reverse, with inscriptions *Ic. Duro. T.*; whether implying Icenii, Durotriges, Tascia or Trinobantes, we leave to higher conjecture. Vulgar chronology will have Norwich Castle as old as Julius Cæsar ; but his distance from these parts and its Gothic form of structure abridgeth such antiquity. The British coins afford conjecture of early habitation in these parts, though the city of Norwich arose from the ruins of Venta ; and, though perhaps not without some habitation before, was enlarged, builded, and nominated by the Saxons. In what bulk or populosity it stood in the old East-Angle monarchy tradition and history, are silent. Considerable it was in the Danish eruptions when Sueno burnt Thetford and Norwich², and Ulfketel, the governor thereof, was able to make some resistance, and after endeavoured to burn the Danish navy.

How the Romans left so many coins in countries of their conquests seems of hard resolution, except we consider how they buried them underground when, upon barbarous invasions, they were fain to desert their habitations in most part of their empire, and the strictness of their laws forbidding to transfer them to any other uses ; wherein the Spartans³ were singular, who, to make their copper money useless, contempered it with vinegar. That the Britons left any some wonder, since their money was iron and iron rings before Cæsar ; and those of after-stamp by

¹ At Thorpe. ² Brompton Abbas Jorvalensis.

³ Plut. *Vit. Licurg.* [§ix].

permission, and but small in bulk and bigness. That so few of the Saxons' remain, because, overcome by succeeding conquerors upon the place, their coins by degrees passed into other stamps and the marks of after-ages.

Than the time of these urns deposited or precise antiquity of these relics nothing of more uncertainty; for since the lieutenant of Claudius seems to have made the first progress into these parts, since Boadicea was overthrown by the forces of Nero, and Agricola put a full end to these conquests, it is not probable the country was fully garrisoned or planted before; and, therefore, however these urns might be of later date, not likely of higher antiquity.

And the succeeding emperors desisted not from their conquests in these and other parts, as testified by history and medal-inscription yet extant; the province of Britain, in so divided a distance from Rome, beholding the faces of many imperial persons, and in large account, no fewer than Cæsar, Claudius, Britannicus, Vespasian, Titus, Adrian, Severus, Commodus, Geta, and Caracalla.

A great obscurity herein, because no medal or emperor's coin enclosed, which might denote the date of their interments; observable in many urns, and found in those of Spitalfields, by London¹, which contained the coins of Claudius, Vespasian, Commodus Antoninus, attended with lacrymatories, lamps, bottles of liquor, and other appurtenances of affectionate superstition which in these rural interments were wanting.

Some uncertainty there is from the period or term of burning, or the cessation of that practice. Macrobius affirmeth it was disused in his days; but most agree, though without authentic record, that it ceased with the Antonini—most safely to be understood after the reign of those emperors which assumed the name of Antoninus, extending unto Heliogabalus. Not strictly after Marcus; for about fifty years later we find the magnificent burning and consecration of Severus; and, if we so fix this period or cessation, these urns will challenge above thirteen hundred years.

¹ Stowe, *Survey of London*.

But whether this practice was only then left by emperors and great persons, or generally about Rome and not in other provinces, we hold not authentic account; for after Tertullian, in the days of Minucius, it was obviously objected upon Christians that they condemned the practice of burning. And we find a passage in Sidonius¹ which asserteth that practice in France unto a lower account. And, perhaps, not fully discussed till Christianity fully established, which gave the final extinction to these sepulchral bonfires.

Whether they were the bones of men, or women, or children, no authentic decision from ancient custom in distinct places of burial. Although not improbably conjectured that the double sepulture or burying-place of Abraham had in it such intention. But from exility of bones, thinness of skulls, smallness of teeth, ribs, and thigh bones, not improbable that many thereof were persons of minor age or women. Confirmable also from things contained in them. In most were found substances resembling combs, plates like boxes, fastened with iron pins, and handsomely overwrought like the necks or bridges of musical instruments, long brass plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements, brazen nippers, to pull away hair; and in one a kind of opal yet maintaining a bluish colour.

Now, that they accustomed to burn or bury with them things wherein they excelled, delighted, or which were dear unto them, either as farewells unto all pleasures or vain apprehension that they might use them in the other world, is testified by all antiquity, observable from the gem or beryl ring upon the finger of Cynthia, the mistress of Propertius, when after her funeral pyre her ghost appeared unto him; and notably illustrated from the contents of that Roman urn preserved by Cardinal Farnese², wherein besides great number of gems with heads of gods and goddesses were found an ape of agate, a grasshopper, an elephant of amber, a crystal ball, three glasses, two spoons, and six

¹ Sid. Apollinaris, bk. iii, ep. 5.

² Vigeneri, [*Annot in Liv.*, 4].

nuts of crystal ; and beyond the content of urns, in the monument of Childeric the First¹, and fourth king from Pharamond, casually discovered three years past at Tournay, restoring unto the world much gold richly adorning his sword, two hundred rubies, many hundred imperial coins, three hundred golden bees, the bones and horse-shoes of his horse interred with him, according to the barbarous magnificence of those days in their sepulchral obsequies. Although, if we steer by the conjecture of many and Septuagint expression, some trace thereof may be found even with the ancient Hebrews, not only from the sepulchral treasure of David but the circumcision knives which Joshua also buried.

Some men, considering the contents of these urns, lasting pieces and toys included in them, and the custom of burning with many other nations, might somewhat doubt whether all urns found among us were properly Roman relics, or some not belonging unto our British, Saxon, or Danish forefathers.

In the form of burial among the ancient Britons the large discourses of Cæsar, Tacitus, and Strabo are silent. For the discovery whereof, with other particulars, we must deplore the loss of that letter which Cicero expected or received from his brother Quintus, as a resolution of British customs ; or the account which might have been made by Scribonius Largus, the physician, accompanying the Emperor Claudius, who might have also discovered that frugal bit of the old Britons² which in the bigness of a bean could satisfy their thirst and hunger.

But that the Druids and ruling priests used to burn and bury is expressed by Pomponius ; that Bellinus, the brother of Brennus, and king of Britons, was burnt is acknowledged by Polydorus, as also by Amandus Zierexensis in *Historia*, and Pineda in his *Universa Historia* (Spanish). That they held that practice in Gallia Cæsar expressly delivereth. Whether the Britons (probably descended from them, of like religion, language, and manners) did not sometimes make use

Chifflet, in *Anast. Childer.*

² Dionis^{us} *Excerpta* per Xiphilin, in Severo [lxxvi, 12].

of burning, or whether at least such as were after civilized unto the Roman life and manners, conformed not unto this practice we have no historical assertion or denial. But since, from the account of Tacitus, the Romans early wrought so much civility upon the British stock that they brought them to build temples, to wear the gown, and study the Roman laws and language, that they conformed also unto their religious rites and customs in burials seems no improbable conjecture.

That burning the dead was used in Sarmatia is affirmed by Gaguinus; that the Sueons and Gothlanders used to burn their princes and great persons is delivered by Saxo and Olaus; that this was the old German practice is also asserted by Tacitus. And though we are bare in historical particulars of such obsequies in this island, or that the Saxons, Jutes, and Angles burnt their dead, yet came they from parts where 'twas of ancient practice, the Germans using it, from whom they were descended. And even in Jutland and Sleswick in Anglia Cymbrica urns with bones were found not many years before us¹.

But the Danish and northern nations have raised an era or point of compute from their custom of burning their dead²; some deriving it from Unguinus, some from Frotho the Great, who ordained by law that princes and chief commanders should be committed unto the fire, though the common sort had the common grave-interment. So Starkatterus, that old hero, was burnt, and Ringo royally burnt the body of Harold the king slain by him.

What time this custom generally expired in that nation we discern no assured period; whether it ceased before Christianity, or upon their conversion by Ansgarius the Gaul, in the time of Ludovicus Pius the son of Charles the Great according to good computes; or whether it might not be used by some persons, while for an hundred and eighty years paganism and Christianity were promiscuously embraced among them there is no assured conclusion. About which times

¹ Roisold.

² *Brendetyde* [burning - time]; *Ild tyde* [fire-time]

the Danes were busy in England, and particularly infested this country, where many castles and strongholds were built by them, or against them, and great number of names and families still derived from them. But since this custom was probably disused before their invasion or conquest, and the Romans confessedly practised the same since their possession of this island, the most assured account will fall upon the Romans or Britons Romanized.

However, certain it is that urns conceived of no Roman original are often dug up both in Norway and Denmark, handsomely described and graphically represented by the learned physician Wormius. And in some parts of Denmark in no ordinary number, as stands delivered by authors exactly describing those countries. And they contained not only bones but many other substances in them, as knives, pieces of iron, brass, and wood, and one of Norway a brass gilded jew's-harp.

Nor were they confused or careless in disposing the noblest sort, while they placed large stones in circle about the urns or bodies which they interred, somewhat answerable unto the monument of Rollrich stones in England, or sepulchral monument probably erected by Rollo, who after conquered Normandy, where 'tis not improbable somewhat might be discovered. Meanwhile to what nation or person belonged that large urn found at Ashbury containing mighty bones and a buckler, what those large urns found at Little Massingham¹, or why the Anglesea urns are placed with their mouths downward, remains yet undiscovered.

CHAPTER III

PLASTERED and whited sepulchres were anciently affected in cadaverous and corrupted burials; and the rigid Jews were wont to garnish the sepulchres of the righteous². Ulysses, in *Hecuba*, cared not how meanly he lived, so he might find a noble tomb after death³.

¹ In Norfolk — Hollingshead.

² *Matth.*, xxiii [29].

³ Euripides [*Hecuba*, 317].

Great persons affected great monuments; and the fair and larger urns contained no vulgar ashes, which makes that disparity in those which time discovereth among us. The present urns were not of one capacity, the largest containing above a gallon, some not much above half that measure; not all of one figure, wherein there is no strict conformity in the same or different countries, observable from those represented by Casalius, Bosio, and others, though all found in Italy; while many have handles, ears, and long necks, but most imitate a circular figure, in a spherical and round composure; whether from any mystery, best duration, or capacity, were but a conjecture. But the common form with necks was a proper figure, making our last bed like our first; nor much unlike the urns of our nativity while we lay in the nether part of the earth¹ and inward vault of our microcosm. Many urns are red, these but of a black colour, somewhat smooth, and dully sounding, which begat some doubt whether they were burnt or only baked in oven or sun, according to the ancient way in many bricks, tiles, pots, and testaceous works; and, as the word *testa* is properly to be taken when occurring without addition and chiefly intended by Pliny, when he commendeth bricks and tiles of two years old and to make them in the spring. Nor only these concealed pieces, but the open magnificence of antiquity, ran much in the artifice of clay. Hereof the house of Mausolus was built; thus old Jupiter stood in the Capitol, and the *statua* of Hercules made in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus was extant in Pliny's days. And such as declined burning or funeral urns affected coffins of clay, according to the mode of Pythagoras and way preferred by Varro. But the spirit of great ones was above these circumscriptions, affecting copper, silver, gold, and porphyry urns, wherein Severus lay, after a serious view and sentence on that which should contain him². Some of these urns were thought to have been silvered over, from sparklings in several pots, with small tinsel parcels, uncertain whether from the earth or the first mixture in them.

¹ *Psalms*, lxiii [9].

² Dion. [lxxvi: *Severus*, §15].

Among these urns we could obtain no good account of their coverings ; only one seemed arched over with some kind of brick-work. Of those found at Buxton, some were covered with flints, some, in other parts, with tiles ; those at Yarmouth Caster were closed with Roman bricks, and some have proper earthen covers adapted and fitted to them. But in the Homerial urn of Patroclus, whatever was the solid tegument, we find the immediate covering to be a purple piece of silk ; and such as had no covers might have the earth closely pressed into them, after which disposure were probably some of these, wherein we found the bones and ashes half mortared unto the sand and sides of the urn, and some long roots of quich, or dog's-grass, wreathed about the bones.

No lamps, included liquors, lacrymatories or tear-bottles, attended these rural urns, either as sacred unto the *manes* or passionate expressions of their surviving friends. While with rich flames and hired tears they solemnized their obsequies, and in the most lamented monuments made one part of their inscriptions¹. Some find sepulchral vessels containing liquors, which time hath incrassated into jellies. For, besides these lacrymatories, notable lamps, with vessels of oils, and aromatical liquors, attended noble ossuaries, and some yet retaining a vinosity² and spirit in them, which if any have tasted, they have far exceeded the palates of antiquity. Liquors not to be computed by years of annual magistrates but by great conjunctions and the fatal periods of kingdoms. The draughts of consulary date were but crude unto these, and Opimian wine but in the must unto them.

In sundry graves and sepulchres we meet with rings, coins, and chalices. Ancient frugality was so severe that they allowed no gold to attend the corpse, but only that which served to fasten their teeth. Whether the opaline stone in this were burnt upon the finger of the dead, or cast into the fire by some affectionate friend, it will consist with either custom. But other incinerable substances were found so fresh that they could

¹ *Cum lacrymis posuere.*

² *Lazius.*

feel no singe from fire. These upon view were judged to be wood; but, sinking in water and tried by the fire, we found them to be bone or ivory. In their hardness and yellow colour they most resembled box, which in old expressions found the epithet of eternal, and perhaps in such conservatories might have passed uncorrupted.

That bay leaves were found green in the tomb of St Humbert¹ after an hundred and fifty years was looked upon as miraculous. Remarkable it was unto old spectators that the cypress of the temple of Diana lasted so many hundred years. The wood of the ark, and olive-rod of Aaron, were older at the Captivity; but the cypress of the ark of Noah was the greatest vegetable of antiquity, if Josephus were not deceived by some fragments of it in his days: to omit the moor-logs and fir-trees found underground in many parts of England; the undated ruins of winds, floods, or earthquakes, and which in Flanders still show from what quarter they fell, as generally lying in a north-east position².

But though we found not these pieces to be wood, according to first apprehensions, yet we missed not altogether of some woody substance; for the bones were not so clearly picked but some coals were found amongst them: a way to make wood perpetual, and a fit associate for metal, whereon was laid the foundation of the great Ephesian temple, and which were made the lasting tests of old boundaries and landmarks. Whilst we look on these, we admire not observations of coals found fresh after four hundred years³. In a long-deserted habitation⁴ even egg-shells have been found fresh, not tending to corruption.

In the monument of King Childeric the iron relics were found all rusty and crumbling into pieces; but our little iron pins which fastened the ivory works held well together, and lost not their magnetical quality, though wanting a tenacious moisture for the firmer union of parts; although it be hardly drawn into fusion, yet that metal soon submitteth unto rust and dissolution. In the brazen pieces we admired not the duration but

¹ Surius.

² Gorop-Becanus, *In Niloscopio*.

³ Of Beringuccio, *Nella Pyrotechnia*.

⁴ At Elmeham.

the freedom from rust and ill-savour upon the hardest attrition; but, now exposed unto the piercing atoms of air, in the space of a few months they begin to spot and betray their green entrails. We conceive not these urns to have descended thus naked as they appear, or to have entered their graves without the old habit of flowers. The urn of Philopœmen was so laden with flowers and ribbons that it afforded no sight of itself. The rigid Lycurgus allowed olive and myrtle. The Athenians might fairly except against the practice of Democritus to be buried up in honey, as fearing to embezzle a great commodity of their country and the best of that kind in Europe. But Plato seemed too frugally politic, who allowed no larger monument than would contain four heroic verses, and designed the most barren ground for sepulture; though we cannot commend the goodness of that sepulchral ground which was set at no higher rate than the mean salary of Judas¹. Though the earth had confounded the ashes of these ossuaries, yet the bones were so smartly burnt that some thin plates of brass were found half melted among them. Whereby we apprehend they were not of the meanest carcasses, perfunctorily fired as sometimes in military and commonly in pestilence burnings, or, after the manner of abject corpses, huddled forth and carelessly burnt without the Esquiline Port at Rome, which was an affront continued upon Tiberius, while they but half burnt his body², and in the amphitheatre according to the custom in notable malefactors; whereas Nero seemed not so much to fear his death as that his head should be cut off and his body not burnt entire.

Some, finding many fragments of skulls in these urns, suspected a mixture of bones; in none we searched was there cause of such conjecture, though sometimes they declined not that practice. The ashes of Domitian³ were mingled with those of Julia; of Achilles with those of Patroclus. All urns contained not single ashes: without confused burnings they affectionately compounded their bones, passionately endeavouring

¹ *Matth.*, xxviii, 3-10.

² *Suet. Vita Tiber.* [c. lxxv].

³ *id. Vita Domitian.* [c. xvii].

to continue their living unions. And, when distance of death denied such conjunctions, unsatisfied affections conceived some satisfaction to be neighbours in the grave, to lie urn by urn, and touch but in their names. And many were so curious to continue their living relations that they contrived large and family urns, wherein the ashes of their nearest friends and kindred might successively be received¹, at least some parcels thereof, while their collateral memorials lay in minor vessels about them.

Antiquity held too light thoughts from objects of mortality, while some drew provocatives of mirth from anatomies, and jugglers showed tricks with skeletons, when fiddlers made not so pleasant mirth as fencers, and men could sit with quiet stomachs while hanging was played before them. Old considerations made few mementoes by skulls and bones upon their monuments. In the Egyptian obelisks and hieroglyphical figures it is not easy to meet with bones. The sepulchral lamps speak nothing less than sepulture, and in their literal draughts prove often obscene and antic pieces. Where we find *D.M.*² it is obvious to meet with sacrificing *pateras* and vessels of libation upon old sepulchral monuments. In the Jewish hypogeum³ and subterranean cell at Rome was little observable beside the variety of lamps and frequent draughts of the holy candlestick. In authentic draughts of Anthony and Jerome we meet with thigh-bones and death's-heads; but the cemeterial cells of ancient Christians and martyrs were filled with draughts of Scripture stories, not declining the flourishes of cypress, palms, and olive, and the mystical figures of peacocks, doves, and cocks, but iterately affecting the portraits of Enoch, Lazarus, Jonas, and the vision of Ezekiel, as hopeful draughts, and hinting imagery of the resurrection, which is the life of the grave and sweetens our habitations in the land of moles and pismires.

Gentile inscriptions precisely delivered the extent of men's lives, seldom the manner of their deaths, which

¹ Casaubon, on Antonius.

² *Diis Manibus.*

³ Bosio.

history itself so often leaves obscure in the records of memorable persons. There is scarce any philosopher but dies twice or thrice in Laertius; nor almost any life without two or three deaths in Plutarch; which makes the tragical ends of noble persons more favourably resented by compassionate readers who find some relief in the election of such differences.

The certainty of death is attended with uncertainties in time, manner, places. The variety of monuments hath often obscured true graves, and cenotaphs confounded sepulchres. For beside their real tombs many have found honorary and empty sepulchres. The variety of Homer's monuments made him of various countries. Euripides had his tomb in Attica, but his sepulture in Macedonia. And Severus found his real sepulchre in Rome, but his empty grave in Gallia.

He that lay in a golden urn¹ eminently above the earth was not like to find the quiet of his bones. Many of these urns were broke by a vulgar discoverer in hope of enclosed treasure. The ashes of Marcellus were lost above ground upon the like account. Where profit hath prompted, no age hath wanted such miners, for which the most barbarous expilators found the most civil rhetoric: 'Gold once out of the earth is no more due unto it; what was unreasonably committed to the ground, is reasonably resumed from it; let monuments and rich fabrics, not riches, adorn men's ashes; the commerce of the living is not to be transferred unto the dead; it is not injustice to take that which none complains to lose, and no man is wronged where no man is possessor.'

What virtue yet sleeps in this *terra damnata* and aged wonders were petty magic to experiment. These crumbling relics and long-fired particles superannuate such expectations; bones, hairs, nails, and teeth of the dead were the treasures of old sorcerers. In vain we revive such practices; present superstition too visibly perpetuates the folly of our forefathers, wherein unto old observation this island was so complete that it might have instructed Persia.

¹ Trajanus.—Dion. [Ixix].

Plato's historian of the other world lies twelve days incorrupted, while his soul was viewing the large stations of the dead. How to keep the corpse seven days from corruption by anointing and washing, without exenteration, were an hazardable piece of art in our choicest practice. How they made distinct separation of bones and ashes from fiery admixture hath found no historical solution; though they seemed to make a distinct collection, and overlooked not Pyrrhus his toe. Some provision they might make by fictile vessels, coverings, tiles, or flat stones, upon and about the body (and in the same field not far from these urns many stones were found underground), as also by careful separation of extraneous matter, composing and raking up the burnt bones with forks, observable in that notable lamp of Galvanus. Marlianus, who had the sight of the *vas ustrinum*, or vessel wherein they burnt the dead, found in the Esquiline field at Rome, might have afforded clearer solution. But their insatisfaction herein begat that remarkable invention in the funeral pyres of some princes, by incombustible sheets made with a texture of asbestos, incremable flax, or salamander's wool, which preserved their bones and ashes incommixed.

How the bulk of a man should sink into so few pounds of bones and ashes may seem strange unto any who considers not its constitution and how slender a mass will remain upon an open and urging fire of the carnal composition. Even bones themselves reduced into ashes do abate a notable proportion. And, consisting much of a volatile salt, when that is fired out make a light kind of cinders. Although their bulk be disproportionate to their weight, when the heavy principle of salt is fired out and the earth almost only remaineth — observable in sawdust, which makes more ashes than oak and discovers the common fraud of selling ashes by measure and not by ponderation.

Some bones make best skeletons, some bodies quick and speediest ashes. Who would expect a quick flaring from hydropical Heraclitus? The poisoned soldier when his belly brake, put out two pyres in Plutarch

¹ *Vita Graec.*, [c. 13].

But in the plague of Athens¹ one private pyre served two or three intruders ; and the Saracens burnt in large heaps by the king of Castile² showed how little fuel sufficeth. Though the funeral pyre of Patroclus took up an hundred foot, a piece of an old boat burn Pompey³ ; and, if the burden of Isaac were sufficient for a holocaust, a man may carry his own pyre.

From animals are drawn good burning lights and good medicines against burning⁴. Though the seminal humour seems of a contrary nature to fire, yet the body completed proves a combustible lump, wherein fire finds flame even from bones and some fuel almost from all parts, though the metropolis of humidity seems least disposed unto it, which might render the skulls of these urns less burned than other bones. But all flies or sinks before fire almost in all bodies : when the common ligament is dissolved, the attenuable parts ascend, the rest subside in coal, calx, or ashes.

To burn the bones of the king of Edom for lime⁵ seems no irrational ferity ; but to drink of the ashes of dead relations a passionate prodigality. He that hath the ashes of his friend hath an everlasting treasure ; where fire taketh leave, corruption slowly enters. In bones well burnt fire makes a wall against itself ; experimented in cupels and tests of metals which consist of such ingredients. What the sun compoundeth fire analyseth, not transmutheth. That devouring agent leaves almost always a morsel for the earth, whereof all things are but a colony, and which, if time permits, the mother element will have in their primitive mass again.

He that looks for urns and old sepulchral relics must not seek them in the ruins of temples, where no religion anciently placed them. These were found in a field, according to ancient custom, in noble or private burial ; the old practice of the Canaanites, the family of Abraham, and the burying-place of Joshua, in the borders of his possessions ; and also agreeable unto Roman practice to bury by highways, whereby their monuments were under eye—memorials of themselves and

¹ Thucyd. [ii, 52].

² Laurent. Valla.

³ Plut., *Pomp.*, c. 80. ⁴ Speran. Alb. Ovor. ⁵ *Amos* ii, 1.

mementoes of mortality unto living passengers, whom the epitaphs of great ones were fain to beg to stay and look upon them, a language, though sometimes used, not so proper in church inscriptions¹. The sensible rhetoric of the dead, to exemplarity of good life, first admitted the bones of pious men and martyrs within church-walls, which in succeeding ages crept into promiscuous practice, while Constantine was peculiarly favoured to be admitted into the church-porch, and the first thus buried in England was in the days of Cuthred.

Christians dispute how their bodies should lie in the grave. In urnal interment they clearly escaped this controversy. Though we decline the religious consideration, yet in cemeterial and narrower burying-places to avoid confusion and cross-position a certain posture were to be admitted, which even pagan civility observed². The Persians lay north and south; the Megarians and Phœnicians placed their heads to the east; the Athenians, some think, towards the west, which Christians still retain. And Beda will have it to be the posture of our Saviour. That he was crucified with his face towards the west we will not contend with tradition and probable account; but we applaud not the hand of the painter in exalting his cross so high above those on either side, since hereof we find no authentic account in history, and even the crosses found by Helena pretend no such distinction from longitude or dimension.

To be gnawed out of our graves, to have our skulls made drinking-bowls, and our bones turned into pipes, to delight and sport our enemies, are tragical abominations escaped in burning burials.

Urnal interments and burnt relics lie not in fear of worms or to be an heritage for serpents. In carnal sepulture corruptions seem peculiar unto parts, and some speak of snakes out of the spinal marrow. But; while we suppose common worms in graves, 'tis not easy to find any there; few in churchyards above a foot deep, fewer or none in churches, though in fresh

¹ *Siste viator.* ² Kirchmannus, *De Funer.*

decayed bodies. Teeth, bones, and hair give the most lasting defiance to corruption. In an hydropical body ten years buried in the churchyard we met with a fat concretion, where the nitre of the earth and the salt and lixivious liquor of the body had coagulated large lumps of fat into the consistence of the hardest Castile soap, whereof part remaineth with us. After a battle with the Persians the Roman corpses decayed in few days, while the Persian bodies remained dry and uncorrupted. Bodies in the same ground do not uniformly dissolve, nor bones equally moulder; whereof in the opprobrious disease we expect no long duration. The body of the Marquis of Dorset seemed sound and handsomely cere-clothed that after seventy-eight years was found uncorrupted. Common tombs preserve not beyond powder: a firmer consistence and compage of parts might be expected from arefaction, deep burial, or charcoal. The greatest antiquities of mortal bodies may remain in putrefied bones, whereof, though we take not in the pillar of Lot's wife or metamorphosis of Ortelius, some may be older than pyramids, in the putrefied relics of the general inundation. When Alexander opened the tomb of Cyrus, the remaining bones discovered his proportion. whereof urnal fragments afford but a bad conjecture, and have this disadvantage of grave interments that they leave us ignorant of most personal discoveries. For, since bones afford not only rectitude and stability but figure unto the body, it is no impossible physiognomy to conjecture at fleshy appendencies and after what shape the muscles and carnous parts might hang in their full consistencies. A full-spread *cariola* shows a well-shaped horse behind; handsome-formed skulls give some analogy to fleshy resemblance. A critical view of bones makes a good distinction of sexes. Even colour is not beyond conjecture, since it is hard to be deceived in the distinction of negroes' skulls¹. Dante's characters are to be found in skulls as well as faces. Hercules is not only known by his foot. Other parts make out their comproportions and inferences upon

¹ For their extraordinary thickness.

whole or parts. And, since the dimensions of the head measure the whole body, and the figure thereof gives conjecture of the principal faculties, physiognomy outlives ourselves and ends not in our graves.

Severe contemplators observing these lasting relics may think them good monuments of persons past, little advantage to future beings; and, considering that power which subdueth all things unto itself, that can resume the scattered atoms or identify out of anything, conceive it superfluous to expect a resurrection out of relics; but, the soul subsisting, other matter clothed with due accidents may salve the individuality. Yet the saints, we observe, arose from graves and monuments about the Holy City. Some think the ancient patriarchs so earnestly desired to lay their bones in Canaan as hoping to make a part of that resurrection, and, though thirty miles from Mount Calvary, at least to lie in that region which should produce the first-fruits of the dead. And if, according to learned conjecture, the bodies of men shall rise where their greatest relics remain, many are not likely to err in the topography of their resurrection, though their bones or bodies be after translated by angels into the field of Ezekiel's vision, or, as some will order it, into the valley of judgment or Jehosaphat¹.

CHAPTER IV

CHRISTIANS have handsomely glossed the deformity of death by careful consideration of the body, and civil rites which take off brutal terminations; and, though they conceived all reparable by a resurrection, cast not off all care of interment. And since the ashes of sacrifices burnt upon the altar of God were carefully carried out by the priests and deposed in a clean field; since they acknowledged their bodies to be the lodging of Christ, and temples of the Holy Ghost, they devolved not all upon the sufficiency of soul-existence; and therefore with long services and full solemnities

¹ Tirin., in *Ezek.*

concluded their last exequies, wherein to all distinctions the Greek devotion seems most pathetically ceremonious.

Christian invention hath chiefly driven at rites which speak hopes of another life and hints of a resurrection. And, if the ancient Gentiles held not the immortality of their better part and some subsistence after death, in several rites, customs, actions, and expressions, they contradicted their own opinions; wherein Democritus went high, even to the thought of a resurrection, as scoffingly recorded by Pliny. What can be more express than the expression of Phocylides? Or who would expect from Lucretius a sentence of *Ecclesiastes*? Before Plato could speak, the soul had wings in Homer, which fell not, but flew out of the body into the mansions of the dead; who also observed that handsome distinction of Demas and Soma, for the body conjoined to the soul, and body separated from it. Lucian spoke much truth in jest when he said that part of Hercules which proceeded from Alcmena perished, that from Jupiter remained immortal. Thus Socrates¹ was content that his friends should bury his body, so they would not think they buried Socrates; and, regarding only his immortal part, was indifferent to be burnt or buried. From such considerations Diogenes might contemn sepulture, and, being satisfied that the soul could not perish, grew careless of corporal interment. The Stoics, who thought the souls of wise men had their habitation about the moon, might make slight account of subterraneous deposition; whereas the Pythagoreans and transcorporating philosophers, who were to be often buried, held great care of their interment. And the Platonics rejected not a due care of the grave, though they put their ashes to unreasonable expectations in their tedious term of return and long set revolution.

Men have lost their reason in nothing so much as their religion, wherein stones and clouts make martyrs; and, since the religion of one seems madness unto another, to afford an account or rational of old rites requires no rigid reader. That they kindled the pyre

¹ Plato *Phædo* [c. 64, p. 115 C].

aversely, or turning their face from it, was an handsome symbol of unwilling ministrations. That they washed their bones with wine and milk; that the mother wrapped them in linen, and dried them in her bosom, the first fostering part and place of their nourishment; that they opened their eyes towards heaven before they kindled the fire, as the place of their hopes or original, were no improper ceremonies. Their last valediction, thrice uttered by the attendants, was also very solemn, and somewhat answered by Christians, who thought it too little if they threw not the earth thrice upon the interred body. That in strewing their tombs the Romans affected the rose, the Greeks amaranthus and myrtle; that the funeral pyre consisted of sweet fuel, cypress, fir, larix, yew, and trees perpetually verdant, lay silent expressions of their surviving hope. Wherein Christians, who deck their coffins with bays, have found a more elegant emblem; for that tree, seeming dead, will restore itself from the root, and its dry and exsuccous leaves resume their verdure again, which, if we mistake not, we have also observed in furze. Whether the planting of yew in churchyards hold not its original from ancient funeral rites, or as an emblem of resurrection from its perpetual verdure, may also admit conjecture.

They made use of music to excite or quiet the affections of their friends, according to different harmonies. But the secret and symbolical hint was the harmonical nature of the soul, which, delivered from the body, went again to enjoy the primitive harmony of Heaven, from whence it first descended; which, according to its progress traced by antiquity, came down by Cancer and ascended by Capricornus.

They burnt not children before their teeth appeared, as apprehending their bodies too tender a morsel for fire and that their gristly bones would scarce leave separable relics after the pyral combustion¹. That they kindled not fire in their houses for some days after was a strict memorial of the late afflicting fire. And, mourning without hope, they had an happy fraud

¹ Pliny [*Hist. Nat.*, vii, 15].

against excessive lamentation, by a common opinion that deep sorrows disturb their ghosts.

That they buried their dead on their backs, or in a supine position, seems agreeable unto profound sleep and common posture of dying, contrary to the most natural way of birth, not unlike our pendulous posture in the doubtful state of the womb. Diogenes was singular who preferred a prone situation in the grave; and some Christians¹ like neither who decline the figure of rest and make choice of an erect posture.

That they carried them out of the world with their feet forward, not inconsonant unto reason, as contrary unto the native posture of man and his production first into it, and also agreeable unto their opinions, whilst they bid adieu unto the world, not to look again upon it, whereas Mahometans, who think to return to a delightful life again, are carried forth with their heads forward and looking toward their houses.

They closed their eyes, as parts which first die or first discover the sad effects of death. But their iterated clamations to excitate their dying or dead friends, or revoke them unto life again, was a vanity of affection, as not presumably ignorant of the critical tests of death, by apposition of feathers, glasses, and reflection of figures, which dead eyes represent not; which however, not strictly verifiable in fresh and warm cadavers, could hardly elude the test in corpses of four or five days².

That they sucked in the last breath of their expiring friends was surely a practice of no medical institution, but a loose opinion that the soul passed out that way, and a fondness of affection, from some Pythagorical foundation that the spirit of one body passed into another which they wished might be their own.

That they poured oil upon the pyre was a tolerable practice, while the intention rested in facilitating the accension. But to place good omens in the quick and speedy burning, to sacrifice unto the winds for a dispatch in this office, was a low form of superstition.

The archimime, or jester, attending the funeral train,

¹ Russians, etc.

² At least by some difference from living eyes.

and imitating the speeches, gesture, and manners of the deceased, was too light for such solemnities, contradicting their funeral orations and doleful rites of the grave.

That they buried a piece of money with them as a fee of the Elysian ferryman was a practice full of folly. But the ancient custom of placing coins in considerable urns, and the present practice of burying medals in the noble foundations of Europe, are laudable ways of historical discoveries, in actions, persons, chronologies; and posterity will applaud them.

We examine not the old laws of sepulture, exempting certain persons from burial or burning. But hereby we apprehend that these were not the bones of persons planet-struck or burnt with fire from heaven, no relics of traitors to their country, self-killers, or sacrilegious malefactors, persons in old apprehension unworthy of the earth, condemned unto the Tartarus of hell and bottomless pit of Plato, from whence there was no redemption.

Nor were only many customs questionable in order to their obsequies, but also sundry practices, fictions, and conceptions, discordant or obscure, of their state and future beings. Whether unto eight or ten bodies of men to add one of a woman, as being more inflammable and unctuously constituted for the better pyral combustion, were any rational practice; or whether the complaint of Periander's wife be tolerable, that, wanting her funeral burning, she suffered intolerable cold in hell, according to the constitution of the infernal house of Plato, wherein cold makes a great part of their tortures, it cannot pass without some question.

Why the female ghosts appear unto Ulysses, before the heroes and masculine spirits¹, why the Psyche or soul of Tiresias is of the masculine gender, who, being blind on earth, sees more than all the rest in Hell; why the funeral suppers consisted of eggs, beans, smallage, and lettuce, since the dead are made to eat asphodels² about the Elysian meadows; why, since there is no

¹ Homer [*Odys.*, xi, 90]. ² Lucian [*Cataplus*, §2].

sacrifice acceptable nor any propitiation for the covenant of the grave, men set up the deity of Morta, and fruitlessly adored divinities without ears, it cannot escape some doubt.

The dead seem all alive in the human Hades of Homer, yet cannot well speak, prophesy, or know the living, except they drink blood, wherein is the life of man. And therefore the souls of Penelope's paramours, conducted by Mercury, chirped like bats, and those which followed Hercules made a noise but like a flock of birds.

The departed spirits know things past and to come, yet are ignorant of things present. Agamemnon foretells what should happen unto Ulysses, yet ignorantly enquires what is become of his own son. The ghosts are afraid of swords in Homer, yet Sibylla tells Æneas in Virgil the thin habit of spirits was beyond the force of weapons. The spirits put off their malice with their bodies, and Cæsar and Pompey accord in Latin hell; yet Ajax, in Homer, endures not a conference with Ulysses; and Deiphobus appears all mangled in Virgil's ghosts, yet we meet with perfect shadows among the wounded ghosts of Homer.

Since Charon in Lucian applauds his condition among the dead, whether it be handsomely said of Achilles, that living contemner of death, that he had rather be a ploughman's servant than emperor of the dead? How Hercules his soul is in Hell, and yet in Heaven; and Julius his soul in a star¹, yet seen by Æneas in Hell?—except the ghosts were but images and shadows of the soul, received in higher mansions, according to the ancient division of body, soul, and image, or *simulacrum*, of them both. The particulars of future beings must needs be dark unto ancient theories, which Christian philosophy yet determines but in a cloud of opinions. A dialogue between two infants in the womb concerning the state of this world might handsomely illustrate our ignorance of the next, whereof methinks we yet discourse in Plato's den and are but embryon philosophers.

¹ Horace, [*Odes*, I, xii, 47].

Pythagoras escapes in the fabulous Hell of Dante among that swarm of philosophers wherein, whilst we meet with Plato and Socrates, Cato is to be found in no lower place than Purgatory. Among all the set Epicurus is most considerable, whom men make honest without an Elysium, who contemned life without encouragement of immortality, and, making nothing after death, yet made nothing of the King of Terrors.

Were the happiness of the next world as closely apprehended as the felicities of this, it were a martyrdom to live; and unto such as consider none hereafter it must be more than death to die, which makes us amazed at those audacities that durst be nothing and return into their chaos again. Certainly such spirits as could contemn death, when they expected no better being after, would have scorned to live had they known any. And therefore we applaud not the judgment of Machiavel that Christianity makes men cowards, or that with the confidence of but half-dying the despised virtues of patience and humility have abased the spirits of men, which pagan principles exalted; but rather regulated the wildness of audacities, in the attempts, grounds, and eternal sequels of death, wherein men of the boldest spirits are often prodigiously temerarious. Nor can we extenuate the valour of ancient martyrs, who contemned death in the uncomfortable scene of their lives, and in their decrepit martyrdom did probably lose not many months of their days, or parted with life when it was scarce worth the living. For (beside that long time past holds no consideration unto a slender time to come) they had no small disadvantage from the constitution of old age, which naturally makes men fearful, complexionally superannuated from the bold and courageous thoughts of youth and fervent years. But the contempt of death from corporal animosity promoteth not our felicity. They may sit in the orchestra and noblest seats of Heaven who have held up shaking hands in the fire and humanly contended for glory.

Meanwhile Epicurus lies deep in Dante's Hell, wherein we meet with tombs enclosing souls which denied their immortalities. But whether the virtuous heathen, who lived better than he spake, or erring in the principles of himself yet lived above philosophers of more specious maxims, lie so deep as he is placed, at least so low as not to rise against Christians who believing or knowing that truth have lastingly denied it in their practice and conversation—were a query too sad to insist on.

But all or most apprehensions rested in opinions of some future being which, ignorantly or coldly believed, begat those perverted conceptions, ceremonies, sayings, which Christians pity or laugh at. Happy are they which live not in that disadvantage of time when men could say little for futurity but from reason; whereby the noblest minds fell often upon doubtful deaths and melancholy dissolutions. With these hopes Socrates warned his doubtful spirits against that cold potion, and Cato, before he durst give the fatal stroke, spent part of the night in reading the *Immortality* of Plato, thereby confirming his wavering hand unto the animosity of that attempt.

It is the heaviest stone that melancholy can throw at a man to tell him he is at the end of his nature, or that there is no further state to come, unto which this seems progressional and otherwise made in vain. Without this accomplishment the natural expectation and desire of such a state were but a fallacy in nature; unsatisfied considerators would quarrel the justice of their constitutions, and rest content that Adam had fallen lower; whereby, by knowing no other original and deeper ignorance of themselves, they might have enjoyed the happiness of inferior creatures, who in tranquillity possess their constitutions, as having not the apprehension to deplore their own natures, and, being framed below the circumference of these hopes or cognition of better being, the wisdom of God hath necessitated their contentment; but the superior ingredient and obscured part of ourselves, whereto all

present felicities afford no resting contentment, will be able at last to tell us we are more than our present selves, and evacuate such hopes in the fruition of their own accomplishments.

CHAPTER V

Now since these dead bones have already outlasted the living ones of Methuselah, and in a yard underground and thin walls of clay out-worn all the strong and specious buildings above it; and quietly rested under the drums and tramlings of three conquests, what prince can promise such diuturnity unto his relics, or might not gladly say:

Sic ego componi versus in ossa velim?

Time, which antiquates antiquities, and hath an art to make dust of all things, hath yet spared these minor monuments,

In vain we hope to be known by open and visible conservatories, when to be unknown was the means of their continuation. and obscurity their protection. If they died by violent hands and were thrust into their urns, these bones become considerable, and some old philosophers would honour them, whose souls they conceived most pure which were thus snatched from their bodies, and to retain a stronger propension unto them; whereas they weariedly left a languishing corpse and with faint desires of re-union. If they fell by long and aged decay yet wrapt up in the bundle of time, they fall into indistinction, and make but one blot with infants. If we begin to die when we live, and long life be but a prolongation of death, our life is a sad composition: we live with death, and die not in a moment. How many pulses made up the life of Methuselah were work for Archimedes: common counters sum up the life of Moses his man¹. Our days become considerable, like petty sums, by minute accumulations, where numerous fractions make up

¹ In the *Psalm of Moses* [xc, 10].

but small round numbers, and our days of a span long make not one little-finger.

If the nearness of our last necessity brought a nearer conformity into it, there were a happiness in hoary hairs and no calamity in half-senses. But the long habit of living indisposeth us for dying; when avarice makes us the sport of death, when even David grew politicly cruel, and Solomon could hardly be said to be the wisest of men. But many are too early old and before the date of age. Adversity stretcheth our days, misery makes Alcmena's nights, and time hath no wings unto it. But the most tedious being is that which can unwish itself, content to be nothing or never to have been, which was beyond the malcontent of Job, who cursed not the day of his life but his nativity; content to have so far been as to have a title to future being, although he had lived here but in an hidden state of life and as it were an abortion.

What song the Syrens sang, or what name Achilles assumed when he hid himself among women, though puzzling questions, are not beyond all conjecture. What time the persons of these ossuaries entered the famous nations of the dead and slept with princes and counsellors might admit a wide solution. But who were the proprietaries of these bones, or what bodies these ashes made up, were a question above antiquarism, not to be resolved by man, nor easily perhaps by spirits, except we consult the provincial guardians or tutelary observators. Had they made as good provision for their names as they have done for their relics, they had not so grossly erred in the art of perpetuation. But to subsist in bones, and be but pyramidally extant, is a fallacy in duration: vain ashes which in the oblivion of names, persons, times, and sexes, have found unto themselves a fruitless continuation, and only arise unto late posterity as emblems of mortal vanities, antidotes against pride, vainglory, and madding vices. Pagan vainglories which thought the world might last for ever had encouragement for ambition; and finding no Atropos unto the immorality of their names, were never

damped with the necessity of oblivion. Even old ambitions had the advantage of ours in the attempts of their vainglories, who, acting early and before the probable meridian of time, have by this time found great accomplishment of their designs, whereby the ancient heroes have already outlasted their monuments and mechanical preservations. But in this latter scene of time we cannot expect such mummies unto our memories, when ambition may fear the prophecy of Elias, and Charles the Fifth can never hope to live within two Methuselahs of Hector.

And therefore restless unquiet for the diuturnity of our memories unto present considerations seems a vanity almost out of date and superannuated piece of folly. We cannot hope to live so long in our names as some have done in their persons. One face of Janus holds no proportion unto the other. 'Tis too late to be ambitious. The great mutations of the world are acted, or time may be too short for our designs. To extend our memories by monuments, whose death we daily pray for and whose duration we cannot hope without injury to our expectations in the advent of the last day, were a contradiction to our beliefs. We whose generations are ordained in this setting part of time are providentially taken off from such imaginations; and, being necessitated to eye the remaining particle of futurity, are naturally constituted unto thoughts of the next world, and cannot excusably decline the consideration of that duration which maketh pyramids pillars of snow and all that's past a moment.

Circles and right lines limit and close all bodies, and the mortal right-lined circle must conclude and shut up all. There is no antidote against the opium of time, which temporally considereth all things; our fathers find their graves in our short memories, and sadly tell us how we may be buried in our survivors. Gravestones tell the truth scarce forty years¹. Generations pass while some trees stand, and old families last not three oaks. To be read by bare inscriptions

¹ Old ones being taken up, and other bodies laid under them.

like many in Gruter¹, to hope for eternity by enigmatical epithets or first letters of our names, to be studied by antiquaries who we were, and have new names given us like many of the mummies, are cold consolations unto the students of perpetuity, even by everlasting languages.

To be content that times to come should only know there was such a man, not caring whether they knew more of him, was a frigid ambition in Cardan, disparaging his horoscopical inclination and judgment of himself. Who cares to subsist like Hippocrates' patients, or Achilles' horses in Homer, under naked nominations, without deserts and noble acts, which are the balsam of our memories, the *entelecheia* and soul of our subsistences? To be nameless in worthy deeds exceeds an infamous history. The Canaanitish woman lives more happily without a name than Herodias with one. And who had not rather [have] been the good thief than Pilate?

But the iniquity of oblivion blindly scattereth her poppy, and deals with the memory of men without distinction to merit of perpetuity. Who can but pity the founder of the pyramids? Herostratus lives that burnt the temple of Diana—he is almost lost that built it. Time hath spared the epitaph of Adrian's horse—confounded that of himself. In vain we compute our felicities by the advantage of our good names, since bad have equal durations, and Thersites is like to live as long as Agamemnon. Who knows whether the best of men be known, or whether there be not more remarkable persons forgot than any that stand remembered in the known account of time? Without the favour of the everlasting register the first man had been as unknown as the last, and Methuselah's long life had been his only chronicle.

Oblivion is not to be hired. The greater part must be content to be as though they had not been, to be found in the register of God, not in the record of man. Twenty-seven names make up the first story², and the recorded names ever since contain not one living

¹ *Inscriptiones Antiquæ.*

² Before the Flood.

century. The number of the dead long exceedeth all that shall live. The night of time far surpasseth the day, and who knows when was the equinox? Every hour adds unto that current arithmetic which scarce stands one moment. And since death must be the *Lucina* of life, and even pagans could doubt whether thus to live were to die; since our longest sun sets at right descensions, and makes but winter arches, and therefore it cannot be long before we lie down in darkness and have our light in ashes; since the brother of death daily haunts us with dying mementoes, and time that grows old in itself bids us hope no long duration—diuturnity is a dream and folly of expectation.

Darkness and light divide the course of time, and oblivion shares with memory a great part even of our living beings: we slightly remember our felicities, and the smartest strokes of affliction leave but short smart upon us. Sense endureth no extremities, and sorrows destroy us or themselves. To weep into stones are fables. Afflictions induce callosities; miseries are slippery, or fall like snow upon us, which notwithstanding is no unhappy stupidity. To be ignorant of evils to come and forgetful of evils past is a merciful provision in nature, whereby we digest the mixture of our few and evil days, and, our delivered senses not relapsing into cutting remembrances, our sorrows are not kept raw by the edge of repetitions. A great part of antiquity contented their hopes of subsistency with a transmigration of their souls—a good way to continue their memories, while having the advantage of plural successions they could not but act something remarkable in such variety of beings, and, enjoying the fame of their passed selves, make accumulation of glory unto their last durations. Others, rather than be lost in the uncomfortable night of nothing, were content to recede into the common being, and make one particle of the public soul of all things, which was no more than to return into their unknown and divine original again. Egyptian ingenuity was more unsatisfied, contriving their bodies

in sweet consistencies, to attend the return of their soul. But all was vanity, feeding the wind, and folly. The Egyptain mummies which Cambyses or time hath spared avarice now consumeth. Mummy is become merchandise, Mizraim cures wounds, and Pharaoh is sold for balsams.

In vain do individuals hope for immortality, or any patent from oblivion, in preservations below the moon; men have been deceived even in their flatteries above the sun, and studied conceits to perpetuate their names in Heaven. The various cosmography of that part hath already varied the names of contrived constellations: Nimrod is lost in Orion, and Osiris in the Dog-star. While we look for incorruption in the heavens, we find they are but like the earth—durable in their main bodies, alterable in their parts; whereof, beside comets and new stars, perspectives begin to tell tales, and the spots that wander about the sun, with Phaeton's favour, would make clear conviction.

There is nothing strictly immortal but immortality. Whatever hath no beginning may be confident of no end (all others have a dependent being and within the reach of destruction), which is the peculiar of that necessary Essence that cannot destroy itself, and the highest strain of omnipotency, to be so powerfully constituted as not to suffer even from the power of itself. But the sufficiency of Christian immortality frustrates all earthly glory, and the quality of either state after death makes a folly of posthumous memory. God, who can only destroy our souls and hath assured our resurrection, either of our bodies or names hath directly promised no duration. Wherein there is so much of chance that the boldest expectants have found unhappy frustration; and to hold long subsistence seems but a scape in oblivion. But man is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave, solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature.

Life is a pure flame, and we live by an invisible sun within us. A small fire sufficeth for life, great flames

seemed too little after death, while men vainly affected precious pyres and to burn like Sardanapalus; but the wisdom of funeral laws found the folly of prodigal blazes, and reduced undoing fires unto the rule of sober obsequies, wherein few could be so mean as not to provide wood, pitch, a mourner, and an urn.

Five languages secured not the epitaph of Gordianus. The man of God lives longer without a tomb than any by one, invisibly interred by angels and adjudged to obscurity, though not without some marks directing human discovery. Enoch and Elias without either tomb or burial, in an anomalous state of being, are the great examples of perpetuity in their long and living memory, in strict account being still on this side death and having a late part yet to act upon this stage of earth. If in the decreitory term of the world we shall not all die but be changed, according to received translation, the last day will make but few graves; at least quick resurrections will anticipate lasting sepultures. Some graves will be opened before they be quite closed, and Lazarus be no wonder. When many that feared to die shall groan that they can die but once, the dismal state is the second and living death, when life puts despair on the damned, when men shall wish the coverings of mountains not of monuments, and annihilations shall be courted.

While some have studied monuments, others have studiously declined them, and some have been so vainly boisterous that they durst not acknowledge their graves; wherein Alaricus¹ seems most subtle, who had a river turned to hide his bones at the bottom. Even Sylla, that thought himself safe in his urn, could not prevent revenging tongues, and stones thrown at his monument. Happy are they whom privacy makes innocent, who deal so with men in this world that they are not afraid to meet them in the next, who, when they die, make no commotion among the dead, and are not touched with that poetical taunt of Isaiah².

¹ Jornandes, *De Rebus Geticis*.

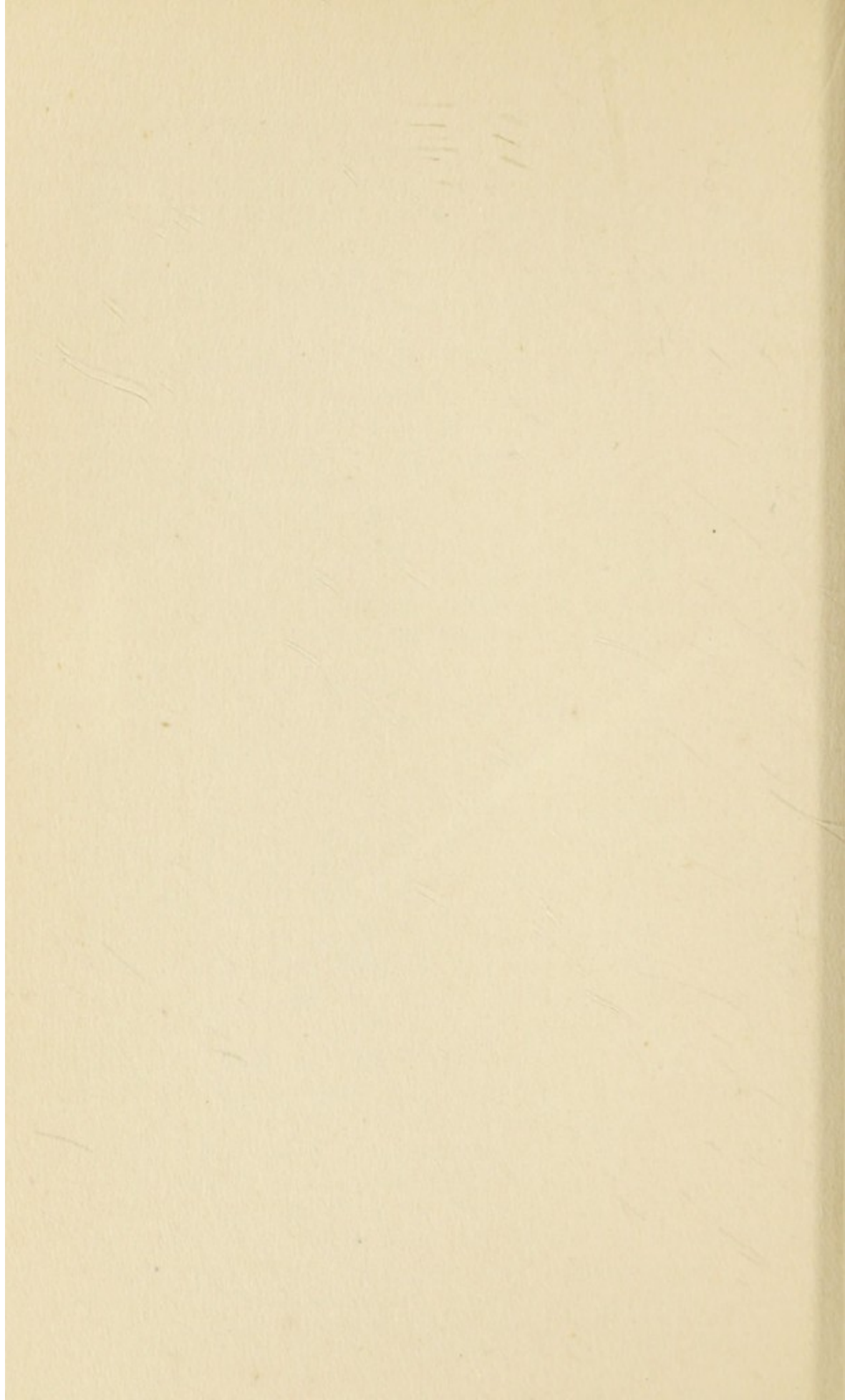
² xiv, 16 etc.

Pyramids, arches, obelisks, were but the irregularities of vainglory and wild enormities of ancient magnanimity. But the most magnanimous resolution rests in the Christian religion, which trampleth upon pride and sits on the neck of ambition, humbly pursuing that infallible perpetuity unto which all others must diminish their diameters and be poorly seen in angles of contingency.

Pious spirits who passed their days in raptures of futurity made little more of this world than the world that was before it, while they lay obscure in the chaos of pre-ordination and night of their forebeings. And, if any have been so happy as truly to understand Christian annihilation, ecstacies, exolution, liquefaction, transformation, the kiss of the spouse, gustation of God, and ingression into the divine shadow, they have already had an handsome anticipation of Heaven: the glory of the world is surely over, and the earth in ashes unto them.

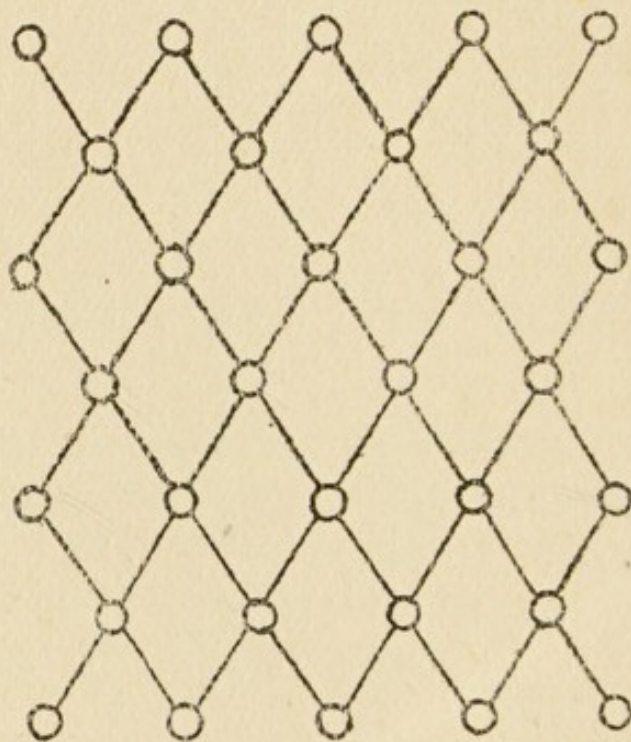
To subsist in lasting monuments, to live in their productions, to exist in their names and predicament of chimeras, was large satisfaction unto old expectations, and made one part of their Elysiums. But all this is nothing in the metaphysics of true belief. To live indeed is to be again ourselves, which being not only an hope but an evidence in noble believers, 'tis all one to lie in St Innocents' churchyard¹ as in the sands of Egypt. Ready to be anything, in the ecstasy of being ever, and as content with six foot as the *moles* of Adrianus.

¹ In Paris, where bodies soon consume.



THE GARDEN OF CYRUS

OR THE QUINCUNCIAL LOZENGE, OR NETWORK
PLANTATIONS OF THE ANCIENTS,
ARTIFICIALLY, NATURALLY,
MYSTICALLY, CON-
SIDERED



Quid [illo] Quincunce speciosius, qui, in
quamcunque partem spectaveris,
rectus est—QUINTILIAN [8. 3. 9]

TO MY
WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND
NICHOLAS BACON
OF GILLINGHAM, ESQUIRE

HAD I not observed that purblind¹ men have discoursed well of sight, and some without issue² excellently of generation, I, that was never master of any considerable garden, had not attempted this subject. But the earth is the garden of nature, and each fruitful country a paradise. Dioscorides made most of his observations in his march about with Antonius; and Theophrastus raised his generalities chiefly from the field.

Beside, we write no herbal, nor can this volume deceive you who have handled the massiest³ thereof, who know that three folios⁴ are yet too little, and how new herbals fly from America upon us: from persevering enquirers, and old⁵ in those singularities, we expect such descriptions; wherein England⁶ is now so exact that it yields not to other countries.

We pretend not to multiply vegetable divisions by quincuncial and reticulate plants, or erect a new phytology. The field of knowledge hath been so traced it is hard to spring anything new. Of old things we write something new, if truth may receive addition or envy will have anything new; since the ancients knew the late anatomical discoveries, and Hippocrates the circulation.

You have been so long out of trite learning that 'tis hard to find a subject proper for you; and, if you have met with a sheet upon this, we have missed our intention. In this multiplicity of writing, by and barren

¹ Plembius, Cabeus, etc.

² Dr Harvey.

³ Besleri *Hortus Eystetensis*.

⁴ Bauhini *Theatrum Botanicum*.

⁵ My worthy friend Mr Goodier, an ancient and learned botanist.

⁶ As in London and divers parts, whereof we mention none, lest we seem to omit any.

themes are best fitted for invention; subjects so often discoursed confine the imagination, and fix our conceptions unto the notions of forewriters. Beside, such discourses allow excursions, and venially admit of collateral truths, though at some distance from their principals. Wherein, if we sometimes take wide liberty, we are not single, but err by great example¹.

He that will illustrate the excellency of this order may easily fail upon so spruce a subject, wherein we have not affrighted the common reader with any other diagrams than of itself, and have industriously declined illustrations from rare and unknown plants.

Your discerning judgment, so well acquainted with that study, will expect herein no mathematical truths, as well understanding how few generalities and *U finita's* there are in nature; how Scaliger hath found exceptions in most universals of Aristotle and Theophrastus; how botanical maxims must have fair allowance, and are tolerably current, if not intolerably overbalanced by exceptions.

You have wisely ordered your vegetable delights, beyond the reach of exception. The Turks who passed their days in gardens here will have also gardens hereafter, and, delighting in flowers on earth, must have lilies and roses in heaven. In garden delights 'tis not easy to hold a mediocrity: that insinuating pleasure is seldom without some extremity. The ancients venially delighted in flourishing gardens; many were florists that knew not the true use of a flower; and in Pliny's days none had directly treated of that subject. Some commendably affected plantations of venomous vegetables, some confined their delights unto single plants, and Cato seemed to dote upon cabbage; while the ingenuous delight of tulipists stands saluted with hard language even by their own professors².

That in this garden-discourse we range into extraneous things and many parts of art and nature, we follow herein the example of old and new plantations, wherein

¹ Hippocrates, *De Superfætatione, De Dentitione.*

² 'Tulipo-mania', 'Narrenruiid' — Laurenberg, Pet. Hondius, in lib. *Belg.*

noble spirits contented not themselves with trees, but by the attendance of aviaries, fish-ponds, and all variety of animals, they made their gardens the epitome of the earth and some resemblance of the secular shows of old.

That we conjoin these parts of different subjects, or that this should succeed the other, your judgment will admit without impute of incongruity ; since the delightful world comes after death, and paradise succeeds the grave ; since the verdant state of things is the symbol of the resurrection, and, to flourish in the state of glory, we must first be sown in corruption—beside the ancient practice of noble persons, to conclude in garden-graves, and urns themselves of old to be wrapt up in flowers and garlands.

Nullum sine venia placuisse eloquium is more sensibly understood by writers than by readers ; nor well apprehended by either, till works have hanged out like Apelles his pictures ; wherein even common eyes will find something for emendation.

To wish all readers of your abilities were unreasonably to multiply the number of scholars beyond the temper of these times. But unto this ill-judging age we charitably desire a portion of your equity, judgment, candour, and ingenuity ; wherein you are so rich as not to lose by diffusion. And, being a flourishing branch of that noble family¹ unto whom we owe so much observance, you are not new set, but long rooted in such perfection ; whereof having had so lasting confirmation in your worthy conversation, constant amity, and expression, and knowing you are a serious student in the highest *arcana* of nature, with much excuse we bring these low delights and poor maniples to your treasure.

Your affectionate Friend
and Servant,

THOMAS BROWNE

NORWICH, *May* 1 [1658]

¹ Of the most worthy Sir Edward Bacon, prime baronet, my true and noble friend.

THE GARDEN OF CYRUS

CHAPTER I

THAT Vulcan gave arrows unto Apollo and Diana the fourth day after their nativities according to Gentile theology may pass for no blind apprehension of the creation of the sun and moon in the work of the fourth day, when the diffused light contracted into orbs and shooting rays of those luminaries. Plainer descriptions there are from pagan pens of the creatures of the fourth day; while the divine philosopher¹ unhappily omitteth the noblest part of the third, and Ovid (whom many conceive to have borrowed his description from Moses), coldly deserting the remarkable account of the text, in three words² describeth this work of the third day—the vegetable creation and first ornamental scene of nature, the primitive food of animals and first story of physic in dietetical conservation.

For, though physic may plead high, from that medical act of God, in casting so deep a sleep upon our first parent, and chirurgery find its whole art in that one passage concerning the rib of Adam, yet is there no rivalry with garden contrivance and herbary; for, if Paradise were planted the third day of the creation, as wiser divinity concludeth, the nativity thereof was too early for horoscopy: gardens were before gardeners, and but some hours after the earth.

Of deeper doubt is its topography and local designation; yet, being the primitive garden and without much controversy seated in the east, it is more than probable the first curiosity and cultivation of plants most flourished in those quarters. And since the ark of Noah first touched upon some mountains of Armenia the planting art arose again in the east, and found its revolution not far from the place of its nativity, about the plains of those regions. And, if Zoroaster were either Cham,

¹ Plato, in *Timaeus* [xv-xvii].

² 'Fronde tegi silvas' [*Metam.*, i, 44].

Cush, or Mizraim, they were early proficient therein who left, as Pliny delivereth, a work of agriculture.

However, the account of the pensile or hanging gardens of Babylon, if made by Semiramis, the third or fourth from Nimrod, is of no slender antiquity; which, being not framed upon ordinary level of ground but raised upon pillars admitting under-passages, we cannot accept as the first Babylonian gardens—but a more eminent progress and advancement in that art than any that went before it, somewhat answering or hinting the old opinion concerning Paradise itself, with many conceptions elevated above the plane of the earth.

Nebuchadnezzar (whom some will have to be the famous Syrian king of Diodorus) beautifully repaired that city, and so magnificently built his hanging gardens¹, that from succeeding writers he had the honour of the first. From whence overlooking Babylon and all the region about it he found no circumscription to the eye of his ambition, till, over-delighted with the bravery of this Paradise, in his melancholy metamorphosis he found the folly of that delight, and a proper punishment in the contrary habitation—in wild plantations and wanderings of the fields.

The Persian gallants who destroyed this monarchy maintained their botanical bravery. Unto whom we owe the very name of Paradise, wherewith we meet not in Scripture before the time of Solomon, and conceived originally Persian—the word for that disputed garden expressing in the Hebrew no more than a field enclosed, which from the same root is content to derive a garden and a buckler.

Cyrus the Elder, brought up in woods and mountains, when time and power enabled, pursued the dictate of his education, and brought the treasures of the field into rule and circumscription. So nobly beautifying the hanging gardens of Babylon that he was also thought to be the author thereof.

Ahasuerus (whom many conceive to have been Artaxerxes Longimanus), in the country and city of flowers² and in an open garden, entertained his princes

Josephus [*Ant. of Jews*, x, 11, § 1]. ² *Sushan* in *Susiana*.

and people, while Vashti more modestly treated the ladies within the palace thereof.

But if, as some opinion, King Ahasuerus were Artaxerxes Mnemon, that found a life and reign answerable unto his great memory, our magnified Cyrus was his second brother, who gave the occasion of that memorable work and almost miraculous retreat of Xenophon. A person of high spirit and honour, naturally a king though fatally prevented by the harmless chance of post-geniture, not only a lord of gardens but a manual planter thereof, disposing his trees, like his armies, in regular ordination. So that while old Laertes hath found a name in Homer for pruning hedges and clearing way thorns and briars; while King Attalus lives for his poisonous plantations of aconites, henbane, hellebore, and plants hardly admitted within the walls of Paradise; while many of the ancients do poorly live in the single names of vegetables—all stories do look upon Cyrus as the splendid and regular planter.

According whereto Xenophon describeth his gallant plantation at Sardis, thus rendered by Strebæus: *Arbores pari intervallo sitas, rectos ordines, et omnia perpulchre in quincuncem directa.* Which we shall take for granted as being accordingly rendered by the most elegant of the Latins¹, and by no made term, but in use before by Varro. That is, the rows and orders so handsomely disposed, or five trees so set together, that a regular angularity and thorough prospect was left on every side. Owing this name not only unto the quintuple number of trees, but the figure declaring that number, which being doubled at the angle makes up the letter X, that is the emphatical decussation, or fundamental figure.

Now, though in some ancient and modern practice the area, or decussated plot, might be a perfect square, answerable to a Tuscan pedestal and the *quinquernio*, or cinque point of a die, wherein by diagonal lines the intersection was rectangular, accommodable unto plantations of large growing trees, and we must not deny ourselves the advantage of this order, yet shall

¹ Cicero, [*Cato Major* c. 17].

we chiefly insist upon that of Curtius and Porta, in their brief description hereof. Wherein the *decussis* is made within in a longilateral square, with opposite angles, acute and obtuse at the intersection, and so upon progression making a *rhombus*, or lozenge figuration, which seemeth very agreeable unto the original figure. Answerable whereunto we observe the decussated characters in many consulary coins, and even in those of Constantine and his sons, which pretend their pattern in the sky; the crucigerous ensign carried this figure, not transversely or rectangularly intersected, but in decussation, after the form of an Andrean or Burgundian cross, which answereth this description.

Where by the way we shall decline the old theme, so traced by antiquity, of crosses and crucifixion, whereof some being right and of one single piece without transversion or transom do little advantage our subject. Nor shall we take in the mystical *Tau*, or the cross of our blessed Saviour, which, having in some descriptions an *Empedon*, or crossing footstay, made not one single transversion. And, since the learned Lipsius hath made some doubt even of the cross of St Andrew (since some martyrological histories deliver his death by the general name of a cross, and Hippolytus will have him suffer by the sword), we should have enough to make out the received cross of that martyr. Nor shall we urge the *Labarum* and famous standard of Constantine, or make further use thereof than as the first letters in the name of our Saviour Christ, in use among Christians before the days of Constantine, to be observed in sepulchral monuments¹ of martyrs in the reign of Adrian and Antoninus, and to be found in the antiquities of the Gentiles before the advent of Christ, as in the medal of King Ptolemy, signed with the same characters, and might be the beginning of some word or name which antiquaries have not hit on.

We will not revive the mysterious crosses of Egypt with circles on their heads, in the breast of Serapis and the hands of their genial spirits, not unlike the character of Venus, and looked on by ancient Christians

¹ Of Marius, Alexander—*Roma Sotterranea*.

with relation unto Christ. Since, however, they first began, the Egyptians thereby expressed the process and motion of the spirit of the world, and the diffusion thereof upon the celestial and elemental nature; implied by a circle and right-lined intersection—a secret in their talismans and magical characters among them. Though he that considereth the plain cross upon the head of the owl in the Lateran obelisk, or the cross¹ erected upon a pitcher diffusing streams of water into two basins with sprinkling branches in them, and all described upon a two-footed altar, as in the hieroglyphics of the brazen Table of Bembus, will hardly decline all thought of Christian signality in them.

We shall not call in the Hebrew *Tenupha*, or ceremony of their oblations, waved by the priest unto the four quarters of the world, after the form of a cross, as in the peace offerings. And if it were clearly made out what is remarkably delivered from the traditions of the rabbis—that as the oil was poured coronally, or circularly, upon the head of kings, so the high-priest was anointed decussatively, or in the form of an X—though it could not escape a typical thought of Christ from mystical considerators, yet, being the conceit is Hebrew, we should rather expect its verification from analogy in that language than to confine the same unto the unconcerned letters of Greece, or make it out by the characters of Cadmus or Palamedes.

Of this quincuncial ordination the ancients practised much, discoursed little; and the moderns have nothing enlarged; which he that more nearly considereth, in the form of its square rhombus and decussation, with the several commodities, mysteries, parallelisms, and resemblances, both in art and nature, shall easily discern the elegancy of this order.

That this was in some ways of practice in divers and distant nations, hints or deliveries there are from no slender antiquity. In the hanging gardens of Babylon, from Abydenus, Eusebius, and others, Curtius describeth this rule of decussation. In the memorable garden of Alcinous, anciently conceived an original

¹ Casal., *De Ritibus*; Bosio, *La Trionfanie Croce*.

fancy from Paradise, mention there is of well-contrived order ; for so hath Didymus and Eustachius expounded the emphatical word. Diomedes, describing the rural possessions of his father, gives account in the same language of trees orderly planted. And Ulysses, being a boy, was promised by his father forty fig-trees and fifty rows of vines producing all kinds of grapes.

That the eastern inhabitants of India made use of such order, even in open plantations, is deducible from Theophrastus, who, describing the trees whereof they made their garments, plainly delivereth that they were planted *κατ' ὄρχους* and in such order that at a distance men would mistake them for vineyards. The same seems confirmed in Greece from a singular expression in Aristotle¹ concerning the order of vines, delivered by a military term representing the orders of soldiers, which also confirmeth the antiquity of this form yet used in vineal plantations.

That the same was used in Latin plantations is plainly confirmed from the commending pen of Varro, Quintilian, and handsome description of Virgil.

That the first plantations not long after the flood were disposed after this manner the generality and antiquity of this order observed in vineyards and vine plantations affordeth some conjecture. And since, from judicious enquiry, Saturn, who divided the world between his three sons, who beareth a sickle in his hand, who taught the plantations of vines, the setting, grafting of trees, and the best part of agriculture, is discovered to be Noah—whether this early dispersed husbandry in vineyards had not its original in that patriarch is no such paralogical doubt.

And, if it were clear that this was used by Noah after the flood, I could easily believe it was in use before it—not willing to fix to such ancient inventions no higher original than Noah; nor readily conceiving those aged heroes, whose diet was vegetable and only or chiefly consisted in the fruits of the earth, were much deficient in their splendid cultivations, or (after the experience of fifteen hundred years) left much for

¹ *συστάδας ἀμπέλων*—*Polit.*, vii [10].

future discovery in botanical agriculture; nor fully persuaded that wine was the invention of Noah that fermented liquors, which often make themselves, so long escaped their luxury or experience that the first sin of the new world was no sin of the old; that Cain and Abel were the first that offered sacrifice; or, because the Scripture is silent, that Adam or Isaac offered none at all.

Whether Abraham, brought up in the first planting country, observed not some rule hereof when he planted a grove at Beer-sheba, or whether at least a like ordination were not in the garden of Solomon, probability may contest, answerably unto the wisdom of that eminent botanologer and orderly disposer of all his other works. Especially since this was one piece of gallantry, wherein he pursued the specious part of felicity, according to his own description: 'I made me gardens and orchards, and planted trees in them of all kinds of fruits; I made me pools of water, to water therewith the wood that bringeth forth trees¹'. Which was no ordinary plantation, if, according to the *Targum*, or Chaldee paraphrase, it contained all kinds of plants, and some fetched as far as India; and the extent thereof were from the wall of Jerusalem unto the water of Siloah.

And, if Jordan were but *Jaar Eden*, that is the river of Eden, Genesar but Gansar or the prince of gardens, and it could be made out that the plain of Jordan were watered not comparatively but causally and because it was the Paradise of God, as the learned Abramus² hinteth, he was not far from the prototype and original of plantations. And, since even in Paradise itself the tree of knowledge was placed in the middle of the garden, whatever was the ambient figure, there wanted not a centre and rule of decussation. Whether the groves and sacred plantations of antiquity were not thus orderly placed, either by *quaternios* or quintuple ordinations, may favourably be doubted. For, since they were so methodical in the constitutions of their temples as to observe the due situation, aspect, manner, form, and order in architectonical relations, whether

¹ *Eccles.* ii, [5]. ² *Vet. Test. Pharus.*

they were not as distinct in their groves and plantations about them, in form and species respectively unto their deities, is not without probability of conjecture. And in their groves of the sun this was a fit number by multiplication to denote the days of the year, and might hieroglyphically speak as much as the mystical statua of Janus in the language of his fingers. And, since they were so critical in the number of his horses, the strings of his harp and rays about his head denoting the orbs of heaven, the seasons and months of the year, witty idolatry would hardly be flat in other appropriations.

CHAPTER II

NOR was this only a form of practice in plantations, but found imitation from high antiquity, in sundry artificial contrivances and manual operations. For (to omit the position of squared stones, *cuneatim* or wedgewise, in the walls of Roman and Gothic buildings, and the *lithostrata* or figured pavements of the ancients, which consisted not all of square stones but were divided into triquetrous segments, honeycombs, and sexangular figures, according to Vitruvius) the squared stones and bricks in ancient fabrics were placed after this order, and two above or below, conjoined by a middle stone or *plinthus*, observable in the ruins of *Forum Nervæ*, the mausoleum of Augustus, the pyramid of Cestius, and the sculpture drafts of the larger pyramids of Egypt. And therefore in the drafts of eminent fabrics painters do commonly imitate this order in the lines of their description.

In the laureat draft of sculpture and pictures the leaves and foliate works are commonly thus contrived, which is but in imitation of the *pulvinaria* and ancient pillow-work observable in Ionic pieces about columns, temples, and altars. To omit many other analogies in architectonical drafts, which art itself is founded upon fives, as having its subject and most graceful pieces divided by this number.

The triumphal, oval, and civical crowns of laurel, oak, and myrtle, when fully made, were plaited after this order. And (to omit the crossed crowns of Christian princes—what figure that was which Anastasius described upon the head of Leo the Third, or who first brought in the arched crown), that of Charles the Great (which seems the first remarkably closed crown) was framed after this manner—with an intersection in the middle from the main crossing bars and the interspaces unto the frontal circle, continued by handsome network plates, much after this order. Whereon we shall not insist, because from greater antiquity and practice of consecration we meet with the radiated and starry crown upon the head of Augustus and many succeeding emperors. Since the Armenians and Parthians had a peculiar royal cap, and the Grecians from Alexander another kind of diadem. And even diadems themselves were but fasciations and handsome ligatures about the heads of princes; nor wholly omitted in the mitral crown, which common pictures seem to set too upright and forward upon the head of Aaron, worn¹ sometimes singly, or doubly by princes, according to their kingdoms, and no more to be expected from two crowns at once, upon the head of Ptolemy. And so easily made out, when historians tell us some bound up wounds, some hanged themselves with diadems.

The beds of the ancients were corded somewhat after this fashion: that is, not directly, as ours at present, but obliquely, from side to side, and after the manner of network; whereby they strengthened the *spondæ*, or bedsides, and spent less cord in the network, as is demonstrated by Blancanus².

And, as they lay in crossed beds, so they sat upon seeming cross-legged seats, in which form the noblest thereof were framed, observable in the triumphal seats, the *sella curulis*, or *Ædile* chairs, in the coins of Cestius, Sylla, and Julius. That they sat also cross-legged many nobler draughts declare; and in this figure the sitting gods and goddesses are drawn in medals and

¹ *Macc.*, xi [13]. ² *Arist.*, *Mechan. Quæst.*

medallions¹. And, beside this kind of work in retiary and hanging textures, in embroideries, and eminent needle-works, the like is obvious unto every eye in glass windows. Nor only in glass contrivances, but also in lattice and stone work, conceived in the temple of Solomon; wherein the windows are termed *fenestræ reticulatæ*, or lights framed like nets². And agreeable unto the Greek expression concerning Christ in the *Canticles*,³ looking through the nets, which ours hath rendered, 'he looketh forth at the windows, showing himself through the lattice', that is, partly seen and unseen, according to the visible and invisible sides of His nature. To omit the noble reticulate work in the chapters of the pillars of Solomon, with lilies and pomegranates upon a network ground, and the *craticula*, or grate through which the ashes fell in the altar of burnt offerings.

That the networks and nets of antiquity were little different in the form from ours at present is confirmable from the nets in the hands of the retiary gladiators, the proper combatants with the *secutores*. To omit the ancient *conopeion*, or gnat-net, of the Egyptians, the inventors of that artifice, the rushy labyrinths of Theocritus, the nosegay nets which hung from the head under the nostrils of princes, and that uneasy metaphor of *reticulum jecoris* which some expound the lobe, we the caul above the liver. As for that famous network of Vulcan which inclosed Mars and Venus, and caused that unextinguishable laugh in Heaven—since the gods themselves could not discern it, we shall not pry into it, although why Vulcan bound them, Neptune loosed them, and Apollo should first discover them, might afford no vulgar mythology. Heralds have not omitted this order or imitation thereof, while they symbolically adorn their scutcheons with mascles, fusils, and saltires, and while they dispose the figures of ermines and vaired coats in this quincuncial method.

The same is not forgot by lapidaries, while they cut

¹ The larger sort of metals. ² δικτυωτά [*Ezek.*, xli, 16].

³ *Ezek.*, ii [9].

their gems pyramidally or by equicrural triangles. Perspective pictures, in their base, horizon, and lines of distances, cannot escape these rhomboidal decussations. Sculptors, in their strongest shadows, after this order do draw their double hatches. And the very Americans do naturally fall upon it in their neat and curious textures, which is also observed in the elegant artifices of Europe. But this is no law unto the woof of the neat retiary spider, which seems to weave without transversion, and by the union of right lines to make out a continual surface, which is beyond the common art of textury, and may still nettle Minerva, the goddess of that mystery. And he that shall hatch the little seeds, either found in small webs or white round eggs, carried under the bellies of some spiders, and behold how at their first production in boxes they will presently fill the same with their webs, may observe the early and untaught finger of nature, and how they are natively provided with a stock sufficient for such texture.

The rural charm against dodder, tetter, and strangling weeds was contrived after this order, while they placed a chalked tile at the four corners, and one in the middle of their fields ; which, though ridiculous in the intention, was rational in the contrivance, and a good way to diffuse the magic through all parts of the area.

Somewhat after this manner they ordered the little stones in the old game of *Pentalithismus*, or casting up five stones to catch them on the back of their hand. And with some resemblance hereof the *proci*, or prodigal paramours, disposed their men, when they played at *Penelope*. For, being themselves an hundred and eight, they set fifty-four stones on either side, and one in the middle, which they called Penelope¹ ; which he that hit was master of the game.

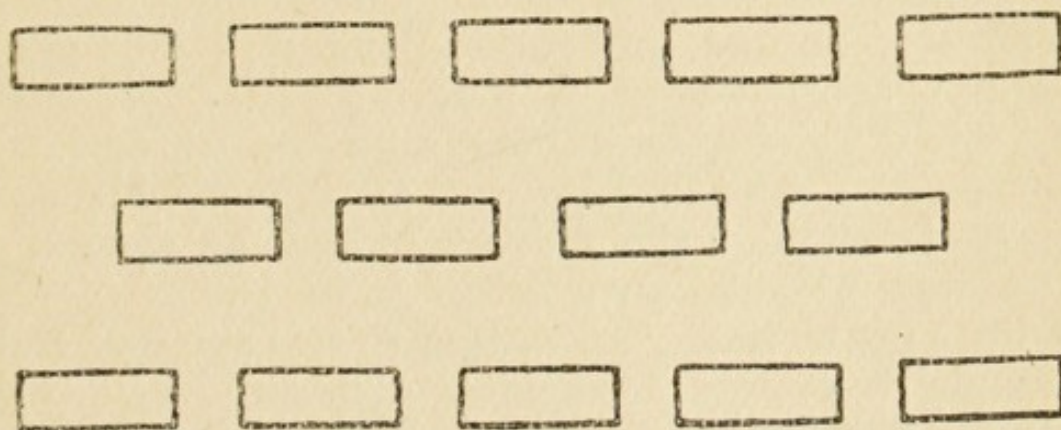
In chess boards and tables we yet find pyramids and squares. I wish we had their true and ancient description, far different from ours, or the *chet-mat* of the Persians, which might continue some elegant remarkables as being an invention as high as Hermes, the secretary

¹ In Eustathius, *Comment. upon Homer*.

of Osiris, figuring the whole world, the motion of the planets, with eclipses of sun and moon.

Physicians are not without the use of this decussation in several operations, in ligatures and union of dissolved continuities. Mechanics make use hereof in forcipal organs and instruments of incision; wherein who can but magnify the power of decussation, inservient to contrary ends, solution and consolidation, union and division, illustrable from Aristotle in the old *nucifragium*, or nutcracker, and the instruments of evulsion, compression, or incision; which, consisting of two *vectes*, or arms, converted towards each other, the innitency and stress being made upon the *hypomochlion*, or fulciment in the decussation, the greater compression is made by the union of two impulsors.

The Roman *battalia* was ordered after this manner, whereof as sufficiently known, Virgil hath left but an hint and obscure intimation. For thus were the maniples and cohorts of the *hastati*, *principes*, and *triarii* placed in their bodies, wherein consisted the strength of the Roman battle. By this ordination they



readily fell into each other; the *hastati*, being pressed, handsomely retired into the intervals of the *principes*, these into that of the *triarii*, which making as it were a new body might jointly renew the battle, wherein consisted the secret of their successes. And therefore it was remarkably¹ singular in the battle of Africa that Scipio, fearing a rout from the elephants

¹ Polybius [xv, 2]; Appianus [viii, §§124-6].

of the enemy, left not the *principes* in their alternate distances, whereby the elephants, passing the vacuities of the *hastati*, might have run upon them, but drew his battle into right order, and, leaving the passages bare, defeated the mischief intended by the elephants. Out of this figure were made two remarkable forms of battle, the *cuneus* and *forceps*, or the shear and wedge battles, each made of half a *rhombus* and but differed by position. The wedge invented to break or work into a body, the *forceps* to environ and defeat the power thereof, composed out of the selectest soldiery and disposed into the form of a V, wherein receiving the wedge, it enclosed it on both sides. After this form the famous Narses¹ ordered his battle against the Franks, and by this figure the Almans were enclosed and cut in pieces.

The *rhombus*, or lozenge-figure, so visible in this order was also a remarkable form of battle in the Grecian cavalry, observed by the Thessalians and Philip king of Macedon and frequently by the Parthians, as being most ready to turn every way, and best to be commanded as having its ductors or commanders at each angle.

The Macedonian phalanx (a long time thought invincible) consisted of a long square. For, though they might be sixteen in rank and file, yet when they shut close so that the sixth pike advanced before the first rank, though the number might be square, the figure was oblong, answerable unto the quincuncial quadrate of Curtius. According to this square, Thucydides delivers the Athenians disposed their battle against the Lacedemonians brickwise, and by the same word the learned Guellius expoundeth the *quadrate* of Virgil after the form of a brick or tile.

And as the first station and position of trees, so was the first habitation of men, not in round cities as of later foundation, for the form of Babylon the first city was square, and so shall also be the last, according to the description of the holy city in the *Apocalypse*. The famous pillars of Seth, before the flood, had also the

¹ Agathias; Ammianus [xxvii, 2].

like foundation, if they were but antediluvian obelisks, and such as Cham and his Egyptian race imitated after the flood.

But Nineveh, which authors acknowledge to have exceeded Babylon, was of a longilateral figure¹, ninety-five furlongs broad and an hundred and fifty long and so making about sixty miles in circuit, which is the measure of three days journey, according unto military marches, or castrensial mansions. So that, if Jonas entered at the narrower side, he found enough for one day's walk to attain the heart of the city to make his proclamation. And, if we imagine a city extending from Ware to London, the expression will be moderate of sixscore thousand infants, although we allow vacuities, fields, and intervals of habitation, as there needs must be when the monument of Ninus took up no less than ten furlongs.

And, though none of the Seven Wonders, yet a noble piece of antiquity, and made by a copy exceeding all the rest, had its principal parts disposed after this manner, that is, the Labyrinth of Crete, built upon a long quadrate containing five large squares, communicating by right inflexions, terminating in the centre of the middle square and lodging of the Minotaur, if we conform unto the description of the elegant medal thereof in Agostino². And, though in many accounts we reckon grossly by the square, yet is that very often to be accepted as a long-sided quadrate, which was the figure of the ark of the covenant, the table of the shewbread, and the stone wherein the names of the twelve tribes were engraved, that is three in a row, naturally making a longilateral figure, the perfect quadrate being made by nine.

What figure the stones themselves maintained tradition and Scripture are silent, yet lapidaries in precious stones affect a table or long square, and in such proportion that the two lateral and also the three inferior tables are equal unto the superior, and the angles of the lateral tables contain and constitute the *hypothenusæ*, or broader sides subtending.

¹ Diodorus Siculus [ii, 7].

² Antonlo Agostino, *Delle Medaglie*.

That the Tables of the Law were of this figure general imitation and tradition hath confirmed. Yet are we unwilling to load the shoulders of Moses with such massy stones, as some pictures lay upon them ; since it is plainly delivered that he came down with them in his hand ; since the word strictly taken implies no such massy hewing, but cutting and fashioning of them into shape and surface ; since some will have them emeralds, and, if they were made of the materials of Mount Sinai, not improbable that they were marble ; since the words were not many, the letters short of seven hundred, and the Tables, written on both sides, required no such capacity.

The beds of the ancients were different from ours at present, which are almost square, being framed oblong and about a double unto their breadth, not much unlike the area or bed of this quincuncial quadrate. The single beds of Greece were six feet¹ and a little more in length, three in breadth ; the giant-like bed of Og, which had four cubits of breadth, nine and a half in length, varied not much from this proportion. The funeral bed of King Cheops, in the greater pyramid, which holds seven in length and four feet in breadth, had no great deformity from this measure ; and, whatsoever were the breadth, the length could hardly be less of the tyrannical bed of Procrustes, since in a shorter measure he had not been fitted with persons for his cruelty of extension. But the old sepulchral bed, or Amazonian tomb², in the market-place of Megara was in the form of a lozenge, readily made out by the composure of the body ; for, the arms not lying fasciated or wrapt up after the Grecian manner but in a middle distension, the including lines will strictly make out that figure.

CHAPTER III

Now although this elegant ordination of vegetables hath found coincidence or imitation in sundry works of art, yet is it not also destitute of natural examples ;

¹ Arist. [*Mechan.*, c. 126]. ² Plut. [*Vit Thes.*, c. xxvii].

and, though overlooked by all, was elegantly observable in several works of nature.

Could we satisfy ourselves in the position of the lights above, or discover the wisdom of that order so invariably maintained in the fixed stars of heaven, could we have any light why the stellary part of the first mass separated into this order, that the girdle of Orion should ever maintain its line, and the two stars in Charles' Wain never leave pointing at the pole star, we might abate the Pythagorical music of the spheres, the seven-fold pipe of Pan, and the strange cryptography of Gaffarel in his starry book of heaven.

But, not to look so high as heaven or the single quincunx of the *Hyades* upon the head of Taurus; the triangle and remarkable *crusero* about the foot of the Centaur, observable rudiments there are hereof in subterraneous concretions and bodies in the earth, in the *gypsum* or *talcum rhomboides*, in the *favaginites*, or honeycomb stone, in the *asteria* and *astroites*, and in the crucigerous stone of St Jago of Gallicia.

The same is observably effected in the *julus*, catkins, or pendulous excrescencies, of several trees; of walnuts, alders, and hazels, which hanging all the winter, and maintaining their network close, by the expansion thereof are the early foretellers of the spring: discoverable also in long pepper, and elegantly in the *julus* of *calamus aromaticus*, so plentifully growing with us, in the first palms of willows, and in the flowers of sycamore, *petasites*, *asphodelus*, and *blattaria*, before explication. After such order stand the flowery branches in our best spread *verbascum*, and the seeds about the spicous head or torch of *thapsus barbatus*, in as fair a regularity as the circular and wreathed order will admit, which advanceth one side of the square, and makes the same rhomboidal. In the squamous heads of scabious knapweed, and the elegant *jacea pinea*, and in the scaly composure of the oak-rose, which some years most aboundeth. After this order hath nature planted the eaves in the head of the common and prickled artichoke, wherein the black and shining flies do shelter themselves when they retire from the purple flower

about it. The same is also found in the pricks, sockets, and impressions of the seeds, in the pulp or bottom thereof, wherein do elegantly stick the fathers of their mother: to omit the quincuncial specks on the top of the mistle-berry, especially that which grows upon the *tilia*, or lime tree; and the remarkable disposure of those yellow fringes about the purple pistil of Aaron and elegant clusters of dragons, so peculiarly secured by nature with an umbrella, or screening leaf, about them.

The spongy leaves of some sea-wracks, fucus, oaks, in their several kinds, found about the shore, with ejectments of the sea, are over-wrought with network elegantly containing this order; which plainly declareth the naturalty of this texture, and how the needle of nature delighteth to work even in low and doubtful vegetations.

The *arbustetum*, or thicket on the head of the teazel, may be observed in this order; and he that considereth that fabric so regularly palisadoed, and stemmed with flowers of the royal colour, in the house of the solitary maggot may find the seraglio of Solomon; and, contemplating the calicular shafts and uncous disposure of their extremities so accommodable unto the office of abstersion, not condemn as wholly improbable the conceit of those who accept it for the herb *borith*¹. Where, by the way, we could with much enquiry never discover any transfiguration in this abstemious insect, although we have kept them long in their proper houses and boxes. Where some, wrapt up in their webs, have lived upon their own bowels from September unto July.

In such a grove do walk the little creepers about the head of the burr; and such an order is observed in the aculeous prickly plantation upon the heads of several common thistles, remarkably in the notable palisadoes about the flower of the milk thistle; and he that enquireth into the little bottom of the globe thistle may find that gallant bush arise from a scalp of like disposure.

¹ *Jer.*, ii, 22; *Mal.*, iii, 2.

The white umbrella, or medical bush of elder, is an epitome of this order, arising from five main stems quincuncially disposed and tolerably maintained in their subdivisions. To omit the lower observations in the seminal spike of mercury wild and plantain.

Thus hath nature ranged the flowers of sainfoin, and French honeysuckle, and somewhat after this manner hath ordered the bush in Jupiter's beard, or houseleek, which old superstition set on the tops of houses as a defensative against lightning and thunder. The like in fenny seagreen, or the water-soldier¹, which, though a military name from Greece, makes out the Roman order.

A like ordination there is in the favaginous sockets and lozenge seeds of the noble flower of the sun, wherein in lozenge-figured boxes nature shuts up the seeds and balsam which is about them.

But the fir and pine-tree from their fruits do naturally dictate this position; the rhomboidal protuberances in pine-apples maintaining this quincuncial order unto each other, and each rhombus in itself. Thus are also disposed the triangular foliations in the conical fruit of the fir-tree orderly shadowing and protecting the winged seeds below them.

The like so often occurreth to the curiosity of observers, especially in spicated seeds and flowers, that we shall not need to take in the single quincunx of *Fuchsius* in the growth of the male-fern, the seedy disposeure of *gramen ischemon*, and the trunk or neat reticulate work in the cod of the sachel palm.

For even in very many round stalked plants the leaves are set after a quintuple ordination, the first leaf answering the fifth in lateral disposition. Wherein the leaves successively rounding the stalk, in four at the furthest the compass is absolved, and the fifth leaf or sprout returns to the position of the other fifth before it; as in accounting upward is often observable in furze, pellitory, ragweed, the sprouts of oaks and thorns, upon pollards², and very remarkably in the regular disposeure of the rugged excrescencies in the yearly shoots of the pine.

¹ *Stratiotes*. ² Upon pollard oak and thorns.

But in square-stalked plants the leaves stand respectively unto each other, either in cross or decussation to those above or below them, arising at cross positions; whereby they shadow not each other, and better resist the force of winds, which in a parallel situation and upon square stalks would more forcibly bear upon them.

And—to omit how leaves and sprouts which compass not the stalk are often set in a *rhomboides*, and, making long and short diagonals, to stand like the legs of quadrupeds when they go; nor to urge the thwart enclosure and furdling of flowers and blossoms before explications, as in the multiplied leaves of peony; and the *chiasmus* in five-leaved flowers, while one lies wrapt about the stamineous beards, the other four obliquely shutting and closing upon each other, and how even flowers which consist of four leaves stand not ordinarily in three and one, but two, and two crosswise, unto the *stylus*—even the autumnal buds, which await the return of the sun, do after the winter solstice multiply their calicular leaves, making little rhombuses and network figures, as in the sycamore and lilac.

The like is discoverable in the original production of plants, which first putting forth two leaves, those which succeed bear not over each other, but shoot obliquely or crosswise, until the stalk appeareth, which sendeth not forth its first leaves without all order unto them, and he that from hence can discover in what position the two first leaves did arise is no ordinary observator.

Where, by the way, he that observeth the rudimental spring of seeds shall find strict rule, although not after this order. How little is required unto effectual generation, and in what diminutives the plastic principle lodgeth, is exemplified in seeds, wherein the greater mass affords so little comproduction. In beans the leaf and root sprout from the germen, the main sides split and lie by; and in some pulled up near the time of blooming we have found the pulpous sides entire or little wasted. In acorns the nib dilating splitteth the two sides, which sometimes lie whole, when the oak is

sprouted two handfuls. In lupines these pulpy sides do sometimes arise with the stalk in the resemblance of two fat leaves. Wheat and rye will grow up if, after they have shot some tender roots, the adhering pulp be taken from them. Beans will prosper though a part be cut away, and so much set as sufficeth to contain and keep the germen close. From this superfluous pulp in unkindly and wet years may arise that multiplicity of little insects which infest the roots and sprouts of tender grains and pulses.

In the little nib or fructifying principle the motion is regular and not transvertible, as to make that ever the leaf which nature intended the root; observable from their conversion, until they attain their right position, if seeds be set inversedly.

In vain we expect the production of plants from different parts of the seed; from the same corculum, or little original, proceed both germinations; and in the power of this slender particle lie many roots and sprouts, that, though the same be pulled away, the generative particle will renew them again, and proceed to a perfect plant; and malt may be observed to grow, though the cummes be fallen from it.

The seminal nib hath a defined and single place, and not extended unto both extremes. And therefore many too vulgarly conceive that barley and oats grow at both ends; for they arise from one punctilio, or generative nib, and the spear, sliding under the husk, first appeareth nigh the top. But in wheat and rye, being bare, the sprouts are seen together. If barley unhulled would grow, both would appear at once. But in this and oatmeal the nib is broken away, which makes them the milder food and less apt to raise fermentation in decoctions.

Men taking notice of what is outwardly visible conceive a sensible priority in the root. But as they begin from one part, so they seem to start and set out upon one signal of nature. In beans yet soft, in peas while they adhere unto the cod, the rudimental leaf and root are discoverable. In the seeds of rocket and mustard sprouting in glasses of water, when the one is manifest

the other is also perceptible. In muddy waters apt to breed duckweed and periwinkles, if the first and rudimental strokes of duckweed be observed, the leaves and root anticipate not each other. But in the date-stone the first sprout is neither root nor leaf distinctly, but both together; for, the germination being to pass through the narrow navel and hole about the midst of the stone, the generative germ is fain to enlengthen itself, and, shooting out about an inch, at that distance divideth into the ascending and descending portion.

And, though it be generally thought that seeds will root at that end where they adhere to their originals, and observable it is that the nib sets most often next the stalk, as in grains, pulses, and most small seeds—yet is it hardly made out in many greater plants. For in acorns, almonds, pistachios, walnuts, and acuminated shells the germ puts forth at the remotest part of the pulp. And therefore to set seeds in that posture wherein the leaf and roots may shoot right without contortion or forced circumvolution, which might render them strongly rooted and straighter, were a criticism in agriculture. And nature seems to have made some provision hereof in many from their figure, that as they fall from the tree they may lie in positions agreeable to such advantages.

Beside the open and visible testicles of plants, the seminal powers lie in great part invisible, while the sun finds polypody in stone-walls, the little stinging nettle and nightshade in barren sandy highways, scurvy-grass in Greenland, and unknown plants in earth brought from remote countries. Beside the known longevity of some trees, what is the most lasting herb or seed seems not easily determinable. Mandrakes upon known account have lived near an hundred years. Seeds found in wildfowl's gizzards have sprouted in the earth. The seeds of marjoram and *stramonium* carelessly kept have grown after seven years. Even in garden plots long fallow and dugged up, the seeds of *blattaria* and yellow henbane after twelve years burial have produced themselves again.

That bodies are first spirits Paracelsus could affirm, which in the maturation of seeds and fruits seems obscurely implied by Aristotle¹, when he delivereth that the spirituous parts are converted into water and the water into earth, and attested by observation in the maturative progress of seeds, wherein at first may be discerned a flatuous distension of the husk, afterwards a thin liquor, which longer time digesteth into a pulp or kernel, observable in almonds and large nuts. And some way answered in the progressional perfection of animal semination, in its spermatical maturation from crude pubescency unto perfection. And even that seeds themselves in their rudimental discoveries appear in foliaceous surcles, or sprouts within their coverings, in a diaphanous jelly, before deeper incrassation, is also visibly verified in cherries, acorns, plums.

From seminal consideration, either in reference unto one mother or distinction from animal production, the Holy Scripture describeth the vegetable creation; and, while it divideth plants but into herb and tree, though it seemeth to make but an accidental division, from magnitude, it tacitly containeth the natural distinction of vegetables observed by herbarists, and comprehending the four kinds. For since the most natural distinction is made from the production of leaf or stalk, and plants after the two first seminal leaves do either proceed to send forth more leaves or a stalk, and the folious and stalky emission distinguisheth herbs and trees. In a large acception it compriseth all vegetables; for the *frutex* and *suffrutex* are under the progression of trees: they stand authentically differenced but from the accidents of the stalk.

The equivocal production of things under undiscerned principles makes a large part of generation, though they seem to hold a wide univocacy in their set and certain originals, while almost every plant breeds its peculiar insect, most a butterfly, a moth, or fly, wherein the oak seems to contain the largest seminality, while the julus, oak-apple, pill, woolly tuft,

¹ In *Met.* [iv, 4] cum Cabeo.

foraminous roundles upon the leaf, and grapes underground make a fly with some difference. The great variety of flies lies in the variety of their originals; in the seeds of caterpillars or cankers there lieth not only a butterfly or moth, but, if they be sterile or untimely cast, their production is often a fly, which we have also observed from corrupted and mouldered eggs both of hens and fishes; to omit the generation of bees out of the bodies of dead heifers, or, what is strange yet well attested, the production of eels in the backs of living cods and perches¹.

The exiguity and smallness of some seeds extending to large productions is one of the magnalities of nature, somewhat illustrating the work of the creation and vast production from nothing. The true² seeds of cypress and rampions are indistinguishable by old eyes. Of the seeds of tobacco a thousand make not one grain. The disputed seeds of hartstongue and maidenhair require a great number. From such undiscernible seminalities arise spontaneous productions. He that would discern the rudimental stroke of a plant may behold it in the original of duckweed, at the bigness of a pin's point, from convenient water in glasses, wherein a watchful eye may also discover the puncticular originals of periwinkles and gnats.

That seeds of some plants are less than any animals seems of no clear decision; that the biggest of vegetables exceedeth the biggest of animals in full bulk, and all dimensions admits exception in the whale, which in length and above-ground measure will also contend with tall oaks. That the richest odour of plants surpasseth that of animals may seem of some doubt, since animal-musk seems to excel the vegetable, and we find so noble a scent in the tulip-fly and goat-beetle.

Now whether seminal nibs hold any sure proportion unto seminal enclosures; why the form of the germ doth not answer the figure of the enclosing pulp; why the nib is seated upon the solid and not the channelled side of the seed as in grains; why, since we often meet

¹ Schoneveldus, *De Pisc.*

² Doctiss. Laurenburg, *Hort.*

with two yolks in one shell and sometimes one egg within another, we do not oftener meet with two nibs in one distinct seed; why, since the eggs of a hen laid at one course do commonly outweigh the bird and some moths coming out of their cases without assistance of food will lay so many eggs as to outweigh their bodies, trees rarely bear their fruit in that gravity or proportion; whether in the germination of seeds, according to Hippocrates, the lighter part ascendeth and maketh the sprout, the heaviest tending downward frameth the root, since we observe that the first shoot of seeds in water will sink or bow down at the upper and leafing end; whether it be not more rational Epicurism to contrive whole dishes out of the nibs and spirited particles of plants than from the gallatures and treadles of eggs, since that part is found to hold no seminal share in oval generation—are queries which might enlarge, but must conclude, this digression.

And, though not in this order, yet how Nature delighteth in this number, and what consent and co-ordination there is in the leaves and parts of flowers, it cannot escape our observation in no small number of plants. For the calicular, or supporting and closing, leaves do answer the number of the flowers, especially such as exceed not the number of swallows' eggs¹, as in violets, stitchwort, blossoms, and flowers of one leaf have often five divisions, answered by a like number of calicular leaves, as *gentianella*, *convolvulus*, bell-flowers. In many the flowers, blades or staminous shoots and leaves are all equally five, as in cockle, mullein, and *blattaria*, wherein the flowers before explication are pentagonally wrapped up with some resemblance of the *blatta*, or moth, from whence it hath its name. But the contrivance of nature is singular in the opening and shutting of bindweeds performed by five inflexures, distinguishable by pyramidal figures and also different colours.

The rose at first is thought to have been of five leaves, as it yet groweth wild among us, but in the most luxuriant

¹ Which exceed not five.

the calicular leaves do still maintain that number. But nothing is more admired than the five brethren of the rose, and the strange disposeure of the appendices or beards in the calicular leaves thereof, which in despair of resolution is tolerably salved from this contrivance, best ordered and suited for the free closure of them before explication. For those two which are smooth and of no beard are contrived to lie undermost, as without prominent parts and fit to be smoothly covered; the other two which are beset with beards on either side stand outward and uncovered, but the fifth or half-bearded leaf is covered on the bare side, but on the open side stands free and bearded like the other.

Besides, a large number of leaves have five divisions, and may be circumscribed by a pentagon, or figure of five angles made by right lines from the extremity of their leaves, as in maple, vine, fig-tree; but five-leaved flowers are commonly disposed circularly about the stylus, according to the higher geometry of nature, dividing a circle by five radii, which concur not to make diameters, as in quadrilateral and sexangular intersections.

Now the number of five is remarkable in every circle not only as the first spherical number, but the measure of spherical motion. For spherical bodies move by fives, and every globular figure placed upon a plane in direct volutation returns to the first point of contact in the fifth touch, accounting by the axes of the diameters or cardinal points of the four quarters thereof. And, before it arriveth unto the same point, again it maketh five circles equal unto itself, in each progress from those quarters absolving an equal circle.

By the same number doth nature divide the circle of the sea-star, and in that order and number disposeth these elegant semi-circles, or dental sockets and eggs, in the sea-hedgehog. And no mean observation hereof there is in the mathematics of the neatest retiary spider, which, concluding in forty-four circles, from five semi-diameters beginneth that elegant texture.

And after this manner doth lay the foundation of the circular branches of the oak, which, being five-cornered

in the tender annual sprouts, and manifesting upon incision the signature of a star, is after made circular and swelled into a round body ; which practice of nature is become a point of art, and makes two problems in Euclid¹. But the bramble which sends forth shoots and prickles from its angles maintains its pentagonal figure and the unobserved signature of a handsome porch within it. To omit the five small buttons dividing the circle of the ivy berry, and the five characters in the winter stalk of the walnut, with many other observables which cannot escape the eyes of signal discerners such as know where to find Ajax his name in *delphinium* or Aaron's mitre in henbane.

Quincuncial forms and ordinations are also observable in animal figurations. For, to omit the *hyoides*, or throat-bone, of animals, the *furcula*, or merry-thought, in birds, which supporteth the *scapulæ*, affording a passage for the windpipe and the gullet, the wings of flies and disposure of their legs in their first formation from maggots, and the position of their horns, wings, and legs in their aurelian cases and swaddling clouts—the back of the *cimex arboreus*, found often upon trees and lesser plants, doth elegantly discover the Burgundian decussation, and the like is observable in the belly of the *notonecton*, or water-beetle, which swimmeth on its back, and the handsome *rhombus* of the sea poult, or werrel, on either side the spine.

The sexangular cells in the honeycombs of bees are disposed after this order: much there is not of wonder in the confused houses of pismires, though much in their busy life and actions, more in the edificial palaces of bees and monarchical spirits, who make their comb six-cornered, declining a circle (whereof many stand not close together, and completely fill the area of the place), but rather affecting a six-sided figure, whereby every cell affords a common side unto six more, and also a fit receptacle for the bee itself, which gathering into a cylindrical figure aptly enters its sexangular house, more nearly approaching a circular figure than either doth the square or triangle ; and the combs themselves

¹ *Elements*, [bk. iv, props. 11 and 14].

so regularly contrived that their mutual intersections make three lozenges at the bottom of every cell ; which severally regarded make three rows of neat rhomboidal figures, connected at the angles, and so continue three several chains throughout the whole comb.

As for the *favago* found commonly on the sea shore, though named from a honeycomb it but rudely makes out the resemblance, and better agrees with the round cells of humble bees. He that would exactly discern the shape of a bee's mouth needs observing eyes and good augmenting glasses ; wherein is discoverable one of the neatest pieces in nature ; and he must have a more piercing eye than mine who finds out the shape of the bulls' heads in the guts of drones pressed out behind, according to the experiment of Gomesius¹, wherein, notwithstanding, there seemeth somewhat which might incline a pliant fancy to credulity of similitude.

A resemblance hereof there is in the orderly and rarely disposed cells made by flies and insects, which we have often found fastened about small sprigs ; and in those cottonary and woolly pillows which sometimes we meet with fastened unto leaves there is included an elegant network texture, out of which come many small flies. And some resemblance there is of this order in the eggs of some butterflies and moths, as they stick upon leaves and other substances, which, being dropped from behind nor directed by the eye, doth nearly declare how nature geometrized and observeth order in all things.

A like correspondency in figure is found in the skins and outward teguments of animals, whereof a remarkable part are beautiful by this texture. As the backs of several snakes and serpents, elegantly remarkable in the *aspis* and the dart-snake, in the *chiasmus* and larger decussations upon the back of the rattle-snake, and in the close and finer texture of the *mater formicarum*, or snake that delights in ant hills ; whereby, upon approach of outward injuries, they can raise a thicker phalanx on their backs, and handsomely

¹ *De Sale.*

contrive themselves into all kinds of flexures ; whereas their bellies are commonly covered with smooth semi-circular divisions, as best accommodable unto their quick and gliding motion.

This way is followed by nature in the peculiar and remarkable tail of the beaver, wherein the scaly particles are disposed somewhat after this order, which is the plainest resolution of the wonder of Bellonius, while he saith, With incredible artifice hath nature framed the tail or oar of the beaver : where, by the way, we cannot but wish a model of their houses, so much extolled by some describers ; wherein, since they are so bold as to venture upon three stages, we might examine their artifice in the contignations, the rule and order in the compartitions ; or whether that magnified structure be any more than a rude rectangular pile or mere hovel-building.

Thus works the hand of nature in the feathery plantation about birds. Observable in the skins of the breast, legs, and pinions of turkeys, geese, and ducks, and the oars or finny feet of water-fowl ; and such a natural net is the scaly covering of fishes, of mullets, carps, tenches, &c., even in such as are excoriable and consist of smaller scales, as bretts, soles, and flounders. The like reticulate grain is observable in some Russia-leather. To omit the ruder figures of the *ostracion*, the triangular or cunny-fish, or the pricks of the sea-porcupine.

The same is also observable in some part of the skin of man, in habits of neat texture, and therefore not unaptly compared unto a net : we shall not affirm that from such grounds the Egyptian embalmers imitated this texture, yet in their linen folds the same is still observable among their neatest mummies, in the figures of Isis and Osiris and the tutelary spirits in the Bembine Table. Nor is it to be overlooked how Horus, the hieroglyphic of the world, is described in a network covering, from the shoulder to the foot. And (not to enlarge upon the cruciated character of Trismegistus, or handed crosses, so often occurring in the needles of Pharaoh, and obelisks of antiquity), the *Statuæ Isiaccæ*

and little idols found about the mummies do make a decussation of Jacob's cross, with their arms, like that on the head of Ephraim and Manasseh, and this *decussis* is also graphically described between them.

This reticulate, or net, work was also considerable in the inward parts of man, not only from the first *subtegemem*, or warp, of his formation, but in the netty *fibres* of the veins and vessels of life; wherein according to common anatomy the right and transverse *fibres* are decussated by the oblique *fibres*, and so must frame a reticulate and quincuncial figure by their obliquations, emphatically extending that elegant expression of Scripture: 'Thou hast curiously embroidered me', thou hast wrought me up after the finest way of texture and as it were with a needle.

Nor is the same observable only in some parts, but in the whole body, of man, which upon the extension of arms and legs doth make out a square whose intersection is at the genitals. To omit the fantastical quincunx in Plato of the first hermaphrodite or double man, united at the loins, which Jupiter after divided.

A rudimental resemblance hereof there is in the cruciated and rugged folds of the *reticulum*, or net-like ventricle, of ruminating horned animals, which is the second in order and culinarily called the honeycomb. For many divisions there are in the stomach of several animals; what number they maintain in the *scarus* and ruminating fish common description or our own experiment hath made no discovery; but in the ventricle of porpoises there are three divisions; in many birds a crop, gizzard and little receptacles before it; but in cornigerous animals, which chew the cud there are no less than four of distinct position and office.

The *reticulum* by these crossed cells makes a further digestion in the dry and exsuccous part of the aliment received from the first ventricle. For at the bottom of the gullet there is a double orifice; what is first received at the mouth descendeth into the first and greater stomach, from whence it is returned into the mouth

again; and, after a fuller mastication and salivous mixture, what part thereof descendeth again in a moist and succulent body slides down the softer and more permeable orifice into the *omasus* or third stomach, and, from thence conveyed in to the fourth, receives its last digestion. The other dry and exsuccous part after rumination by the larger and stronger orifice beareth into the first stomach, from thence into the *reticulum*, and so progressively into the other divisions. And therefore in calves newly calved there is little or no use of the two first ventricles, for the milk and liquid aliment slippeth down the softer orifice into the third stomach, where making little or no stay, it passeth into the fourth, the seat of the *coagulum*, or runnet, or that division of stomach which seems to bear the name of the whole, in the Greek translation of the priest's fee in the sacrifice of peace-offerings.

As for those rhomboidal figures made by the cartilagineous parts of the weazand, in the lungs of great fishes and other animals, as Rondeletius discovered, we have not found them so to answer our figure as to be drawn into illustration; something we expected in the more discernible texture of the lungs of frogs, which, notwithstanding being but two curious bladders not weighing above a grain, we found interwoven with veins not observing any just order. More orderly situated are those cretaceous and chalky concretions found sometimes in the bigness of a small vetch on either side their spine; which, being not agreeable unto our order nor yet observed by any, we shall not here discourse on.

But, had we found a better account and tolerable anatomy of that prominent jowl of the spermaceti whale than questuary operation¹ or the stench of the last cast upon our shore permitted, we might have perhaps discovered some handsome order in those net-like seases and sockets, made like honeycombs, containing that medical matter.

Lastly, the incession or local motion of animals is made with analogy unto this figure, by decussative diametrals, quincuncial lines, and angles. For, to omit

¹ Described in our *Pseudo. Epidem.*, ed. 3 [bk. iii, c. 26].

the enquiry how butterflies and breezes move their four wings, how birds and fishes in air and water move by joint strokes of opposite wing and fins, and how salient animals in jumping forward seem to arise and fall upon a square base—as the station of most quadrupeds is made upon a long square, so in their motion they make a *rhomboides*, their common progression being performed diametrically, by decussation and cross advancement of their legs, which, not observed, begot that remarkable absurdity in the position of the legs of Castor's horse in the capitol. The snake which moveth circularly makes his spires in like order, the convex and concave spirals answering each other at alternate distances. In the motion of man the arms and legs observe this thwarting position, but the legs alone do move quincuncially by single angles with some resemblance of a V measured by successive advancement from each foot, and the angle of indenture greater or less according to the extent or brevity of the stride.

Studious observators may discover more analogies in the orderly book of nature, and cannot escape the elegancy of her hand in other correspondencies. The figures of nails and crucifying appurtenances are but precariously made out in the *granadilla*, or flower of Christ's Passion; and we despair to behold in these parts that handsome draft of crucifixion in the fruit of the Barbado pine. The seminal spike of *phalaris*, or great shaking-grass, more nearly answers the tail of a rattle-snake than many resemblances in Porta. And, if the man-orchis¹ of Columna be well made out, it excelleth all analogies. In young walnuts cut athwart it is not hard to apprehend strange characters; and in those of somewhat elder growth handsome ornamental drafts about a plain cross. In the root of *osmond*, or water-fern, every eye may discern the form of a half-moon, rainbow, or half the character of *pisces*. Some find Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin characters in plants; in a common one among us we seem to read *Aiain, Viviu, Lilil*.

¹ *Orchis Anthropophora*, Fabii Columnæ.

Right lines and circles make out the bulk of plants. In the parts thereof we find heliacal, or spiral, roundles, volutas, conical sections, circular pyramids, and frustums of Archimedes. And cannot overlook the orderly hand of nature in the alternate succession of the flat and narrower sides in the tender shoots of the ash, or the regular inequality of bigness in the five-leaved flowers of henbane, and something like in the calicular leaves of tutson. How the spots of *persicaria* do manifest themselves between the sixth and tenth rib. How the triangular cap in the stem or *stylus* of tulips doth constantly point at three outward leaves. That spicated flowers do open first at the stalk¹. That white flowers have yellow thrums, or knops. That the nib of beans and peas do all look downward, and so press not upon each other. And how the seeds of many pappous, or downy, flowers, locked up in sockets after a *gomphosis*, or mortise-articulation, diffuse themselves circularly into branches of rare order, observable in *tragopogon*, or goats-beard, conformable to the spider's web, and the *radii* in like manner telarly interwoven.

And how in animal natures even colours hold correspondencies and mutual correlations. That the colour of the caterpillar will show again in the butterfly, with some latitude is allowable. Though the regular spots in their wings seem but a mealy adhesion and such as may be wiped away, yet, since they come in this variety out of their cases, there must be regular pores in those parts and membranes, defining such exudations.

That Augustus had native notes on his body and belly, after the order and number in the stars of Charles' Wain, will not seem strange unto astral physiognomy, which accordingly considereth moles in the body of man, or physical observators, who from the position of moles in the face reduce them to rule and correspondency in other parts. Whether after the like method medical conjecture may not be raised upon parts inwardly affected, since parts about the lips are the critical seats

¹ Below.

of pustules discharged in agues, and scrofulous tumours about the neck do so often speak the like about the mesentery, may also be considered.

The russet neck in young lambs seems but adventitious, and may owe its tincture to some contaction in the womb ; but that, if sheep have any black or deep russet in their faces, they want not the same about their legs and feet ; that black hounds have mealy mouths and feet ; that black cows which have any white in their tails should not miss of some in their bellies, and, if all white in their bodies yet if black mouthed, their ears and feet maintain the same colour—are correspondent tinctures not ordinarily failing in nature, which easily unites the accidents of extremities, since in some generations she transmutes the parts themselves, while in the *aurelian metamorphosis* the head of the canker becomes the tail of the butterfly. Which is in some way not beyond the contrivance of art, in submersions and inlays, inverting the extremes of the plant and fetching the root from the top, and also imitated in handsome columnary work, in the inversion of the extremes, wherein the capital and the base hold such near correspondency.

In the motive parts of animals may be discovered mutual proportions ; not only in those of quadrupeds, but in the thigh-bone, leg, foot-bone, and claws of birds. The legs of spiders are made after a *sesquitertian* proportion, and the long legs of some locusts double unto some others. But the internodial parts of vegetables, or spaces between the joints, are contrived with more uncertainty, though the joints themselves in many plants maintain a regular number.

In vegetable composure the union of prominent parts seems most to answer the *apophyses*, or processes of animal bones, whereof they are the produced parts or prominent explantations. And, though in the parts of plants which are not ordained for motion we do not expect correspondent articulations, yet in the setting on of some flowers and seeds in their sockets, and the lineal commissure of the pulp of several seeds, may be observed some shadow of the

harmony, some show of the *gomphosis*, or mortise-articulation.

As for the *diarthrosis*, or motive articulation, there is expected little analogy; though long-stalked leaves do move by long lines and have observable motions, yet are they made by outward impulsion, like the motion of pendulous bodies, while the parts themselves are united by some kind of *symphysis* unto the stock.

But standing vegetables void of motive articulations are not without many motions. For, besides the motion of vegetation upward and of radiation unto all quarters, that of contraction, dilatation, inclination, and contortion is discoverable in many plants. To omit the rose of Jericho, the ear of rye, which moves with change of weather, and the magical spit, made of no rare plants, which winds before the fire and roasts the bird without turning.

Even animals near the classis of plants seem to have the most restless motions. The summer-worm of ponds and plashes makes a long waving motion, the hair-worm seldom lies still. He that would behold a very anomalous motion may observe it in the tortile and tiring strokes of gnat-worms¹.

CHAPTER IV

As for the delights, commodities, mysteries, with other concernments of this order, we are unwilling to fly them over, in the short deliveries of Virgil, Varro, or others and shall therefore enlarge with additional ampliatioms.

By this position they had a just proportion of earth to supply an equality of nourishment. The distance being ordered, thick or thin according to the magnitude or vigorous attraction of the plant, the goodness, leanness, or propriety of the soil; and therefore the rule of Solon concerning the territory of Athens, not extendible unto all, allowing the distance of six-foot unto common trees, and nine for the fig and olive.

¹ Found often in some form of red maggot in the standing waters of cisterns in the summer.

They had a due diffusion of their roots on all or both sides, whereby they maintained some proportion to their height, in trees of large radication. For that they strictly make good their *profundeur*, or depth unto their height, according to common conceit and that expression of Virgil, though confirmable from the plane-tree in Pliny and some few examples, is not to be expected from the generality of trees almost in any kind, either of side-spreading or tap-roots, except we measure them by lateral and opposite diffusions; nor commonly to be found in *minor* or herby plants, if we except sea-holly, liquorice, sea-rush, and some others.

They had a commodious radiation in their growth and a due expansion of their branches for shadow or delight. For trees thickly planted do run up in height and branch with no expansion, shooting unequally or short, and thin upon the neighbouring side. And therefore trees are inwardly bare, and spring and leaf from the outward and sunny side of the branches.

Whereby they also avoided the peril of *συνολεθρισμὸς*, or one tree perishing with another, as it happeneth oft-times from the sick *effluvioms* or entanglements of the roots falling foul with each other. Observable in elms set in hedges, where if one dieth the neighbouring tree prospereth not long after.

In this situation, divided into many intervals and open unto six passages, they had the advantage of a fair perflation from winds, brushing and cleansing their surfaces, relaxing and closing their pores unto due perspiration. For that they afford large *effluvioms*, perceptible from odours diffused at great distances, is observable from onions out of the earth, which, though dry and kept until the spring, as they shoot forth large and many leaves do notably abate of their weight; and mint growing in glasses of water, until it arriveth unto the weight of an ounce, in a shady place will sometimes exhaust a pound of water. And as they send much forth, so may they receive somewhat in; for, beside the common way and road of reception by the root, there may be a refection and imbibition from

without, for gentle showers refresh plants, though they enter not their roots, and the good and bad *effluvium* of vegetables promote or debilitate each other. So *epithymum* and dodder, rootless and out of the ground, maintain themselves upon thyme, savory, and plants whereon they hang; and ivy, divided from the root, we have observed to live some years by the cirrous parts commonly conceived but as tenacles and hold-fasts unto it. The stalks of mint cropped from the root, stripped from the leaves and set in glasses with the root end upward and out of the water, we have observed to send forth sprouts and leaves without the aid of roots, and *scordium* to grow in like manner, the leaves set downward in water. To omit several sea-plants which grow on single roots from stones, although in very many there are side-shoots and fibres beside the fastening root.

By this open position they were fairly exposed unto the rays of moon and sun, so considerable in the growth of vegetables. For though poplars, willows, and several trees be made to grow about the brinks of Acheron and dark habitations of the dead, though some plants are content to grow in obscure wells, wherein also old elm pumps afford sometimes long bushy sprouts not observable in any above ground, and large fields of vegetables are able to maintain their verdure at the bottom and shady part of the sea, yet the greatest number are not content without the actual rays of the sun, but bend, incline, and follow them, as large lists of solisequious or sun-following plants; and some observe the method of its motion in their own growth and conversion, twining towards the west by the south, as briony, hops, woodbine, and several kinds of bindweed, which we shall more admire when any can tell us they observe another motion, and twist by the north at the Antipodes. The same plants rooted against an erect north wall full of holes will find a way through them to look upon the sun; and in tender plants from mustard-seed, sown in the winter and in a pot of earth placed inwardly against a south window, the tender stalks of two leaves arose not erect but bending towards the window, nor looking

much higher than the meridian sun; and if the pot were turned they would work themselves into their former declinations, making their conversion by the east. That the leaves of the olive and some other trees solstitially turn, and precisely tell us when the sun is entered Cancer, is scarce expectable in any climate, and Theophrastus warily observes it. Yet somewhat thereof is observable in our own, in the leaves of willows and salallows, some weeks after the solstice. But the great convolvulus, or white-flowered bindweed, observes both motions of the sun; while the flower twists equinoctially from the left hand to the right according to the daily revolution, the stalk twineth ecliptically from the right to the left according to the annual conversion.

Some commend the exposure of these orders unto the western gales, as the most generative and fructifying breath of heaven. But we applaud the husbandry of Solomon, whereto agreeth the doctrine of Theophrastus: 'Arise, O North Wind, and blow, thou South, upon my garden, that the spices thereof may flow out'. For the north wind closing the pores and shutting up the effluvioms, when the south doth after open and relax them the aromatical gums do drop, and sweet odours fly actively from them; and, if his garden had the same situation which maps and charts afford it, on the east side of Jerusalem and having the wall on the west, these were the winds unto which it was well exposed.

By this way of plantation they increased the number of their trees, which they lost in quaternios and square orders, which is a commodity insisted on by Varro, and one great intent of nature, in this position of flowers and seeds in their elegant formation of plants, and the former rules observed in natural and artificial figurations.

Whether in this order, and one tree in some measure breaking the cold and pinching gusts of winds from the other, trees will not better maintain their inward circles and either escape or moderate their eccentricities, may also be considered. For the circles in trees are

naturally concentrical, parallel unto the bark and unto each other, till frost and piercing winds contract and close them on the weather side, the opposite semicircle widely enlarging and at a comely distance, which hindereth oftentimes the beauty and roundness of trees and makes the timber less serviceable, whilst the ascending juice, not readily passing, settles in knots and inequalities; and therefore it is no new course of agriculture to observe the native position of trees according to north and south in their transplantations.

The same is also observable underground in the circinations and spherical rounds of onions, wherein the circles of the orbs are oftentimes larger, and the meridional lines stand wider upon one side than the other; and, where the largeness will make up the number of planetical orbs, that of Luna and the lower planets exceed the dimensions of Saturn and the higher; whether the like be not verified in the circles of the large roots of briony and mandrakes, or why in the knots of deal or fir the circles are often eccentric, although not in a plane, but vertical and right position, deserves a further enquiry.

Whether there be not some irregularity of roundness in most plants according to their position; whether some small compression of pores be not perceptible in parts which stand against the current of waters, as in reeds, bulrushes, and other vegetables toward the streaming quarter, may also be observed; and therefore such as are long and weak are commonly contrived unto a roundness of figure, whereby the water presseth less and slippeth more smoothly from them, and even in flags of flat-figured leaves the greater part obvert their sharper sides unto the current in ditches.

But whether plants which float upon the surface of the water be for the most part of cooling qualities, those which shoot above it of heating virtues, and why. Whether *sargasso* for many miles floating upon the western ocean, or sea-lettuce and *phasganium* at the bottom of our seas, make good the like qualities. Why fenny waters afford the hottest and sweetest plants, as

calamus, cyperus, and crowfoot, and mud cast out of ditches most naturally produceth arsmart. Why plants so greedy of water so little regard oil. Why, since many seeds contain much oil within them, they endure it not well without, either in their growth or production. Why, since seeds shoot commonly underground and out of the air, those which are let fall in shallow glasses, upon the surface of the water, will sooner sprout than those at the bottom; and, if the water be covered with oil, those at the bottom will hardly sprout at all—we have not room to conjecture.

Whether ivy would not less offend the trees in this clean ordination, and well-kept paths, might perhaps deserve the question. But this were a query only unto some habitations, and little concerning Cyrus or the Babylonian territory, wherein by no industry Harpalus could make ivy grow. And Alexander hardly found it about those parts, to imitate the pomp of Bacchus. And, though in these northern regions we are too much acquainted with one ivy, we know too little of another, whereby we apprehend not the expressions of antiquity, the splenic medicine¹ of Galen, and the emphasis of the poet, in the beauty of the white ivy.

The like concerning the growth of mistletoe, which dependeth not only of the species, or kind, of tree but much also of the soil. And therefore common in some places, not readily found in others, frequent in France, not so common in Spain, and scarce at all in the territory of Ferrara; nor easily to be found where it is most required, upon oaks, less on trees continually verdant. Although in some places the olive escapeth it not, requiring its detriment in the delightful view of its red berries, as Clusius observed in Spain, and Bellonius about Jerusalem. But this parasitical plant suffers nothing to grow upon it, by any way of art; nor could we ever make it grow where nature had not planted it, as we have in vain attempted by inoculation and incision, upon its native or foreign stock. And, though there seem nothing improbable in the seed, it hath

¹ *De Med secundum loc.* [ix, 2].

not succeeded by sation in any manner of ground, wherein we had no reason to despair, since we read of vegetable horns, and how rams' horns will root about Goa¹.

But, besides these rural commodities, it cannot be meanly delectable in the variety of figures which these orders, open and closed, do make. Whilst every inclosure makes a rhombus, the figures obliquely taken a *rhomboides*, the intervals bounded with parallel lines, and each intersection built upon a square, affording two triangles or pyramids vertically conjoined; which in the strict quincuncial order do oppositely make acute and blunt angles.

And, though therein we meet not with right angles, yet, every rhombus containing four angles equal unto four right, it virtually contains four right. Nor is this strange unto such as observe the natural lines of trees and parts disposed in them. For neither in the root doth nature affect this angle, which, shooting downward for the stability of the plant, doth best effect the same by figures of inclination; nor in the branches and stalky leaves, which grow most at acute angles; as declining from their head the root, and diminishing their angles with their altitude; verified also in lesser plants, whereby they better support themselves, and bear not so heavily upon the stalk; so that, while near the root they often make an angle of seventy parts, the sprouts near the top will often come short of thirty. Even in the nerves and master-veins of the leaves the acute angle ruleth; the obtuse but seldom found, and in the backward part of the leaf reflecting and arching about the stalk. But why oftentimes one side of the leaf is unequal unto the other, as in hazel and oaks, why on either side the master-vein the lesser and derivative channels stand not directly opposite nor at equal angles respectively unto the adverse side, but those of one part do often exceed the other, as the walnut and many more — deserves another enquiry.

Now, if for this order we affect coniferous and

¹ Linschoten.

tapering trees, particularly the cypress, which grows in a conical figure, we have found a tree not only of great ornament, but in its essentials of affinity unto this order, a solid rhombus being made by the conversion of two equicrural cones, as Archimedes hath defined. And these were the common trees about Babylon and the East whereof the ark was made; and Alexander found no trees so accommodable to build his navy—and this we rather think to be the tree mentioned in the *Canticles*, which stricter botanology will hardly allow to be camphire.

And if delight or ornamental view invite a comely disposure by circular amputations, as is elegantly performed in hawthorns, then will they answer the figures made by the conversion of a rhombus, which maketh two concentric circles, the greater circumference being made by the lesser angles, the lesser by the greater.

The cylindrical figure of trees is virtually contained and latent in this order, a cylinder or long round being made by the conversion or turning of a parallelogram, and most handsomely by a long square, which makes an equal, strong, and lasting figure in trees, agreeable unto the body and motive parts of animals, the greatest number of plants, and almost all roots, though their stalk be angular and of many corners; which seem not to follow the figure of their seeds, since many angular seeds send forth round stalks, and spherical seeds arise from angular spindles, and many rather conform unto their roots, as the round stalks of bulbous roots and in tuberous roots stems of like figure. But why, since the largest number of plants maintain a circular figure, there are so few with teretous or long round leaves. Why coniferous trees are tenuifolious, or narrow-leaved. Why plants of few or no joints have commonly round stalks. Why the greatest number of hollow stalks are round stalks; or why in this variety of angular stalks the quadrangular most exceedeth—were too long a speculation. Meanwhile obvious experience may find that, in plants of divided leaves above, nature often beginneth circularly in the two first leaves below, while

in the singular plant of ivy she exerciseth a contrary geometry, and, beginning with angular leaves below, rounds them in the upper branches.

Nor can the rows in this order want delight, as carrying an aspect answerable unto the *dipteros hypæthros*, or double order of columns, open above, the opposite ranks of trees standing like pillars in the *cavedia* of the courts of famous buildings, and the porticoes of the *templa subdialia* of old; somewhat imitating the *peristylia*, or cloister-buildings, and the *exedrae* of the ancients, wherein men discoursed, walked, and exercised; for that they derived the rule of columns from trees, especially in their proportional diminutions, is illustrated by Vitruvius from the shafts of fir and pine. And, though the interarboration do imitate the *aræstylos*, or thin order, not strictly answering the proportion of intercolumniations, yet in many trees they will not exceed the intermission of the columns in the court of the Tabernacle, which, being an hundred cubits long and made up by twenty pillars, will afford no less than intervals of five cubits.

Beside, in this kind of aspect the sight being not diffused but circumscribed between long parallels and the *ἐπισκιασμός* and adumbration from the branches, it frameth a penthouse over the eye, and maketh a quiet vision—and therefore in diffused and open aspects men hollow their hand above their eye, and make an artificial brow whereby they direct the dispersed rays of sight, and by this shade preserve a moderate light in the chamber of the eye, keeping the pupilla plump and fair, and not contracted or shrunk, as in light and vagrant vision.

And therefore Providence hath arched and paved the great house of the world with colours of mediocrity, that is blue and green, above and below the sight, moderately terminating the *acies* of the eye. For most plants, though green aboveground, maintain their original white below it, according to the candour of their seminal pulp: and the rudimental leaves do first appear in that colour, observable in seeds sprouting in water upon their first foliation. Green seeming to be

the first supervenient, or aboveground, complexion of vegetables, separable in many upon ligature or inhumation, as succory, endive, artichokes, and which is also lost upon fading in the autumn.

And this is also agreeable unto water itself, the alimental vehicle of plants, which first altereth into this colour. And, containing many vegetable seminalities, revealeth their seeds by greenness; and therefore soonest expected in rain or standing water, not easily found in distilled or water strongly boiled, wherein the seeds are extinguished by fire and decoction, and therefore lasts long and pure without such alteration, affording neither uliginous coats, gnat-worms, *acari*, hair-worms, like crude and common water—and therefore, most fit for wholesome beverage, and, with malt, makes ale and beer without boiling. What large water-drinkers some plants are the canary-tree and birches in some northern countries, drenching the fields about them, do sufficiently demonstrate. How water itself is able to maintain the growth of vegetables, and without extinction of their generative or medical virtues, besides the experiment of Helmont's tree, we have found in some which have lived six years in glasses. The seeds of scurvy-grass growing in water-pots have been fruitful in the land; and *assarum* after a year's space, and once casting its leaves in water, in the second leaves hath handsomely performed its vomiting operation.

Nor are only dark and green colours but shades and shadows contrived through the great volume of nature, and trees ordained not only to protect and shadow others but by their shades and shadowing parts to preserve and cherish themselves; the whole radiation or branches shadowing the stock and the root—the leaves, the branches, and fruit, too much exposed to the winds and scorching sun. The calicular leaves inclose the tender flowers, and the flowers themselves lie wrapt about their seeds, in their rudiment and first formations, which being advanced, the flowers fall away; and are therefore contrived in variety of figures, best satisfying the intention; handsomely observable

in hooded and gaping flowers, and the butterfly blooms of leguminous plants, the lower leaf closely involving the rudimental cod, and the alary or wingy divisions embracing or hanging over it.

But seeds themselves do lie in perpetual shades, either under the leaf or shut up in coverings ; and such as lie barest have their husks, skins, and pulps about them, wherein the nib and generative particle lieth moist and secured from the injury of air and sun. Darkness and light hold interchangeable dominions, and alternately rule the seminal state of things. Light unto Pluto is darkness unto Jupiter. Legions of seminal ideas lie in their second chaos and Orcus of Hippocrates, till, putting on the habits of their forms, they show themselves upon the stage of the world and open dominion of Jove. They that held the stars of heaven were but rays and flashing glimpses of the empyreal light through holes and perforations of the upper heaven, took off the natural shadows of stars¹ ; while according to better discovery the poor inhabitants of the moon have but a polary life, and must pass half their days in the shadow of that luminary.

Light that makes things seen makes some things invisible ; were it not for darkness and the shadow of the earth, the noblest part of the creation had remained unseen, and the stars in heaven as invisible as on the fourth day, when they were created above the horizon with the sun, or there was not an eye to behold them. The greatest mystery of religion is expressed by adumbration, and in the noblest part of Jewish types we find the cherubim shadowing the mercy-seat. Life itself is but the shadow of death, and souls departed but the shadows of the living. All things fall under this name. The sun itself is but the dark *simulacrum*, and light but the shadow of God.

Lastly, it is no wonder that this quincuncial order was first and is still affected as grateful unto the eye. For all things are seen quincuncially ; for at the eye the pyramidal rays from the object receive a decussation,

¹ J. Helvetii *Selenographia*.

and so strike a second base upon the retina, or hinder coat, the proper organ of vision, wherein the pictures from objects are represented answerable to the paper or wall in the dark chamber, after the decussation of the rays at the hole of the horny-coat, and their refraction upon the crystalline humour, answering the *foramen* of the window, and the convex or burning-glasses, which refract the rays that enter it. And, if ancient anatomy would hold, a like disposeure there was of the optic, or visual, nerves in the brain, wherein antiquity conceived a concurrence by decussation. And this was not only observable in the laws of direct vision but in some part also verified in the reflected rays of sight. For, making the angle of incidence equal to that of reflection, the visual ray returneth quincuncially and after the form of a V; and, the line of reflection being continued unto the place of vision, there ariseth a semi-decussation, which makes the object seen in a perpendicular unto itself, and as far below the reflectent as it is from it above, observable in the sun and moon beheld in water.

And this is also the law of reflection in moved bodies and sounds, which, though not made by decussation, observe the rule of equality between incidence and reflection; whereby whispering places are framed by elliptical arches laid sidewise; where the voice, being delivered at the focus of one extremity, observing an equality unto the angle of incidence, it will reflect unto the focus of the other end, and so escape the ears of the standers in the middle.

A like rule is observed in the reflection of the vocal and sonorous line in echoes, which cannot therefore be heard in all stations. But happening in woody plantations, by waters, and able to return some words, if reached by a pleasant and well-dividing voice, there may be heard the softest notes in nature.

And this not only verified in the way of sense but in animal and intellectual receptions; things entering upon the intellect by a pyramid from without, and thence into the memory by another from within, the common decussation being in the understanding as is

delivered by Bovillus¹. Whether the intellectual and phantastical lines be not thus rightly disposed, but magnified, diminished, distorted, and ill placed in the mathematics of some brains, whereby they have irregular apprehensions of things, perverted notions, conceptions, and incurable hallucinations—were no unpleasant speculation.

And, if Egyptian philosophy may obtain, the scale of influences was thus disposed, and the genial spirits of both worlds do trace their way in ascending and descending pyramids, mystically apprehended in the letter X and the open bill and stradling legs of a stork, which was imitated by that character.

Of this figure Plato made choice to illustrate the motion of the soul, both of the world and man; while he delivereth that God divided the whole conjunction length-wise, according to the figure of a Greek X, and then turning it about reflected it into a circle, by the circle implying the uniform motion of the first orb, and by the right lines the planetical and various motions within it. And this also with application unto the soul of man, which hath a double aspect, one right, whereby it beholdeth the body and objects without, another circular and reciprocal, whereby it beholdeth itself. The circle declaring the motion of the indivisible soul, simple, according to the divinity of its nature, and returning into itself; the right lines respecting the motion pertaining unto sense and vegetation; and the central decussation the wondrous connection of the several faculties conjointly in one substance. And so conjoined the unity and duality of the soul, and made out the three substances so much considered by him, that is the indivisible or divine, the divisible or corporeal, and that third, which was the *systasis* or harmony of those two, in the mystical decussation.

And, if that were clearly made out which Justin Martyr took for granted, this figure hath had the honour to characterize and notify our blessed Saviour, as he delivereth in that borrowed expression from Plato:

¹ Car. Bovillus, *De Intellectu*.

'*decussavit eum in universo*'¹, the hint whereof he would have Plato derive from the figure of the brazen serpent, and to have mistaken the letter X for T. Whereas it is not improbable he learned these and other mystical expressions in his learned observations of Egypt, where he might obviously behold the Mercurial characters, the handed crosses, and other mysteries not thoroughly understood in the sacred letter X, which, being derivative from the stork, one of the ten sacred animals, might be originally Egyptian, and brought into Greece by Cadmus of that country.

CHAPTER V

To enlarge this contemplation unto all the mysteries and secrets accommodable unto this number were inexcusable Pythagorism, yet cannot omit the ancient conceit of five surnamed the number of justice²; as justly dividing between the digits, and hanging in the centre of nine, described by square numeration, which angularly divided will make the decussated number; and so agreeable unto the quincuncial ordination and rows divided by equality and just decorum in the whole com-plantation; and might be the original of that common game among us, wherein the fifth place is sovereign, and carrieth the chief intention—the ancients wisely instructing youth, even in their recreations, unto virtue, that is, early to drive at the middle point and central seat of justice.

Nor can we omit how agreeable unto this number an handsome division is made in trees and plants, since Plutarch and the ancients have named it the divisive number, justly dividing the entities of the world, many remarkable things in it, and also comprehending the general division of vegetables. And he that considers how most blossoms of trees and greatest number of flowers consist of five leaves, and therein doth rest the settled rule of nature—so that in those which exceed there is often found, or easily made, a variety—may

¹ Ἐχίασεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ παντί. ² δίκη.

readily discover how nature rests in this number, which is indeed the first rest and pause of numeration in the fingers, the natural organs thereof. Nor in the division of the feet of perfect animals doth nature exceed this account. And even in the joints of feet, which in birds are most multiplied, surpasseth not this number; so progressionally making them out in many¹, that from five in the fore-claw she descendeth unto two in the hindmost; and so in four feet makes up the number of joints in the five fingers or toes of man.

Not to omit the quintuple section of a cone, of handsome practice in ornamental garden-plots, and in some way discoverable in so many works of nature, in the leaves, fruits, and seeds of vegetables, and scales of some fishes; so much considerable in glasses, and the optic doctrine, wherein the learned may consider the crystalline humour of the eye in the cuttle-fish and loligo.

He that forgets not how antiquity named this the conjugal or wedding number, and made it the emblem of the most remarkable conjunction, will conceive it duly applicable unto this handsome economy and vegetable combination; and may hence apprehend the allegorical sense of that obscure expression of Hesoid, and afford no improbable reason why Plato admitted his nuptial guests by fives in the kindred of the married couple².

And, though a sharper mystery might be implied in the number of the five wise and foolish virgins which were to meet the bridegroom, yet was the same agreeable unto the conjugal number, which ancient numerists made out by two and three, the first parity and imparity, the active and passive digits, the material and formal principles in generative societies. And not discordant even from the customs of the Romans, who admitted but five torches in their nuptial solemnities³. Whether there were any mystery or not implied, the most generative animals were created on this day, and had accordingly the largest benediction. And under a quintuple consideration wanton antiquity considered

¹ As herons, bitterns, and long-clawed fowls.

² *De Leg.*, 6. ³ *Probl. Rom.*, 1.

the circumstances of generation, while by this number of five they naturally divided the nectar of the fifth planet.

The same number in the Hebrew mysteries and cabbalistical accounts was the character of generation¹, declared by the letter E, the fifth in their alphabet, according to that cabbalistical dogma; if Abram had not had this letter added unto his name, he had remained fruitless and without the power of generation; not only because hereby the number of his name attained two hundred forty-eight, the number of the affirmative precepts, but because, as in created natures there is a male and female, so in divine and intelligent productions the mother of life and fountain of souls in cabbalistical technology is called *Binah*, whose seal and character was E. So that, being sterile before, he received the power of generation from that measure and mansion in the archetype; and was made conformable unto *Binah*. And upon such involved considerations the ten of Sarai was exchanged into five². If any shall look upon this as a stable number and fitly appropriable unto trees, as bodies of rest and station, he hath herein a great foundation in nature, who, observing much variety in legs and motive organs of animals, as two, four, six, eight, twelve, fourteen, and more, hath passed over five and ten, and assigned them unto none or very few, as the *Phalangium monstrosium Brasilianum* (*Clusii et Jac. de Laet. Cur. Poster. Americae Descript.*), if perfectly described. And for the stability of this number he shall not want the sphericity of its nature, which multiplied in itself will return into its own demonination and bring up the rear of the account. Which is also one of the numbers that makes up the mystical name of God, which, consisting of letters denoting all the spherical numbers, ten, five, and six, emphatically sets forth the notion of Trismegistus, and that intelligible sphere which is the nature of God.

Many expressions by this number occur in Holy Scripture, perhaps unjustly laden with mystical expositions and little concerning our order. That the

¹ Archang., *Dog. Cabal.*

² *Jod* into *He*.

Israelites were forbidden to eat the fruit of their new-planted trees before the fifth year was very agreeable unto the natural rules of husbandry, fruits being unwholesome and lash before the fourth or fifth year. In the second day, or feminine part of five, there was added no approbation. For in the third or masculine day, the same is twice repeated; and a double benediction inclosed both creations, whereof the one in some part was but an accomplishment of the other. That the trespasser¹ was to pay a fifth part above the head or principal makes no secret in this number, and implied no more than one part above the principal, which, being considered in four parts, the additional forfeit must bear the name of a fifth. The five golden mice had plainly their determination from the number of the princes. That five should put to flight an hundred might have nothing mystically implied, considering a rank of soldiers could scarce consist of a lesser number. St Paul had rather speak five words in a known than ten thousand in an unknown tongue, that is, as little as could well be spoken, a simple proposition consisting of three words and a complexed one not ordinarily short of five.

More considerables there are in this mystical account which we must not insist on. And, therefore, why the radical letters in the Pentateuch should equal the number of the soldiery of the tribes. Why our Saviour in the wilderness fed five thousand persons with five barley loaves, and again but four thousand with no less than seven of wheat. Why Joseph designed five changes of raiment unto Benjamin, and David took just five pebbles out of the brook against the pagan champion—we leave it unto arithmetical divinity and theological explanation.

Yet, if any delight in new problems or think it worth the enquiry, whether the critical physician hath rightly hit the nominal notation of *quinque*²? Why the ancients mixed five or three, but not four, parts of water unto their wine; and Hippocrates observed a fifth

¹ *Levit.*, vi, 5.

² τέσσαρα ἕν κε four and one, or five.— Scalig.

proportion in the mixture of water with milk, as in dysenteries and bloody fluxes. Under what abstruse foundation astrologers do figure the good or bad fate from our children, in good fortune, or the fifth house of their celestial schemes. Whether the Egyptians described a star by a figure of five points, with reference unto the five capital aspects, whereby they transmit their influences or abstruser considerations. Why the cabballistical doctors, who conceive the whole Sephiroth, or divine emanations, to have guided the ten-stringed harp of David, whereby he pacified the evil spirit of Saul, in strict numeration do begin with the *perihypate meson*, or *si fa ut*, and so place the *tiphereth*, answering *c sol fa ut*, upon the fifth string, or whether this number be oftener applied unto bad things and ends than good in holy Scripture, and why—he may meet with abstrusities of no ready resolution.

If any shall question the rationality of that magic in the cure of the blind man by Serapis commanded to place five fingers on his altar and then his hand on his eyes—Why, since the whole comedy is primarily and naturally comprised in four parts, and antiquity permitted not so many persons to speak in one scene, yet would not comprehend the same in more or less than five acts. Why amongst sea-stars nature chiefly delighteth in five points. And since there are found some of no fewer than twelve, and some of seven and nine, there are few or none discovered of six or eight. If any shall enquire why the flowers of rue properly consist of four leaves, the first and third flower have five. Why, since many flowers have one leaf or none¹, as Scaliger will have it, divers three, and the greatest number consist of five divided from their bottoms, there are yet so few of two; or why nature, generally beginning or setting out with two opposite leaves at the root, doth so seldom conclude with that order and number at the flower—he shall not pass his hours in vulgar speculations.

If any shall further query why magnetical philosophy excludeth decussations, and needles transversely

¹ *Unifolium Nullifolium.*

placed do naturally distract their verticities. Why geomancers do imitate the quintuple figure in their mother-characters of acquisition and amission, etc., somewhat answering the figures in the lady, or speckled, beetle. With what equity chiromantical conjecturers decry these decussations in the lines and mounts of the hand. What that decussated figure intendeth in the medal of Alexander the Great. Why the goddesses sit commonly cross-legged in ancient drafts, since Juno is described in the same as a veneficial posture to hinder the birth of Hercules. If any shall doubt why at the amphidromical feasts, on the fifth day after the child was born, presents were sent from friends of polypuses and cuttle-fishes. Why five must be only left in that symbolical mutiny among the men of Cadmus. Why Proteus in Homer, the symbol of the first matter, before he settled himself in the midst of his sea-monsters, doth place them out by fives. Why the fifth year's ox was acceptable sacrifice unto Jupiter. Or why the noble Antoninus in some sense doth call the soul itself a rhombus—he shall not fall on trite or trivial disquisitions. And these we invent and propose unto acuter enquirers, nauseating crambe verities and questions over-queried. Flat and flexible truths are beat out by every hammer; but Vulcan and his whole forge sweat to work out Achilles his armour. A large field is yet left unto sharper discerners to enlarge upon this order, to search out the *quaternios* and figured drafts of this nature, and (moderating the study of names and mere nomenclature of plants) to erect generalities, disclose unobserved proprieties, not only in the vegetable shop but the whole volume of nature, affording delightful truths confirmable by sense and ocular observation, which seems to me the surest path to trace the labyrinth of truth. For, though discursive enquiry and rational conjecture may leave handsome gashes and flesh-wounds, yet without conjunction of this expect no mortal or dispatching blows unto error.

But the quincunx¹ of heaven runs low, and 'tis time to close the five ports of knowledge. We are unwilling

¹ *Hyades*, near the horizon about midnight, at that time.

to spin out our awaking thoughts into the phantasms of sleep, which often continueth precogitations ; making cables of cobwebs and wildernesses of handsome groves. Beside, Hippocrates¹ hath spoke so little, and the oneirocritical masters² have left such frigid interpretations from plants, that there is little encouragement to dream of Paradise itself. Nor will the sweetest delight of gardens afford much comfort in sleep, wherein the dulness of that sense shakes hands with delectable odours, and though in the bed of Cleopatra³, can hardly with any delight raise up the ghost of a rose.

Night, which Pagan theology could make the daughter of Chaos, affords no advantage to the description of order, although no lower than that mass can we derive its genealogy. All things began in order : so shall they end, and so shall they begin again, according to the ordainer of order and mystical mathematics of the city of heaven.

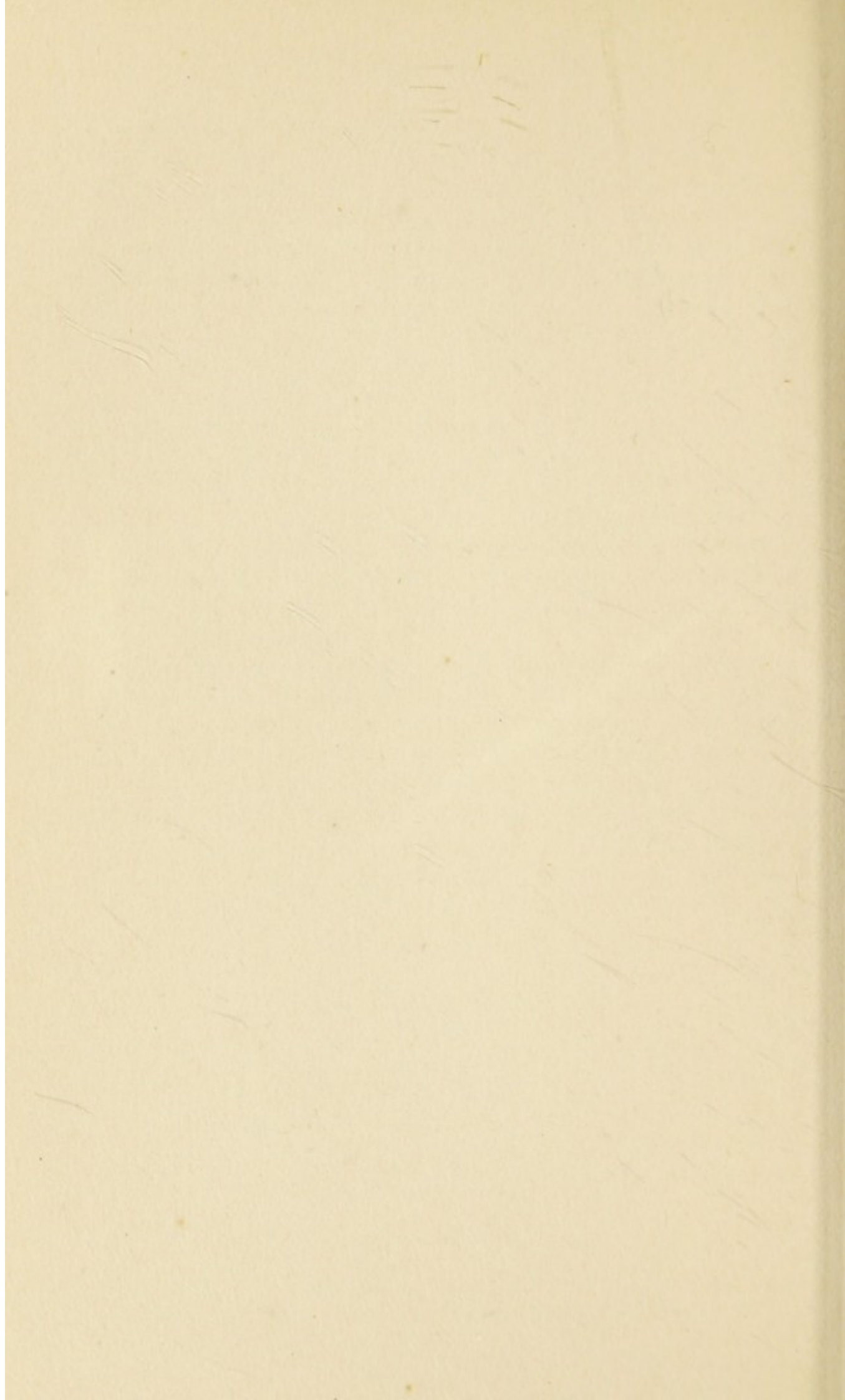
Though Somnus in Homer be sent to rouse up Agamemnon, I find no such effects in these drowsy approaches of sleep. To keep our eyes open longer were but to act our Antipodes. The huntsmen are up in America, and they are already past their first sleep in Persia. But who can be drowsy at that hour which freed us from everlasting sleep, or have slumbering thoughts at that time when sleep itself must end, and, as some conjecture, all shall awake again ?

¹ *De Insomniis.*

² Artemidorous et Apomazar.

³ Strewed with roses.

CHRISTIAN MORALS



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

DAVID, EARL OF BUCHAN

VISCOUNT AUCHTERHOUSE, LORD CARDROSS
AND GLENDOVACHIE,

ONE OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF POLICE, AND
LORD LIEUTENANT OF THE COUNTIES OF STIRLING
AND CLACKMANNAN IN NORTH BRITAIN

MY LORD,

The honour you have done our family obligeth us to make all just acknowledgment of it; and there is no form of acknowledgment in our power more worthy of your Lordship's acceptance than this Dedication of the last work of our honoured and learned father. Encouraged hereunto by the knowledge we have of your Lordship's judicious relish of universal learning and sublime virtue, we beg the favour of your acceptance of it, which will very much oblige our family in general and her in particular who is,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

ELIZABETH LITTELTON.

[1716]

THE PREFACE

IF anyone, after he has read *Religio Medici* and the ensuing Discourse, can make doubt whether the same person was the author of them both, he may be assured by the testimony of Mrs Littelton, Sir Thomas Brown's daughter, who lived with her father when it was composed by him, and who at the time read it written by his own hand; and also by the testimony of others (of whom I am one) who read the MS. of the author immediately after his death, and who have since read the same; from which it hath been faithfully and exactly transcribed for the press. The reason why it was not printed sooner is because it was unhappily lost, by being mislaid among other MSS. for which search was lately made in the presence of the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, of which his Grace by letter informed Mrs Littelton, when he sent the MS. to her. There is nothing printed in the discourse or in the short notes but what is found in the original MS. of the author, except only where an oversight had made the addition or transposition of some words necessary.

JOHN JEFFERY,
Arch-Deacon of Norwich.

[1716]

CHRISTIAN MORALS

PART I

TREAD softly and circumspectly in this funambulatory track and narrow path of goodness; pursue virtue virtuously; leaven not good actions nor render virtues disputable. Stain not fair acts with foul intentions: maim not uprightness by halting concomitances, nor circumstantially deprave substantial goodness.

Consider whereabouts thou art in Cebes's *Table*, or that old philosophical *Pinax* of the life of man: whether thou art yet in the road of uncertainties; whether thou hast yet entered the narrow gate, got up the hill and asperous way which leadeth unto the House of Sanity, or taken that purifying potion from the hand of sincere erudition which may send thee clear and pure away unto a virtuous and happy life.

In this virtuous voyage of thy life hull not about like the ark without the use of rudder, mast, or sail, and bound for no port. Let not disappointment cause despondency, nor difficulty despair. Think not that you are sailing from Lima to Manilla, when you may fasten up the rudder and sleep before the wind; but expect rough seas, flaws, and contrary blasts; and 'tis well if by many cross tacks and veerings you arrive at the port; for we sleep in lion's skins in our progress unto virtue, and we slide not but climb unto it.

Sit not down in the popular forms and common level of virtues. Offer not only peace-offerings but holocausts unto God; where all is due make no reserve, and cut not a cummin-seed with the Almighty. To serve Him singly to serve ourselves were too partial a piece of piety, not like to place us in the illustrious mansions of glory.

Rest not in an ovation, but a triumph over thy passions; let anger walk hanging down the head; let malice go manacled, and envy fettered after thee,

Behold within thee the long train of thy trophies, not without thee. Make the quarrelling Lapithytes sleep, and Centaurs within lie quiet. Chain up the unruly legion of thy breast ; lead thine own captivity captive, and be *Cæsar* within thyself.

He that is chaste and continent not to impair his strength, or honest for fear of contagion, will hardly be heroically virtuous. Adjourn not this virtue until that temper, when Cato could lend out his wife, and impotent satyrs write satires upon lust ; but be chaste in thy flaming days, when Alexander dared not trust his eyes upon the fair sisters of Darius, and when so many think there is no other way but Origen's.

Show thy art in honesty, and loose not thy virtue by the bad managery of it. Be temperate and sober ; not to preserve your body in an ability for wanton ends ; not to avoid the infamy of common transgressors that way, and thereby to hope to expiate or palliate obscure and closer vices ; not to spare your purse nor simply to enjoy health ; but, in one word, that thereby you may truly serve God, which every sickness will tell you you cannot well do without health. The sick man's sacrifice is but a lame oblation. Pious treasures laid up in healthful days plead for sick non-performances, without which we must needs look back with anxiety upon the lost opportunities of health, and may have cause rather to envy than pity the ends of penitent public sufferers who go with healthful prayers unto the last scene of their lives, and in the integrity of their faculties return their spirit unto God that gave it ¹.

Be charitable before wealth make thee covetous, and lose not the glory of the mite². If riches increase, let thy mind hold pace with them ; and think it not enough to be liberal, but munificent. Though a cup of cold water from some hand may not be without its reward³, yet stick not thou for wine and oil for the wounds of the distressed⁴, and treat the poor, as our Saviour did the multitude⁵, to the reliques of some baskets. Diffuse thy beneficence early and while thy

¹ *Eccles.*, xii, 7.

² *Mark*, xii, 41 *sqq.*

³ *Matth.*, x, 42.

⁴ *Luke*, x, 34.

⁵ *John*, vi, 13.

treasures call thee master: there may be an Atropos of thy fortunes before that of thy life, and thy wealth cut off before that hour when all men shall be poor; for the justice of death looks equally upon the dead, and Charon expects no more from Alexander than from Irus.

Give not only unto seven, but also unto eight, that is, unto more than many. Though to *give unto every one that asketh*¹ may seem severe advice, yet give thou also before asking, that is where want is silently clamorous, and men's necessities, not their tongues, do loudly call for thy mercies. For, though sometimes necessitousness be dumb or misery speak not out, yet true charity is sagacious and will find out hints for beneficence. Acquaint thyself with the physiognomy of want, and let the dead colours and first lines of necessity suffice to tell thee there is an object for thy bounty. Spare not where thou canst not easily be prodigal, and fear not to be undone by mercy. For, since *he who hath pity on the poor lendeth unto the Almighty Rewarder*², Who observes no Ides but every day for His payments, charity becomes pious usury, Christian liberality the most thriving industry, and what we adventure in a cockboat may return in a carrack unto us. He who thus casts his bread upon the water³ shall surely find it again; for, though it falleth to the bottom, it sinks but like the axe of the Prophet⁴, to arise again unto him.

If avarice be thy vice, yet make it not thy punishment. Miserable men commiserate not themselves, bowelless unto others and merciless unto their own bowels. Let the fruition of things bless the possession of them, and think it more satisfaction to live richly than die rich. For, since thy good works not thy goods will follow thee, since wealth is an appurtenance of life and no dead man is rich, to famish in plenty and live poorly to die rich were a multiplying improvement in madness and use upon use in folly.

Trust not to the omnipotence of gold, and say not unto it *Thou art my confidence*⁵. Kiss not thy hand to

¹ *Eccl.*, xi, 2; *Luke*, vi, 30. ² *Prov.*, xix, 17. ³ *Eccl.*, xi, 1.

⁴ *II Kings*, vi, 5-7.

⁵ *Job*, xxxi, 24, 27.

that terrestrial sun, nor bore thy ear unto its servitude. A slave unto mammon makes no servant unto God¹. Covetousness cracks the sinews of faith, numbs the apprehension of anything above sense and only affected with the certainty of things present, makes a peradventure of things to come, lives but unto one world nor hopes but fears another, makes their own death sweet unto others, bitter unto themselves, brings formal sadness, scenical mourning, and no wet eyes at the grave.

Persons lightly dipped, not grained, in generous honesty are but pale in goodness and faint-hued in integrity. But be thou what thou virtuously art, and let not the ocean wash away thy tincture. Stand magnetically upon that axis where prudent simplicity hath fixed thee, and let no attraction invert the poles of thy honesty. That vice may be uneasy and even monstrous unto thee, let iterated good acts and long-confirmed habits make virtue almost natural or a second nature in thee. Since virtuous superstructions have commonly generous foundations, dive into thy inclinations, and early discover what nature bids thee to be or tells thee thou mayest be. They who thus timely descend into themselves, and cultivate the good seeds which nature hath set in them, prove not shrubs but cedars in their generation; and to be in the form of the best of the bad or the worst of the good will be no satisfaction unto them.

Make not the consequences of virtue the ends thereof. Be not beneficent for a name or cymbal of applause, nor exact and just in commerce for the advantages of trust and credit, which attend the reputation of true and punctual dealing; for these rewards, though unsought for, plain virtue will bring with her. To have other by ends in good actions sours laudable performances, which must have deeper roots, motives, and instigations to give them the stamp of virtues.

Let not the law of thy country be the *non ultra* of thy honesty; nor think that always good enough which the law will make good. Narrow not the law of charity, equity, mercy; join Gospel righteousness with legal

¹ *Matthew*, vi, 24.

right ; be not a mere Gamaliel in the faith, but let the Sermon in the Mount be thy *Targum* unto the law of Sinai.

Live by old ethics and the classical rules of honesty. Put no new names or notions upon authentic virtues and vices. Think not that morality is ambulatory ; that vices in one age are not vices in another ; or that virtues which are under the everlasting seal of right reason may be stamped by opinion. And therefore, though vicious times invert the opinions of things and set up a new ethics against virtue, yet hold thou unto old morality, and, rather than *follow a multitude to do evil*¹, stand like Pompey's Pillar conspicuous by thyself and single in integrity. And, since the worst of times afford imitable examples of virtue, since no deluge of vice is like to be so general but more than eight will escape, eye well those heroes who have held their heads above water, who have touched pitch and not been defiled², and in the common contagion have remained uncorrupted.

Let age, not envy, draw wrinkles on thy cheeks ; be content to be envied, but envy not. Emulation may be plausible, and indignation allowable ; but admit no treaty with that passion which no circumstance can make good. A displacency at the good of others because they enjoy it, though not unworthy of it, is an absurd depravity, sticking fast unto corrupted nature, and often too hard for humility and charity, the great suppressors of envy. This surely is a lion not to be strangled but by Hercules himself, or the highest stress of our minds, and an atom of that power *which subdueth all things unto itself*³.

Owe not thy humility unto humiliation from adversity, but look humbly down in that state when others look upwards upon thee. Think not thy own shadow longer than that of others, nor delight to take the altitude of thyself. Be patient in the age of pride, when men live by short intervals of reason under the dominion of humour and passion, when it's in the power of everyone to transform thee out of thyself, and run

¹ *Ex.*, xxiii, 2. ² *Ecclus.*, xiii, 1. ³ *Phil.*, iii, 21.

thee into the short madness. If you cannot imitate Job, yet come not short of Socrates and those patient pagans who tired the tongues of their enemies, while they perceived they spit their malice at brazen walls and statues.

Let not the sun in Capricorn go down upon thy wrath¹, but write thy wrongs in ashes. Draw the curtain of night upon injuries, shut them up in the Tower of Oblivion, and let them be as though they had not been. To forgive our enemies, yet hope that God will punish them, is not to forgive enough; to forgive them ourselves, and not to pray God to forgive them, is a partial piece of charity: forgive thine enemies totally, and without any reserve that however God will revenge thee.

While thou so hotly disclaimest the Devil, be not guilty of diabolism. Fall not into one name with that unclean spirit, nor act his nature whom thou so much abhorrest; that is to accuse, calumniate, backbite, whisper, detract, or sinistrously interpret others; degenerate depravities, and narrow-minded vices, not only below St Paul's noble Christian but Aristotle's true gentleman. Trust not with some that the *Epistle of St James* is apocryphal, and so read with less fear that stabbing truth, that in company with this vice thy Religion is in vain². Moses broke the Tables without breaking of the law³; but where charity is broke, the law itself is shattered which cannot be whole without love, which is the fulfilling of it⁴. Look humbly upon thy virtues, and, though thou art rich in some, yet think thyself poor and naked without that crowning grace which thinketh no evil⁵, which envieth not, which beareth, hopeth, believeth, endureth all things. With these sure graces, while busy tongues are crying out for a drop of cold water⁶, mutes may be in happiness and sing the *Trisagion* in heaven⁷.

However thy understanding may waver in the theories of true and false, yet fasten the rudder of thy will, steer straight unto good, and fall not foul on evil. Imagination is apt to rove, and conjecture to keep no

¹ *Eph.*, iv, 26.

² *James*, i, 26.

³ *Ex.*, xxxii, 19

⁴ *Rom.*, xiii, 10.

⁵ *I Cor.*, xiii, 4 *sqq.*

⁶ *Luke*, xvi, 24

⁷ *Rev.*, iv, 8.

bounds. Some have run out so far as to fancy the stars might be but the light of the crystalline heaven shot through perforations on the bodies of the orbs. Others more ingeniously doubt whether there hath not been a vast tract of land in the Atlantic Ocean which earthquakes and violent causes have long ago devoured. Speculative misapprehensions may be innocuous, but immorality pernicious: theoretical mistakes and physical deviations may condemn our judgments, not lead us into judgment; but perversity of will, immoral and sinful enormities, walk with Adraste and Nemesis at their backs, pursue us unto judgment, and leave us viciously miserable.

Bid early defiance unto those vices which are of thine inward family, and having a root in thy temper plead a right and propriety in thee. Raise timely batteries against those strongholds built upon the rock of nature, and make this a great part of the militia of thy life. Delude not thyself into iniquities from participation or community, which abate the sense but not the obliquity of them. To conceive sins less, or less of sins, because others also transgress were morally to commit that natural fallacy of man, to take comfort from society, and think adversities less because others also suffer them. The politic nature of vice must be opposed by policy, and therefore wiser honesties project and plot against it; wherein notwithstanding we are not to rest in generals or the trite stratagems of art. That may succeed with one which may prove successful with another; there is no community or commonweal of virtue: every man must study his own economy and adapt such rules unto the figure of himself.

Be substantially great in thyself and more than thou appearest unto others; and let the world be deceived in thee as they are in the lights of heaven. Hang early plummets upon the heels of pride, and let ambition have but an epicycle and narrow circuit in thee. Measure not thyself by thy morning shadow but by the extent of thy grave; and reckon thyself above the earth by the line thou must be contented with under it. Spread not into boundless expansions either

of designs or desires. Think not that mankind liveth but for a few, and that the rest are born but to serve those ambitions which make but flies of men and wildernesses of whole nations. Swell not into vehement actions which embroil and confound the earth; but be one of those violent ones which force the Kingdom of Heaven¹. If thou must needs rule, be Zeno's king, and enjoy that empire which every man gives himself. He who is thus his own monarch contentedly sways the sceptre of himself, not envying the glory of crowned heads and Elohims of the earth. Could the world unite in the practice of that despised train of virtues, which the divine ethics of our Saviour hath so inculcated unto us, the furious face of things must disappear: Eden would be yet to be found, and the angels might look down not with pity but joy upon us.

Though the quickness of thine ear were able to reach the noise of the moon, which some think it maketh in its rapid revolution; though the number of thy ears should equal *Argus* his eyes; yet stop them all with the wise man's wax, and be deaf unto the suggestions of talebearers, calumniators, pickthank or malevolent delators, who, while quiet men sleep, sowing the tares² of discord and division distract the tranquillity of charity and all friendly society. These are the tongues that set the world on fire³, cankers of reputation, and, like that of Jonas his gourd⁴, wither a good name in a night. Evil spirits may sit still while these spirits walk about and perform the business of hell. To speak more strictly, our corrupted hearts are the factories of the Devil, which may be at work without his presence. For, when that circumventing spirit hath drawn malice, envy, and all unrighteousness unto well-rooted habits in his disciples, iniquity then goes on upon its own legs, and, if the gate of Hell were shut up for a time, vice would still be fertile and produce the fruits of Hell. Thus, when God forsakes us, Satan also leaves us: for such offenders he looks upon as sure and sealed up, and his temptations then needless unto them.

¹ *Matth.*, xi, 12. ² *Matth.*, xiii, 25. ³ *James*, iii, 6.

⁴ *Jonah*, iv, 6-7.

Annihilate not the mercies of God by the oblivion of ingratitude. For oblivion is a kind of annihilation, and for things to be as though they had not been is like unto never being. Make not thy head a grave, but a repository of God's mercies¹. Though thou hadst the memory of Seneca or Simonides, and conscience the punctual memorist within us, yet trust not to thy remembrance in things which need phylacteries. Register not only strange but merciful occurrences. Let ephemerides, not olympiads, give thee account of His mercies. Let thy diaries stand thick with dutiful mementoes and asterisks of acknowledgment. And, to be complete, and forget nothing, date not His mercy from thy nativity; look beyond the world and before the era of Adam.

Paint not the sepulchre of thyself, and strive not to beautify thy corruption. Be not an advocate for thy vices, nor call for many hour-glasses to justify thy imperfections. Think not that always good which thou thinkest thou canst always make good, nor that concealed which the sun doth not behold. That which the sun doth not now see will be visible when the sun is out and the stars are fallen from heaven. Meanwhile there is no darkness unto conscience, which can see without light, and in the deepest obscurity give a clear draught of things which the cloud of dissimulation hath concealed from all eyes. There is a natural standing court within us, examining, acquitting, and condemning at the tribunal of ourselves, wherein iniquities have their natural thetas, and no nocent is absolved by the verdict of himself. And therefore, although our transgressions shall be tried at the last bar, the process need not be long; for the Judge of all knoweth all, and every man will nakedly know himself; and, when so few are like to plead *Not guilty*, the assize must soon have an end.

Comply with some humours, bear with others, but serve none. Civil complacency consists with decent honesty; flattery is a juggler and no kin unto sincerity. But, while thou maintainest the plain path and scornest to flatter others, fall not into self-adulation, and become not thine own parasite. Be deaf unto thyself,

[¹ See p. 70, l. 32].

and be not betrayed at home. Self-credulity, pride, and levity lead unto self-idolatry. There is no Damocles like unto self-opinion, nor any siren to our own fawning conceptions. To magnify our minor things or hug ourselves in our apparitions, to afford a credulous ear unto the clawing suggestions of fancy, to pass our days in painted mistakes of ourselves, and, though we behold our own blood, to think ourselves the sons of Jupiter, are blandishments of self-love worse than outward delusion. By this imposture wise men sometimes are mistaken in their elevation, and look above themselves; and fools, which are Antipodes unto the wise, conceive themselves to be but their *periæci*, and in the same parallel with them.

Be not a *Hercules furens* abroad, and a poltroon within thyself. To chase our enemies out of the field and be led captive by our vices, to beat down our foes and fall down to our concupiscences, are solecisms in moral schools, and no laurel attends them. To well manage our affections and wild horses of Plato are the highest circenses; and the noblest digladiation is in the theatre of ourselves; for therein our inward antagonists, not only like common gladiators, with ordinary weapons and downright blows make at us, but also like retiary and laqueary combatants, with nets, frauds, and entanglements fall upon us. Weapons for such combats are not to be forged at Lipara; Vulcan's art doth nothing in this internal militia, wherein not the armour of Achilles but the armature of St Paul¹, gives the glorious day, and the triumphs not leading up into capitols but up into the highest heavens. And, therefore, while so many think it the only valour to command and master others, study thou the dominion of thyself, and quiet thine own commotions. Let right reason be thy Lycurgus, and lift up thy hand unto the law of it; move by the intelligences of the superior faculties not by the rapt of passion, not merely by that of temper and constitution. They who are merely carried on by the wheel of such inclinations, without the hand and guidance of sovereign reason, are but the automatous

¹ *Ephesians*, vi, 11 *sqq.*

part of mankind, rather lived than living, or at least underliving themselves.

Let not fortune¹, which hath no name in Scripture, have any in thy divinity. Let Providence, not chance, have the honour of thy acknowledgments, and be thy Oedipus in contingencies. Mark well the paths and winding ways thereof; but be not too wise in the construction or sudden in the application. The hand of Providence writes often by abbreviatures, hieroglyphics or short characters, which like the laconism on the wall, are not to be made out but by a hint or key from that spirit which indited them. Leave future occurrences to their uncertainties, think that which is present thy own; and, since 'tis easier to foretell an eclipse than a foul day at some distance, look for little regular below. Attend with patience the uncertainty of things and what lieth yet unexerted in the chaos of futurity. The uncertainty and ignorance of things to come makes the world new unto us by unexpected emergences, whereby we pass not our days in the trite road of affairs affording no novity; for the novellizing spirit of man lives by variety and the new faces of things.

Though a contented mind enlargeth the dimension of little things, and unto some 'tis wealth enough not to be poor, and others are well content if they be but rich enough to be honest, and to give every man his due, yet fall not into that obsolete affectation of bravery to throw away thy money, and to reject all honours or honourable stations in this courtly and splendid world. Old generosity is superannuated, and such contempt of the world out of date. No man is now like to refuse the favour of great ones, or be content to say unto princes *Stand out of my sun*. And, if any there be of such antiquated resolutions, they are not like to be tempted out of them by great ones; and 'tis fair if they escape the name of hypochondriacs from the genius of latter times, unto whom contempt of the world is the most contemptible opinion, and to be able, like Bias, to carry all they have about them were to be the eighth Wise Man. However, the old tetric philosophers looked

¹[See p. 21, l. 22].

always with indignation upon such a face of things ; and, observing the unnatural current of riches, power, and honour in the world and withal the imperfection and demerit of persons often advanced unto them, were tempted unto angry opinions that affairs were ordered more by stars than reason, and that things went on rather by lottery than election.

If thy vessel be but small in the ocean of this world, if meanness of possessions be thy allotment upon earth, forget not those virtues which the great Disposer of all bids thee to entertain from thy quality and condition, that is, submission, humility, content of mind, and industry. Content may dwell in all stations. To be low, but above contempt, may be high enough to be happy. But many of low degree may be higher than computed, and some cubits above the common commensuration ; for in all states virtue gives qualifications and allowances which make our defects. Rough diamonds are sometimes mistaken for pebbles, and meanness may be rich in accomplishments which riches in vain desire. If our merits be above our stations, if our intrinsical value be greater than what we go for, or our value than our valuation, and if we stand higher in God's, than in the Censor's book, it may make some equitable balance in the inequalities of this world, and there may be no such vast chasm or gulf between disparities as common measures determine. The Divine Eye looks upon high and low differently from that of man. They who seem to stand upon Olympus, and high mounted unto our eyes, may be but in the valleys and low ground unto His ; for He looks upon those as highest who nearest approach His Divinity, and upon those as lowest who are farthest from it.

When thou lookest upon the imperfections of others, allow one eye for what is laudable in them, and the balance they have from some excellency which may render them considerable. While we look with fear or hatred upon the teeth of the viper, we may behold his eye with love. In venomous natures something may be amiable : poisons afford antipoisons¹ : nothing

¹ [See p. 83, l. 1].

is totally or altogether uselessly bad. Notable virtues are sometimes dashed with notorious vices, and in some vicious tempers have been found illustrious acts of virtue, which makes such observable worth in some actions of King Demetrius, Antonius, and Ahab as are not to be found in the same kind in Aristides, Numa, or David. Constancy, generosity, clemency, and liberality have been highly conspicuous in some persons not marked out in other concerns for example or imitation. But since goodness is exemplary in all, if others have not our virtues, let us not be wanting in theirs, nor, scorning them for their vices whereof we are free, be condemned by their virtues wherein we are deficient. There is dross, alloy, and embasement in all human temper; and he flieth without wings who thinks to find Ophir or pure metal in any. For perfection is not, like light, centred in any one body; but, like the dispersed seminalities of vegetables at the Creation, scattered through the whole mass of the earth, no place producing all, and almost all some. So that 'tis well if a perfect man can be made out of many men, and, to the perfect eye of God, even out of mankind. Time, which perfects some things, imperfects also others. Could we intimately apprehend the ideated man, and as he stood in the intellect of God upon the first exertion by Creation, we might more narrowly comprehend our present degeneration and how widely we are fallen from the pure exemplar and idea of our nature; for, after this corruptive elongation from a primitive and pure creation, we are almost lost in degeneration, and Adam hath not only fallen from his Creator but we ourselves from Adam, our Tycho and primary generator.

Quarrel not rashly with adversities not yet understood, and overlook not the mercies often bound up in them; for we consider not sufficiently the good of evils nor fairly compute the mercies of Providence in things afflictive at first hand. The famous Andreas Doria, being invited to a feast by Aloysio Fiesco with design to kill him, just the night before fell mercifully into a fit of the gout, and so escaped that mischief. When Cato

intended to kill himself, from a blow which he gave his servant, who would not reach his sword unto him, his hand so swelled that he had much ado to effect his design¹. Hereby anyone but a resolved Stoic might have taken a fair hint of consideration, and that some merciful genius would have contrived his preservation. To be sagacious in such interurrences is not superstition but wary and pious discretion; and to contemn such hints were to be deaf unto the speaking hand of God, wherein Socrates and Cardan would hardly have been mistaken.

Break not open the gate of destruction, and make no haste or bustle unto ruin. Post not heedlessly on unto the *non ultra* of Folly or precipice of perdition. Let vicious ways have their tropics and deflexions, and swim in the waters of sin but as in the Asphaltic Lake, though smeared and defiled, not to sink to the bottom. If thou hast dipped thy foot in the brink, yet venture not over Rubicon: run not into extremities from whence there is no regression. In the vicious ways of the world it mercifully falleth out that we become not *extempore* wicked, but it taketh some time and pains to undo ourselves. We fall not from virtue, like Vulcan from heaven², in a day. Bad dispositions require some time to grow into bad habits, but habits must undermine good, and often repeated acts make us habitually evil; so that, by gradual depravations and while we are but staggeringly evil, we are not left without parentheses of considerations, thoughtful rebukes, and merciful interventions, to recall us unto ourselves. For the wisdom of God hath methodized the course of things unto the best advantage of goodness, and thinking considerators overlook not the tract thereof.

Since men and women have their proper virtues and vices, and even twins of different sexes have not only distinct coverings in the womb but differing qualities and virtuous habits after, transplace not their proprieties and confound not their distinctions. Let masculine and feminine accomplishments shine in their

¹ Plut, [*Vit. Cat.*, cc. 68, 70]. ² Homer [*Il.*, i, 590].

proper orbs, and adorn their respective subjects. However, unite not the vices of both sexes in one; be not monstrous in iniquity nor hermaphroditically vicious.

If generous honesty, valour, and plain dealing be the cognizance of thy family or characteristic of thy country, hold fast such inclinations sucked in with thy first breath and which lay in the cradle with thee. Fall not into transforming degenerations, which under the old name create a new nation. Be not an alien in thine own nation; bring not Orontes into Tiber; learn the virtues not the vices of thy foreign neighbours, and make thy imitation by discretion not contagion. Feel something of thyself in the noble acts of thy ancestors, and find in thine own genius that of thy predecessors. Rest not under the expired merits of others: shine by those of thy own. Flame not like the central fire which enlighteneth no eyes, which no man seeth, and most men think there's no such thing to be seen. Add one ray unto the common lustre; add not only to the number but the note of thy generation; and prove not a cloud but an asterisk in thy region.

Since thou hast an alarum in thy breast, which tells thee thou hast a living spirit in thee above two thousand times in an hour, dull not away thy days in slothful supinity and the tediousness of doing nothing. To strenuous minds there is an inquietude in overquietness and no laboriousness in labour; and to tread a mile after the slow pace of a snail or the heavy measures of the lazy of Brazil, were a most tiring penance, and worse than a race of some furlongs at the Olympics. The rapid courses of the heavenly bodies are rather imitable by our thoughts than our corporeal motions; yet the solemn motions of our lives amount unto a greater measure than is commonly apprehended. Some few men have surrounded the globe of the earth; yet many in the set locomotions and movements of their days have measured the circuit of it, and twenty thousand miles have been exceeded by them. Move circumspectly not meticulously, and rather carefully solicitous than anxiously solitudinous. Think not

there is a lion in the way¹, nor walk with leaden sandals in the paths of goodness ; but in all virtuous motions let prudence determine thy measures. Strive not to run like Hercules, a furlong in a breath : festination may prove precipitation ; deliberating delay may be wise cunctation, and slowness no slothfulness.

Since virtuous actions have their own trumpets, and without any noise from thyself will have their resound abroad, busy not thy best member in the encomium of thyself². Praise is a debt we owe unto the virtues of others, and due unto our own from all, whom malice hath not made mutes, or envy struck dumb. Fall not however into the common prevaricating way of self-commendation and boasting, by denoting the imperfections of others. He who discommendeth others obliquely commendeth himself. He who whispers their infirmities proclaims his own exemption from them, and consequently says *I am not as this Publican*³, or *Hic niger* whom I talk of. Open ostentation and loud vain-glory is more tolerable than this obliquity, as but containing some froth no ink, as but consisting of a personal piece of folly, nor complicated with uncharitableness. Superfluously we seek a precarious applause abroad : every good man hath his *plaudite* within himself, and, though his tongue be silent, is not without loud cymbals in his breast. Conscience will become his panegyrist, and never forget to crown and extol him unto himself.

Bless not thyself only that thou wert born in Athens ; but among thy multiplied acknowledgments lift up one hand unto Heaven that thou wert born of honest parents, that modesty, humility, patience, and veracity lay in the same egg, and came into the world with thee. From such foundations thou mayest be happy in a virtuous precocity, and make an early and long walk in goodness ; so mayest thou more naturally feel the contrariety of vice unto nature, and resist some by the antidote of thy temper. As charity covers, so modesty preventeth, a multitude of sins ; withholding from noon-day vices and brazen-browed iniquities, from

¹ *Proverbs*, xxii, 13.

² *Ps.*, cviii, 1.

³ *Luke*, xviii, 11.

sinning on the house-tops and painting our follies with the rays of the sun. Where this virtue reigneth, though vice may show its head, it cannot be in its glory ; where shame of sin sets, look not for virtue to arise ; for, when modesty taketh wing, Astræa goes soon after.

The heroical vein of mankind runs much in the soldiery and courageous part of the world, and in that form we oftenest find men above men. History is full of the gallantry of that tribe ; and, when we read their notable acts, we easily find what a difference there is between a life in Plutarch and in Laërtius. Where true fortitude dwells, loyalty, bounty, friendship, and fidelity may be found. A man may confide in persons constituted for noble ends who dare do and suffer, and who have a hand to burn for their country and their friend. Small and creeping things are the product of petty souls. He is like to be mistaken who makes choice of a covetous man for a friend, or relieth upon the reed of narrow and poltroon friendship. Pitiful things are only to be found in the cottages of such breasts ; but bright thoughts, clear deeds, constancy, fidelity, bounty, and generous honesty are the gems of noble minds ; wherein (to derogate from none) the true heroic English gentleman hath no peer.

CHRISTIAN MORALS

PART II

PUNISH not thyself with pleasure ; glut not thy sense with palative delights ; nor revenge the contempt of temperance by the penalty of satiety. Were there an age of delight or any pleasure durable, who would not honour Volupia ?—but the race of delight is short, and pleasures have mutable faces. The pleasures of one age are not pleasures in another, and their lives fall short of our own. Even in our sensual days the strength of delight is in its seldomness or rarity, and sting in its satiety : mediocrity is its life, and immoderacy its confusion. The luxurious emperors of old inconsiderately satiated themselves with the dainties of sea and land, till, wearied through all varieties, their refectations became a study unto them, and they were fain to feed by invention : novices in true Epicurism !, which by mediocrity, paucity, quick and healthful appetite, makes delights smartly acceptable ; whereby Epicurus himself found *Jupiter's brain* in a piece of Cytheridian cheese, and the tongues of nightingales in a dish of onions. Hereby healthful and temperate poverty hath the start of nauseating luxury ; unto whose clear and naked appetite every meal is a feast, and in one single dish the first course of Metellus ; who are cheaply hungry, and never lose their hunger or advantage of a craving appetite because obvious food contents it, while Nero half-famished could not feed upon a piece of bread, and, lingering after his snowed water, hardly got down an ordinary cup of *calda*. By such circumscriptions of pleasure the contemned philosophers reserved unto themselves the secret of delight, which the *helluos* of those days lost in their exorbitances. In vain we study delight : it is at the command of every sober mind, and in every sense born with us ; but Nature, who teacheth us the rule of

pleasure, instructeth also in the bounds thereof and where its line expireth. And therefore temperate minds, not pressing their pleasures until the sting appeareth, enjoy their contentations contentedly and without regret, and so escape the folly of excess, to be pleased unto displacency.

Bring candid eyes unto the perusal of men's works, and let not Zoilism or detraction blast well-intended labours. He that endureth no faults in men's writings must only read his own, wherein for the most part all appeareth white. Quotation mistakes, inadvertency, expedition, and human lapses, may make not only moles but warts in learned authors, who notwithstanding, being judged by the capital matter, admit not of disparagement. I should unwillingly affirm that Cicero was but slightly versed in Homer because in his work *De Gloria* he ascribed those verses unto Ajax which were delivered by Hector. What if Plautus in the account of Hercules mistaketh nativity for conception? Who would have mean thoughts of Apollinaris Sidonius, who seems to mistake the river Tigris for Euphrates; and, though a good historian and learned bishop of Auvergne, had the misfortune to be out in the story of David, making mention of him when the Ark was sent back by the Philistines upon a cart¹; which was before his time? Though I have no great opinion of Machiavel's learning, yet I shall not presently say that he was but a novice in Roman history because he was mistaken in placing Commodus after the emperor Severus. Capital truths are to be narrowly eyed, collateral lapses and circumstantial deliveries not to be too strictly sifted. And, if the substantial subject be well forged out, we need not examine the sparks which irregularly fly from it.

Let well-weighed considerations, not stiff and peremptory assumptions, guide thy discourses, pen, and actions. To begin or continue our works like Trismegistus of old, *Verum, certe verum, atque verissimum est*, would sound arrogantly unto present ears in this strict enquiring age, wherein for the most part *probably*

¹ *I Samuel*, vi.

and *perhaps* will hardly serve to mollify the spirit of captious contradictors. If Cardan saith that a parrot is a beautiful bird, Scaliger will set his wits to work to prove it a deformed animal. The compage of all physical truths is not so closely jointed but opposition may find intrusion, nor always so closely maintained as not to suffer attrition. Many positions seem quodlibetically constituted, and, like a Delphian blade, will cut on both sides. Some truths seem almost falsehoods, and some falsehoods almost truths; wherein falsehood and truth seem almost equilibriously stated, and but a few grains of distinction to bear down the balance. Some have digged deep, yet glanced by the Royal Vein; and a man may come unto the pericardium, but not the heart, of truth. Besides, many things are known, as some are seen, that is by parallaxis, or at some distance from their true and proper beings, the superficial regard of things having a different aspect from their true and central natures. And this moves sober pens unto suspensory and timorous assertions, nor presently to obtrude them as Sibyl's leaves, which after-considerations may find to be but folious appearences and not the central and vital interiors of truth.

Value the judicious, and let not mere acquests in minor parts of learning gain thy pre-existimation. 'Tis an unjust way of compute to magnify a weak head for some Latin abilities, and to undervalue a solid judgment because he knows not the genealogy of Hector. When that notable King of France would have his son to know but one sentence in Latin, had it been a good one, perhaps it had been enough. Natural parts and good judgments rule the world. States are not governed by ergotisms. Many have ruled well who could not perhaps define a commonwealth, and they who understand not the globe of the earth command a great part of it. Where natural logic prevails not, artificial too often faileth. Where Nature fills the sails, the vessel goes smoothly on, and, when judgment is the pilot, the insurance need not be high. When industry builds upon Nature, we may expect pyramids;

where that foundation is wanting, the structure must be low. They do most by books who could do much without them, and he that chiefly owes himself unto himself is the substantial man.

Let thy studies be free as thy thoughts and contemplations, but fly not only upon the wings of imagination; join sense unto reason, and experiment unto speculation, and so give life unto embryon truths, and verities yet in their chaos. There is nothing more acceptable unto the ingenious world than this noble eluctation of truth; wherein, against the tenacity of prejudice and prescription, this century now prevaieth. What libraries of new volumes aftertimes will behold, and in what a new world of knowledge the eyes of our posterity may be happy, a few ages may joyfully declare; and is but a cold thought unto those who cannot hope to behold this exantlation of truth, or that obscured virgin half out of the pit. Which might make some content with a commutation of the time of their lives, and to commend the fancy of the Pythagorean metempsychosis; whereby they might hope to enjoy this happiness in their third or fourth selves, and behold that in Pythagoras which they now but foresee in Euphorbus. The world, which took but six days to make, is like to take six thousand to make out; meanwhile old truths voted down begin to resume their places, and new ones arise upon us; wherein there is no comfort in the happiness of Tully's Elysium, or any satisfaction from the ghosts of the ancients, who knew so little of what is now so well known. Men disparage not antiquity who prudently exalt new enquiries, and make not them the judges of truth who were but fellow-enquirers of it. Who can but magnify the endeavours of Aristotle, and the noble start which learning had under him; or less than pity the slender progression made upon such advantages, while many centuries were lost in repetitions and transcriptions sealing up the Book of Knowledge? And therefore, rather than to swell the leaves of Learning by fruitless repetitions, to sing the same song in all ages, nor adventure at essays beyond the attempt of others,

many would be content that some would write like Helmont or Paracelsus, and be willing to endure the monstrosity of some opinions for divers singular notions requiting such aberrations.

Despise not the obliquities of younger ways, nor despair of better things whereof there is yet no prospect. Who would imagine that Diogenes, who in his younger days was a falsifier of money, should in the after-course of this life be so great a contemner of metal? Some negroes who believe the Resurrection think that they shall rise white. Even in this life regeneration may imitate Resurrection, our black and vicious tinctures may wear off, and goodness clothe us with candour. Good admonitions knock not always in vain. There will be signal examples of God's mercy, and the angels must not want their charitable rejoices for the conversion of lost sinners¹. Figures of most angles do nearest approach unto circles, which have no angles at all. Some may be near unto goodness who are conceived far from it, and many things happen not likely to ensue from any promises of antecedencies. Culpable beginnings have found commendable conclusions, and infamous courses pious retractations. Detestable sinners have proved exemplary converts on earth, and may be glorious in the apartment of Mary Magdalen in Heaven. Men are not the same through all divisions of their ages. Time, experience, self-reflexions, and God's mercies make in some well-tempered minds a kind of translation before death, and men to differ from themselves as well as from other persons. Hereof the old world afforded many examples to the infamy of latter ages, wherein men too often live by the rule of their inclinations; so that, without any astral prediction, *the first day gives the last*². Men are commonly as they were; or rather, as bad dispositions run in to worsen habits, the evening doth not crown, but sourly conclude, the day.

If the Almighty will not spare us according to His merciful capitulation at Sodom³, if His goodness please

¹ *Luke*, xv, 10. ² *Sen.*, *Æd.*, 988 [v. p. 48, ll. 11-6].

³ *Gen.*, xviii, 27-33.

not to pass over a great deal of bad for a small pittance of good, or to look upon us in a lump, there is slender hope for mercy or sound presumption of fulfilling half His Will, either in persons or nations—they who excel in some virtues being so often defective in others, few men driving at the extent and amplitude of goodness, but, computing themselves by their best parts and others by their worst, are content to rest in those virtues which others commonly want. Which makes this speckled face of honesty in the world; and which was the imperfection of the old philosophers and great pretenders unto virtue, who, well declining the gaping vices of intemperance, incontinency, violence and oppression, were yet blindly peccant in iniquities of closer faces, were envious, malicious, contemners, scoffers, censurers, and stuffed with vizard vices, no less depraving the ethereal particle and diviner portion of man. For envy, malice, hatred, are the qualities of Satan, close and dark like himself; and, where such brands smoke, the soul cannot be white. Vice may be had at all prices; expensive and costly iniquities, which make the noise, cannot be every man's sins; but the soul may be foully inquinated at a very low rate, and a man may be cheaply vicious to the perdition of himself.

Opinion rides upon the neck of reason, and men are happy, wise, or learned according as that empress shall set them down in the register of reputation. However, weigh not thyself in the scales of thy own opinion, but let the judgment of the judicious be the standard of thy merit. Self-estimation is a flatterer too readily entitling us unto knowledge and abilities, which others solicitously labour after and doubtfully think they attain. Surely such confident tempers do pass their days in best tranquillity, who, resting in the opinion of their own abilities, are happily gulled by such contentation; wherein pride, self-conceit, confidence, and opiniatrety will hardly suffer any to complain of imperfection. To think themselves in the right, or all *that* right, or only that which they do or think, is a fallacy of high content, though others laugh in their

sleeves and look upon them as in a deluded state of judgment; wherein, notwithstanding, 'Twere but a civil piece of complacency to suffer *them* to sleep who would not wake, to let them rest in their securities, nor by dissent or opposition to stagger their contentments.

Since the brow speaks often true, since eyes and noses have tongues, and the countenance proclaims the heart and inclinations, let observation so far instruct thee in physiognomical lines as to be some rule for thy distinction and guide for thy affection unto such as look most like men. Mankind, methinks, is comprehended in a few faces, if we exclude all visages which any way participate of symmetries and schemes of look common unto other animals. For, as though man were the extract of the world, in whom all were *in coagulato* which in their forms were *in soluto* and at extension, we often observe that men do most act those creatures whose constitutions, parts, and complexion do most predominate in their mixtures. This is a corner-stone in physiognomy, and holds some truth not only in particular persons but also in whole nations. There are therefore provincial faces, national lips, and noses which testify not only the natures of those countries but of those which have them elsewhere. Thus we may make England the whole earth, dividing it not only into Europe, Asia, Africa, but the particular regions thereof, and may in some latitude affirm that there are Egyptians, Scythians, Indians among us; who, though born in England, yet carry the faces and air of those countries, and are also agreeable and correspondent unto their natures. Faces look uniformly unto our eyes: how they appear unto some animals of a more piercing or differing sight who are able to discover the inequalities, rubs, and hairiness of the skin is not without good doubt; and therefore in reference unto man Cupid is said to be blind. Affection should not be too sharp-eyed, and love is not to be made by magnifying glasses. If things were seen as they truly are, the beauty of bodies would be much abridged; and therefore the wise Contriver hath drawn the pictures and

outsides of things softly, and amiably unto the natural edge of our eyes, not leaving them able to discover those uncomely asperities which make oyster-shells in good faces and hedgehogs even in Venus's moles.

Court not felicity too far, and weary not the favourable hand of Fortune. Glorious actions have their times, extent, and *non ultra's*. To put no end unto attempts were to make prescription of successes and to bespeak unhappiness at last; for the line of our lives is drawn with white and black vicissitudes wherein the extremes hold seldom one complexion. That Pompey should obtain the surname of *Great* at twenty-five years, that men in their young and active days should be fortunate and perform notable things, is no observation of deep wonder, they having the strength of their fates before them, nor yet acted their parts in the world for which they were brought into it; whereas men of years, matured for counsels and designs, seem to be beyond the vigour of their active fortunes and high exploits of life providentially ordained unto ages best agreeable unto them. And therefore many brave men, finding their fortune grow faint and feeling its declination, have timely withdrawn themselves from great attempts, and so escaped the ends of mighty men disproportionable to their beginnings. But magnanimous thoughts have so dimmed the eyes of many that, forgetting the very essence of Fortune and the vicissitude of good and evil, they apprehend no bottom in felicity; and so have been still tempted on unto mighty actions reserved for their destructions. For Fortune lays the plot of our adversities in the foundation of our felicities, blessing us in the first quadrate to blast us more sharply in the last. And, since in the highest felicities there lieth a capacity of the lowest miseries, she hath this advantage from our happiness to make us truly miserable; for to become acutely miserable we are to be first happy. Affliction smarts most in the most happy state, as having somewhat in it of Belisarius at Beggar's Bush or Bajazet in the grate. And this the fallen angels severely

understand, who, having acted their first parts in Heaven, are made sharply miserable by transition, and more afflictively feel the contrary state of Hell.

Carry no careless eye upon the unexpected scenes of things, but ponder the acts of Providence in the public ends of great and notable men, set out unto the view of all for no common memorandums. The tragical exits and unexpected periods of some eminent persons cannot but amuse considerate observators; wherein notwithstanding most men seem to see by extramission, without reception or self-reflexion, and conceive themselves unconcerned by the fallacy of their own exemption: whereas the mercy of God hath singled out but few to be the signals of His justice, leaving the generality of mankind to the pedagogy of example. But the inadvertency of our natures not well apprehending this favourable method and merciful decimation, and that He showeth in some what others also deserve, they entertain no sense of His Hand beyond the stroke of themselves. Whereupon the whole becomes necessarily punished, and the contracted Hand of God extended unto universal judgments, from whence nevertheless the stupidity of our tempers receives but faint impressions, and in the most tragical state of times holds but starts of good motions. So that to continue us in goodness there must be iterated returns of misery, and a circulation in afflictions is necessary. And since we cannot be wise by warnings, since plagues are insignificant except we be personally plagued, since also we cannot be punished unto amendment by proxy or commutation nor by vicinity, but contaction, there is an unhappy necessity that we must smart in our own skins, and the provoked arm of the Almighty must fall upon ourselves. The capital sufferings of others are rather our monitions than acquitments. There is but One Who died salvifically for us, and able to say unto death: *Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther*¹; only one enlivening death, which makes gardens of graves, and that which was sowed in corruption to arise and flourish in glory²; when death itself shall die, and living

¹ *Job*, xxxviii, 11. ² *I Cor.*, xv, 43.

shall have no period, when the damned shall mourn at the funeral of death, when life, not death, shall be the wages of sin¹, when the second death shall prove a miserable life, and destruction shall be courted.

Although their thoughts may seem too severe who think that few ill-natured men go to Heaven, yet it may be acknowledged that good-natured persons are best founded for that place ; who enter the world with good dispositions and natural graces, more ready to be advanced by impressions from above and christianized unto pieties ; who carry about them plain and downright dealing minds, humility, mercy, charity, and virtues acceptable unto God and man. But, whatever success they may have as to Heaven, they are the acceptable men on earth, and *happy is he who hath his quiver full of them*² for his friends. These are not the dens wherein falsehood lurks and hypocrisy hides its head, wherein frowardness makes its nest, or where malice, hard-heartedness, and oppression love to dwell ; not those by whom the poor get little, and the rich some time lose all ; men not of retracted looks but who carry their hearts in their faces, and need not to be looked upon with perspectives ; not sordidly or mischievously ingrateful ; who cannot learn to ride upon the neck of the afflicted, nor load the heavy laden, but who keep the temple of Janus shut by peaceable and quiet tempers ; who make not only the best friends but the best enemies, as easier to forgive than offend, and ready to pass by the second offence before they avenge the first ; who make natural Royalists, obedient subjects, kind and merciful princes, verified in our own, one of the best-natured Kings of this throne. Of the old Roman Emperors the best were the best-natured, though they made but a small number, and might be writ in a ring. Many of the rest were as bad men as princes : humorists rather than of good humours, and of good natural parts rather than of good natures ; which did but arm their bad inclinations, and make them wittily wicked.

With what strift and pains we come into the world

¹ *Romans*, vi, 23. ² *Psalms*, cxxvii, 5.

we remember not ; but 'tis commonly found no easy matter to get out of it. Many have studied to exasperate the ways of death, but fewer hours have been spent to soften that necessity. That the smoothest way unto the grave is made by bleeding, as common opinion presumeth, beside the sick and fainting languors which accompany that effusion, the experiment in Lucan and Seneca will make us doubt ; under which the noble Stoic so deeply laboured that, to conceal his affliction, he was fain to retire from the sight of his wife, and not ashamed to implore the merciful hand of his physician to shorten his misery therein. Ovid, the old heroes, and the Stoics, who were so afraid of drowning (as dreading thereby the extinction of their soul, which they conceived to be a fire), stood probably in fear of an easier way of death ; wherein the water, entering the possessions of air, makes a temperate suffocation, and kills as it were without a fever. Surely many who have had the spirit to destroy themselves have not been ingenious in the contrivance thereof. 'Twas a dull way practised by Themistocles to overwhelm himself with bull's-blood ; who, being an Athenian, might have held an easier theory of death from the State potion of his country, from which Socrates in Plato seemed not to suffer much more than from the fit of an ague. Cato is much to be pitied, who mangled himself with poniards ; and Hannibal seems more subtle, who carried his delivery not in the point but the pummel of his sword.

The Egyptians were merciful contrivers, who destroyed their malefactors by asps, charming their senses into an invincible sleep, and killing as it were with Hermes his rod. The Turkish Emperor, odious for other cruelty, was herein a remarkable master of mercy, killing his favourite in his sleep, and sending him from the shade into the house of darkness. He who had been thus destroyed would hardly have bled at the presence of his destroyer ; when men are already dead by metaphor, and pass but from one sleep unto another, wanting herein the eminent part of severity, to feel themselves to die, and escaping the sharpest

attendant of death, the lively apprehension thereof. But to learn to die is better than to study the ways of dying. Death will find some ways to untie or cut the most Gordian Knots of life, and make men's miseries as mortal as themselves; whereas evil spirits, as undying substances, are unseparable from their calamities; and therefore they everlastingly struggle under their *angustia's*, and bound up with immortality can never get out of themselves.

CHRISTIAN MORALS

PART III

'Tis hard to find a whole age to imitate, or what century to propose for example. Some have been far more approvable than others : but virtue and vice, panegyrics and satires, scatteringly to be found in all. History sets down not only things laudable but abominable, things which should never have been or never have been known ; so that noble patterns must be fetched here and there from single persons rather than whole nations, and from all nations rather than any one. The world was early bad, and the first sin the most deplorable of any. The younger world afforded the oldest men, and perhaps the best and the worst, when length of days made virtuous habits heroical and immovable — vicious, inveterate and irreclaimable. And, since 'tis said that the imaginations of their hearts were evil¹, only evil, and continually evil, it may be feared that their sins held pace with their lives, and, their longevity swelling their impieties, the longanimity of God would no longer endure such vivacious abominations. Their impieties were surely of a deep dye, which required the whole element of water to wash them away, and overwhelmed their memories with themselves, and so shut up the first windows of time, leaving no histories of those longevous generations when men might have been properly historians, when Adam might have read long lectures unto Methuselah, and Methuselah unto Noah. For, had we been happy in just historical accounts of that unparalleled world, we might have been acquainted with wonders, and have understood not a little of the acts and undertakings of Moses his mighty men, and men of renown of old ; which might have enlarged our thoughts, and made the world older unto us. For

¹ *Genesis*, vi, 5.

the unknown part of time shortens the estimation, if not the compute, of it. What hath escaped our knowledge falls not under our consideration, and what is and will be latent is little better than non-existent.

Some things are dictated for our instruction, some acted for our imitation, wherein 'tis best to ascend unto the highest conformity, and to the honour of the exemplar. He honours God who imitates Him. For what we virtuously imitate we approve and admire; and, since we delight not to imitate inferiors, we aggrandize and magnify those we imitate; since also we are most apt to imitate those we love, we testify our affection in our imitation of the inimitable. To affect to be like may be no imitation. To act, and not to be what we pretend to imitate, is but a mimical conformation, and carrieth no virtue in it. Lucifer imitated not God when he said he would be like the Highest, and he imitated not Jupiter who counterfeited thunder. Where imitation can go no farther, let admiration step on, whereof there is no end in the wisest form of men. Even Angels and Spirits have enough to admire in their sublimer natures, admiration being the act of the creature and not of God, Who doth not admire Himself. Created natures allow of swelling hyperboles; nothing can be said hyperbolically of God, nor will His attributes admit of expressions above their own exsuperances. Trismegistus his circle, whose centre is everywhere and circumference nowhere, was no hyperbole. Words cannot exceed where they cannot express enough. Even the most winged thoughts fall at the setting out, and reach not the portal of Divinity.

In bivious theorems and Janus-faced doctrines let virtuous considerations state the determination. Look upon opinions as thou doest upon the moon, and choose not the dark hemisphere for thy contemplation. Embrace not the opacous and blind side of opinions, but that which looks most luciferously or influentially unto goodness. 'Tis better to think that there are Guardian Spirits than that there are no Spirits to guard us; that vicious persons are slaves than that there is

any servitude in virtue; that times past have been better than times present than that times were always bad, and that to be men it sufficeth to be no better than men in all ages, and so promiscuously to swim down the turbid stream and make up the grand confusion. Sow not thy understanding with opinions which make nothing of iniquities and fallaciously extenuate transgressions. Look upon vices and vicious objects with hyperbolical eyes, and rather enlarge their dimensions that their unseen deformities may not escape thy sense and their poisonous parts and stings may appear massy and monstrous unto thee; for the undiscerned particles and atoms of evil deceive us, and we are undone by the invisibles of seeming goodness. We are only deceived in what is not discerned, and to err is but to be blind or dim-sighted as to some perceptions.

To be honest in a right line and virtuous by epitome, be firm unto such principles of goodness as carry in them volumes of instruction and may abridge thy labour. And, since instructions are many, hold close unto those whereon the rest depend. So may we have all in a few, and the Law and the Prophets in a rule, the Sacred Writ in stenography, and the Scripture in a nut-shell. To pursue the osseous and solid part of goodness, which gives stability and rectitude to all the rest; to settle on fundamental virtues, and bid early defiance unto mother-vices, which carry in their bowels the seminals of other iniquities — makes a short cut in goodness, and strikes not off an head but the whole neck of Hydra. For we are carried into the dark lake, like the Egyptian river into the sea, by seven principal ostiaries. The mother-sins of that number are the deadly engines of evil spirits that undo us, and even evil spirits themselves; and he who is under the chains thereof is not without a possession. Mary Magdalene had more than seven devils¹, if these with their imps were in her, and he who is thus possessed may literally be named *Legion*. Where such plants grow and prosper, look for no champaign or region void of thorns,

¹ *Luke*, viii, 2, 30.

but productions like the Tree of Goa and forests of abomination.

Guide not the Hand of God, nor order the Finger of the Almighty, unto thy will and pleasure; but sit quiet in the soft showers of Providence, and favourable distributions in this world either to thyself or others. And, since not only judgments have their errands, but mercies their commissions, snatch not at every favour, nor think thyself passed by if they fall upon thy neighbour. Rake not up envious displacencies at things successful unto others which the wise Disposer of all thinks not fit for thyself. Reconcile the events of things unto both beings, that is, of this world and the next; so will there not seem so many riddles in Providence nor various inequalities in the dispensation of things below. If thou doest not anoint thy face, yet put not on sackcloth at the felicities of others. Repining at the good draws on rejoicing at the evils of others, and so falls into that inhuman vice for which so few languages have a name. The blessed Spirits above rejoice at our happiness below; but to be glad at the evils of one another is beyond the malignity of Hell, and falls not on evil Spirits, who, though they rejoice at our unhappiness, take no pleasure at the afflictions of their own society or of their fellow natures. Degenerous heads, who must be fain to learn from such examples and to be taught from the school of Hell!

Grain not thy vicious stains, nor deepen those swart tinctures which temper, infirmity, or ill-habits have set upon thee; and fix not by iterated depravations what time might efface or virtuous washes expunge. He who thus still advanceth in iniquity deepeneth his deformed hue, turns a shadow into night, and makes himself a negro in the black jaundice; and so becomes one of those lost ones, the disproportionate pores of whose brains afford no entrance unto good motions, but reflect and frustrate all counsels, deaf unto the thunder of the laws, and rocks unto the cries of charitable commiserators. He who hath had the patience of Diogenes to make orations unto statues

may more sensibly apprehend how all words fall to the ground spent upon such a surd and earless generation of men, stupid unto all instruction, and rather requiring an exorcist than an orator for their conversion.

Burden not the back of Aries, Leo, or Taurus with thy faults, nor make Saturn, Mars, or Venus guilty of thy follies. Think not to fasten thy imperfections on the stars, and so despairingly conceive thyself under a fatality of being evil. Calculate thyself within, seek not thyself in the moon but in thine own orb or microcosmical circumference. Let celestial aspects admonish and advertize, not conclude and determine, thy ways. For, since good and bad stars moralize not our actions, and neither excuse or commend, acquit or condemn, our good or bad deeds at the present or last bar, since some are astrologically well disposed who are morally highly vicious, not celestial figures but virtuous schemes must denominate and state our actions. If we rightly understood the names whereby God calleth the stars¹, if we knew His name for the dog-star or by what appellation Jupiter, Mars, and Saturn obey His Will, it might be a welcome accession unto astrology, which speaks great things, and is fain to make use of appellations from Greek and barbaric systems. Whatever influences, impulsions, or inclinations there be from the lights above, it were a piece of wisdom to make one of those wise men who overrule their stars, and with their own militia contend with the host of Heaven. Unto which attempt there want not auxiliaries from the whole strength of morality, supplies from Christian ethics, influences also and illuminations from above, more powerful than the lights of Heaven.

Confound not the distinctions of thy life which nature hath divided, that is youth, adolescence, manhood, and old age; nor, in these divided periods wherein thou art in a manner four, conceive thyself but one. Let every division be happy in its proper virtues, nor one vice run through all. Let each distinction have

¹ *Psalms*, cxlvii, 4.

its salutary transition, and critically deliver thee from the imperfections of the former, so ordering the whole that prudence and virtue may have the largest section. Do as a child when thou art a child, and ride not on a reed at twenty. He who hath not taken leave of the follies of his youth, and in his maturer state scarce got out of that division, disproportionately divideth his days, crowds up the latter part of his life, and leaves too narrow a corner for the age of wisdom, and so hath room to be a man scarce longer than he hath been a youth. Rather than to make this confusion, anticipate the virtues of age¹, and live long without the infirmities of it. So mayst thou count up thy days as some do Adam's², that is, by anticipation; so mayst thou be coetaneous unto thy elders, and a father unto thy contemporaries.

While others are curious in the choice of good air, and chiefly solicitous for healthful habitations, study thou conversation, and be critical in thy consortion. The aspects, conjunctions, and configurations of the stars, which mutually diversify, intend, or qualify their influences, are but the varieties of their nearer or farther conversation with one another, and like the consortion of men, whereby they become better or worse and even exchange their natures. Since men live by examples, and will be imitating something, order thy imitation to thy improvement, not thy ruin. Look not for roses in Attalus his garden or wholesome flowers in a venomous plantation. And, since there is scarce any one bad but some others are the worse for him, tempt not contagion by proximity, and hazard not thyself in the shadow of corruption. He who hath not early suffered this shipwreck and in his younger days escaped this Charybdis, may make a happy voyage and not come in with black sails into the port. Self-conversation, or to be alone, is better than such consortion. Some Schoolmen tell us that he is properly alone with whom in the same place there is no other of the same species. Nebuchadnezzar³ was alone though among the beasts of the field, and a wise man

¹ [See p. 47, l. 37]. ² [See p. 45, ll. 26-7]. ³ *Dan.*, iv.

may be tolerably said to be alone though with a rabble of people little better than beasts about him. Unthinking heads, who have not learned to be alone, are in a prison to themselves if they be not also with others, whereas, on the contrary, they whose thoughts are in a fair, and hurry within, are sometimes fain to retire into company to be out of the crowd of themselves. He who must needs have company must needs have sometimes bad company. Be able to be alone. Lose not the advantage of solitude and the society of thyself, nor be only content, but delight to be alone and single with Omnipresency. He who is thus prepared, the day is not uneasy nor the night black unto him. Darkness may bound his eyes, not his imagination. In his bed he may lie, like Pompey and his sons, in all quarters of the earth, may speculate the universe, and enjoy the whole world in the hermitage of himself. Thus the old ascetic Christians found a paradise in a desert, and with little converse on earth held a conversation in Heaven ; thus they astronomized in caves, and, though they beheld not the stars, had the glory of Heaven before them.

Let the characters of good things stand indelibly in thy mind, and thy thoughts be active on them. Trust not too much unto suggestions from reminiscential amulets or artificial memorandums. Let the mortifying Janus of Covarrubias be in thy daily thoughts, not only on thy hand and signets. Rely not alone upon silent and dumb remembrances. Behold not death's-heads till thou doest not see them, nor look upon mortifying objects till thou overlookest them. Forget not how assuefaction unto anything minorates the passion from it, how constant objects lose their hints, and steal an inadvertent upon us. There is no excuse to forget what everything prompts unto us. To thoughtful observers the whole world is a phylactery, and everything we see an item of the wisdom, power, or goodness of God. Happy are they who verify their amulets, and make their phylacteries speak in their lives and actions. To run on in despite of the revulsions and pull-backs of such remoras aggravates

our transgressions. When death's-heads on our hands have no influence upon our heads and fleshless cadavers abate not the exorbitances of the flesh, when crucifixes upon men's hearts suppress not their bad commotions, and His Image Who was murdered for us withholds not from blood and murder, phylacteries prove but formalities, and their despised hints sharpen our condemnations.

Look not for whales in the Euxine Sea, or expect great matters where they are not to be found. Seek not for profundity in shallowness, or fertility in a wilderness. Place not the expectation of great happiness here below, or think to find Heaven on earth; wherein we must be content with embryon felicities, and fruitions of doubtful faces. For the circle of our felicities makes but short arches. In every clime we are in a periscian state, and with our light our shadow and darkness walk about us. Our contentments stand upon the tops of pyramids ready to fall off, and the insecurity of their enjoyments abrupteth our tranquillities. What we magnify is magnificent, but, like to the Colossus, noble without, stuffed with rubbish and coarse metal within. Even the sun, whose glorious outside we behold, may have dark and smoky entrails. In vain we admire the lustre of anything seen: that which is truly glorious is invisible. Paradise was but a part of the earth, lost not only to our fruition but our knowledge. And if, according to old dictates, no man can be said to be happy before death, the happiness of this life goes for nothing before it be over, and while we think ourselves happy we do but usurp that name. Certainly true beatitude groweth not on earth, nor hath this world in it the expectations we have of it. He swims in oil and can hardly avoid sinking who hath such light foundations to support him. 'Tis therefore happy that we have two worlds to hold on. To enjoy true happiness we must travel into a very far country, and even out of ourselves; for the pearl we seek for is not to be found in the Indian, but in the Empyrean Ocean.

Answer not the spur of fury, and be not prodigal or

prodigious in revenge. Make not one in the *Historia Horribilis*; flay not thy servant for a broken glass, nor pound him in a mortar who offendeth thee; supererogate not in the worst sense, and overdo not the necessities of evil; humour not the injustice of revenge. Be not stoically mistaken in the equality of sins, nor commutatively iniquous in the valuation of transgressions, but weigh them in the scales of Heaven and by the weights of righteous reason. Think that revenge too high which is but level with the offence. Let thy arrows of revenge fly short, or be aimed like those of Jonathan¹, to fall beside the mark. Too many there be to whom a dead enemy smells well, and who find musk and amber in revenge. The ferity of such minds holds no rule in retaliations, requiring too often a head for a tooth, and the supreme revenge for trespasses which a night's rest should obliterate. But patient meekness takes injuries like pills, not chewing but swallowing them down, laconically suffering and silently passing them over; while angered pride makes a noise, like Homeric Mars, at every scratch of offences. Since women do most delight in revenge, it may seem but feminine manhood to be vindictive. If thou must needs have thy revenge of thine enemy, with a soft tongue break his bones², heap coals of fire on his head³, forgive him, and enjoy it. To forgive our enemies is a charming way of revenge, and a short Cæsarian conquest overcoming without a blow, laying our enemies at our feet, under sorrow, shame, and repentance; leaving our foes our friends, and solicitously inclined to grateful retaliations. Thus to return upon our adversaries is a healing way of revenge, and to do good for evil a soft and melting ultion, a method taught from Heaven to keep all smooth on earth. Common forcible ways make not an end of evil, but leave hatred and malice behind them. An enemy thus reconciled is little to be trusted, as wanting the foundation of love and charity and but for a time restrained by disadvantage or inability. If thou hast not mercy for others,

¹ *I Sam.*, xx, 20 [22, 36-8].

² *Prov.*, xxv, 15.

³ *ib.*, xxv, 22.

yet be not cruel unto thyself. To ruminate upon evils, to make critical notes upon injuries, and be too acute in their apprehensions, is to add unto our own tortures, to feather the arrows of our enemies, to lash ourselves with the scorpions of our foes, and to resolve to sleep no more. For injuries long dreamt on take away at last all rest, and he sleeps but like Regulus who busieth his head about them.

Amuse not thyself about the riddles of future things. Study prophecies when they are become histories and past hovering in their causes. Eye well things past and present, and let conjectural sagacity suffice for things to come. There is a sober latitude for prescience in contingencies of discoverable tempers whereby discerning heads see sometimes beyond their eyes and wise men become prophetic. Leave cloudy predictions to their periods, and let appointed seasons have the lot of their accomplishments. 'Tis too early to study such prophecies before they have been long made, before some train of their causes have already taken fire, laying open in part what lay obscure and before buried unto us. For the voice of prophecies is like that of whispering-places: they who are near or at a little distance hear nothing, those at the farthest extremity will understand all. But a retrograde cognition of times past and things which have already been is more satisfactory than a suspended knowledge of what is yet unexistent. And, the greatest part of time being already wrapped up in things behind us, it's now somewhat late to bait after things before us; for futurity still shortens, and time present sucks in time to come. What is prophetic in one age proves historical in another, and so must hold on unto the last of time, when there will be no room for prediction, when Janus shall lose one face, and the long beard of time shall look like those of David's servants¹, shorn away upon one side, and when, if the expected Elias should appear, he might say much of what is past, not much of what's to come.

Live unto the dignity of thy nature, and leave it not

¹ *II Samuel*, x, 4.

disputable at last whether thou hast been a man ; or, since thou art a composition of man and beast, how thou hast predominantly passed thy days, to state the denomination. Unman not therefore thyself by a bestial transformation, nor realize old fables. Expose not thyself by four-footed manners unto monstrous draughts, and caricatura representations. Think not after the old Pythagorean conceit, what beast thou mayst be after death. Be not under any brutal metempsychosis while thou livest and walkest about erectly under the scheme of man. In thine own circumference, as in that of the earth, let the rational horizon be larger than the sensible, and the circle of reason than of sense. Let the divine part be upward, and the region of beast below. Otherwise 'tis but to live invertedly, and with thy head unto the heels of thy Antipodes. Desert not thy title to a divine particle and union with invisibles. Let true knowledge and virtue tell the lower world thou art a part of the higher. Let thy thoughts be of things which have not entered into the hearts of beasts ; think of things long past and long to come ; acquaint thyself with the choragium of the stars, and consider the vast expansion beyond them. Let intellectual tubes give thee a glance of things which visive organs reach not. Have a glimpse of incomprehensibles, and thoughts of things which thoughts but tenderly touch. Lodge immaterials in thy head ; ascend unto invisibles ; fill thy spirit with spirituals, with the mysteries of faith, the magnalities of religion, and thy life with the honour of God—without which, though giants in wealth and dignity, we are but dwarfs and pygmies in humanity, and may hold a pitiful rank in that triple division of mankind into heroes, men, and beasts. For, though human souls are said to be equal, yet is there no small inequality in their operations ; some maintain the allowable station of men ; many are far below it ; and some have been so divine as to approach the apogee of their natures, and to be in the confinium of spirits.

Behold thyself by inward optics and the crystalline

of thy soul. Strange it is that in the most perfect sense there should be so many fallacies that we are fain to make a doctrine, and often to see by art. But the greatest imperfection is in our inward sight, that is, to be ghosts unto our own eyes, and, while we are so sharp-sighted as to look through others, to be invisible unto ourselves, for the inward eyes are more fallacious than the outward. The vices we scoff at in others laugh at us within ourselves. Avarice, pride, falsehood, lie undiscerned and blindly in us, even to the age of blindness; and therefore to see ourselves interiorly we are fain to borrow other men's eyes; wherein true friends are good informers, and censurers no bad friends. Conscience only, that can see without light, sits in the areopagy and dark tribunal of our hearts, surveying our thoughts and condemning their obliquities. Happy is that state of vision that can see without light, though all should look as before the Creation, when there was not an eye to see or light to actuate a vision; wherein notwithstanding obscurity is only imaginable respectively unto eyes; for unto God there was none: eternal light was ever; created light was for the creation, not Himself, and as He saw before the sun may still also see without it. In the city of the New Jerusalem there is neither sun nor moon¹; where glorified eyes must see by the archetypal sun, or the light of God, able to illuminate intellectual eyes and make unknown visions. Intuitive perceptions in spiritual beings may perhaps hold some analogy unto vision: but yet how they see us, or one another, what eye, what light, or what perception is required unto their intuition is yet dark unto our apprehension; and even how they see God, or how unto our glorified eyes the beatifical vision will be celebrated², another world must tell us, when perceptions will be new and we may hope to behold invisibles.

When all looks fair about, and thou seest not a cloud so big as a hand to threaten thee, forget not the wheel of things: think of sullen vicissitudes, but beat not thy brains to foreknow them. Be armed against

¹ *Revel.*, xxi, 23.

² [See p. 56, ll. 34-7].

such obscurities rather by submission than foreknowledge. The knowledge of future evils mortifies present felicities, and there is more content in the uncertainty or ignorance of them. This favour our Saviour vouchsafed unto Peter¹ when He foretold not his death in plain terms, and so by an ambiguous and cloudy delivery damped not the spirit of His Disciples. But in the assured foreknowledge of the Deluge Noah lived many years under the affliction of a Flood, and Jerusalem was taken unto Jeremy before it was besieged. And therefore the wisdom of astrologers, who speak of future things, hath wisely softened the severity of their doctrines ; and even in their sad predictions, while they tell us of inclination, not co-action, from the stars, they kill us not with Stygian oaths and merciless necessity, but leave us hopes of evasion.

If thou hast the brow to endure the name of traitor, perjured, or oppressor, yet cover thy face when ingratitude is thrown at thee. If that degenerate vice possess thee, hide thyself in the shadow of thy shame, and pollute not noble society. Grateful ingenuities are content to be obliged within some compass of retribution, and, being depressed by the weight of iterated favours, may so labour under their inabilities of requital as to abate the content from kindnesses ; but narrow self-ended souls make prescription of good offices, and, obliged by often favours think others still due unto them ; whereas, if they but once fail, they prove so perversely ungrateful as to make nothing of former courtesies and to bury all that's past. Such tempers pervert the generous course of things ; for they discourage the inclinations of noble minds, and make beneficency cool unto acts of obligation, whereby the grateful world should subsist and have their consolation. Common gratitude must be kept alive by the additional fuel of new courtesies ; but generous gratitudes, though but once well obliged, without quickening repetitions or expectation of new favours have thankful minds for ever ; for they write not their

¹ *John*, xxi, 18-9.

obligations in sandy but marble memories, which wear not out but with themselves.

Think not silence the wisdom of fools, but, if rightly timed, the honour of wise men, who have not the infirmity but the virtue of taciturnity, and speak not out of the abundance but the well-weighed thoughts of their hearts¹. Such silence may be eloquence, and speak thy worth above the power of words. Make such a one thy friend, in whom princes may be happy and great counsels successful. Let him have the key of thy heart who hath the lock of his own, which no temptation can open; where thy secrets may lastingly lie, like the lamp in Olybius his urn, alive and light, but close and invisible.

Let thy oaths be sacred, and promises be made upon the altar of thy heart. Call not Jove to witness with a stone in one hand and a straw in another, and so make chaff and stubble of thy vows. Worldly spirits, whose interest is their belief, make cobwebs of obligations, and, if they can find ways to elude the urn of the prætor, will trust the thunderbolt of Jupiter; and therefore, if they should as deeply swear as Osman to Bethlem Gabor, yet whether they would be bound by those chains, and not find ways to cut such Gordian Knots, we could have no just assurance. But honest men's words are Stygian oaths and promises inviolable. These are not the men for whom the fetters of law were first forged: they needed not the solemnness of oaths; by keeping their faith they swear, and evacuate such confirmations.

Though the world be histrionical and most men live ironically, yet be thou what thou singly art, and personate only thyself. Swim smoothly in the stream of thy nature, and live but one man. To single hearts doubling is discrediting: such tempers must sweat to dissemble, and prove but hypocritical hypocrites. Simulation must be short: men do not easily continue a counterfeiting life, or dissemble unto death. He who counterfeiteth acts a part, and is as it were out of himself; which, if long, proves so irksome that men

¹ *Matthew*, xii, 34.

are glad to pull off their vizards and resume themselves again, no practice being able to naturalize such unnatural, or make a man rest content not to be himself. And therefore, since sincerity is thy temper, let veracity be thy virtue in words, manners, and actions. To offer at iniquities which have so little foundations in thee were to be vicious uphill, and strain for thy condemnation. Persons viciously inclined want no wheels to make them actively vicious, as having the elater and spring of their own natures to facilitate their iniquities. And therefore so many who are sinistrous unto good actions are ambidexterous unto bad, and Vulcans in virtuous paths, Achilleuses in vicious motions.

Rest not in the high-strained paradoxes of old philosophy supported by naked reason and the reward of mortal felicity, but labour in the ethics of faith built upon heavenly assistance and the happiness of both beings. Understand the rules, but swear not unto the doctrines, of Zeno or Epicurus. Look beyond Antoninus, and terminate not thy morals in Seneca or Epictetus. Let not the Twelve but the Two Tables be thy law. Let Pythagoras be thy remembrancer, not thy textuary and final instructor; and learn the vanity of the world rather from Solomon than Phocylides. Sleep not in the dogmas of the Peripatus, Academy, or Porticus. Be a moralist of the Mount, an Epictetus in the faith, and christianize thy notions.

In seventy or eighty years a man may have a deep gust of the world, know what it is, what it can afford, and what 'tis to have been a man. Such a latitude of years may hold a considerable corner in the general map of time; and a man may have a curt epitome of the whole course thereof in the days of his own life, may clearly see he hath but acted over his forefathers, what it was to live in ages past, and what living will be in all ages to come.

He is like to be the best judge of time who hath lived to see about the sixtieth part thereof. Persons of short times may know what 'tis to live, but not the life of man, who, having little behind them, are but Janusas

of one face, and know not singularities enough to raise axioms of this world ; but such a compass of years will show new examples of old things, parallelisms of occurrences through the whole course of time, and nothing be monstrous unto him, who may in that time understand not only the varieties of men but the variation of himself, and how many men he hath been in that extent of time.

He may have a close apprehension what it is to be forgotten, while he hath lived to find none who could remember his father or scarce the friends of his youth, and may sensibly see with what a face in no long time oblivion will look upon himself. His progeny may never be his posterity ; he may go out of the world less related than he came into it ; and, considering the frequent mortality in friends and relations in such a term of time, he may pass away divers years in sorrow and black habits, and leave none to mourn for himself ; orbity may be his inheritance, and riches his repentance.

In such a thread of time and long observation of men he may acquire a physiognomical intuitive knowledge, judge the interiors by the outside, and raise conjectures at first sight ; and, knowing what men have been, what they are, what children probably will be, may in the present age behold a good part, and the temper of the next ; and, since so many live by the rules of constitution, and so few overcome their temperamental inclinations, make no improbable predictions.

Such a portion of time will afford a large prospect backward, and authentic reflections how far he hath performed the great intention of his being, in the honour of his Maker ; whether he hath made good the principles of his nature and what he was made to be ; what characteristic and special mark he hath left, to be observable in his generation ; whether he hath lived to purpose or in vain, and what he hath added, acted or performed that might considerably speak him a man.

In such an age delights will be undelightful and pleasures grow stale unto him ; antiquated theorems

will revive, and Solomon's Maxims be demonstrations unto him, hopes or presumptions be over, and despair grow up of any satisfaction below. And, having been long tossed in the ocean of this world, he will by that time feel the indraught of another, unto which this seems but preparatory, and without it of no high value. He will experimentally find the emptiness of all things, and the nothing of what is past; and, wisely grounding upon true Christian expectations, finding so much past, will wholly fix upon what is to come. He will long for perpetuity, and live as though he made haste to be happy. The last may prove the prime part of his life, and those his best days which he lived nearest Heaven.

Live happy in the Elysium of a virtuously composed mind, and let intellectual contents exceed the delights wherein mere pleasurists place their Paradise. Bear not too slack reins upon pleasure, nor let complexion or contagion betray thee unto the exorbitancy of delight. Make pleasure thy recreation or intermissive relaxation, not thy Diana, life, and profession. Voluptuousness is as insatiable as covetousness. Tranquillity is better than jollity, and to appease pain than to invent pleasure. Our hard entrance into the world, our miserable going out of it, our sicknesses, disturbances and sad rencounters in it, do clamorously tell us we come not into the world to run a race of delight, but to perform the sober acts and serious purposes of man; which to omit were foully to miscarry in the advantage of humanity, to play away an uniterable life, and to have lived in vain. Forget not the capital end, and frustrate not the opportunity of once living. Dream not of any kind of metempsychosis or transanimation but into thine own body, and that after a long time, and then also unto wail or bliss according to thy first and fundamental life. Upon a curricule in this world depends a long course of the next, and upon a narrow scene here an endless expansion hereafter. In vain some think to have an end of their beings with their lives. Things cannot get out of their natures, or be or not be in despite of their constitutions.

Rational existences in Heaven perish not at all, and but partially on earth; that which is thus once will in some way be always; the first living human soul is still alive, and all Adam hath found no period.

Since the stars of Heaven do differ in glory¹; since it hath pleased the Almighty hand to honour the North Pole with lights above the South; since there are some stars so bright that they can hardly be looked on, some so dim that they can scarce be seen, and vast numbers not to be seen at all even by artificial eyes—read thou the earth in Heaven, and things below from above. Look contentedly upon the scattered difference of things, and expect not equality in lustre, dignity, or perfection in regions or persons below, where numerous numbers must be content to stand like lacteous or nebulous stars, little taken notice of or dim in their generations. All which may be contentedly allowable in the affairs and ends of this world, and in suspension unto what will be in the order of things hereafter and the new system of mankind which will be in the world to come, when *the last may be the first and the first the last*², when Lazarus may sit above Cæsar³, and the just obscure on earth shall shine like the sun in Heaven, when personations shall cease and histrionism of happiness be over, when reality shall rule, and all shall be as they shall be for ever.

When the Stoic said that life would not be accepted if it were offered unto such as knew it, he spoke too meanly of that state of being which placeth us in the form of men. It more depreciates the value of this life that men would not live it over again; for, although they would still live on, yet few or none can endure to think of being twice the same men upon earth, and some had rather never have lived than to tread over their days once more. Cicero in a prosperous state had not the patience to think of beginning in a cradle again. Job would not only curse the day of his nativity⁴ but also of his renascency, if he were to act over his disasters and the miseries of the dunghill. But the

¹ *I Cor.*, xv, 41. ² *Matt.*, xix, 30. ³ *ib.*, xiii, 43.

⁴ *Job*, iii, 1.

greatest underweening of this life is to undervalue that unto which this is but exordial, or a passage leading unto it. The great advantage of this mean life is thereby to stand in a capacity of a better; for the colonies of Heaven must be drawn from earth, and the sons of the first Adam are only heirs unto the second. Thus Adam came into this world with the power also of another, nor only to replenish the earth but the everlasting mansions of Heaven. Where we were when the foundations of the earth were laid¹, *when the morning stars sang together and all the sons of God shouted for joy*², he must answer who asked it; who understands entities of preordination and beings yet unbeing; who hath in his intellect the ideal existences of things, and entities before their extances. Though it looks but like an imaginary kind of existency to be before we are, yet, since we are under the decree or prescience of a sure and omnipotent Power, it may be somewhat more than a nonentity to be in that mind unto which all things are present.

If the end of the world shall have the same foregoing signs as the period of empires, states, and dominions in it, that is, corruption of manners, inhuman degenerations, and deluge of iniquities, it may be doubted whether that final time be so far off, of whose day and hour there can be no prescience. But, while all men doubt and none can determine how long the world shall last, some may wonder that it hath spun out so long and unto our days. For, if the Almighty had not determined a fixed duration unto it according to His mighty and merciful designments in it, if He had not said unto it, as He did unto a part of it, *Hitherto shalt thou go, and no farther*³, if we consider the incessant and cutting provocations from the earth, it is not without amazement how His patience hath permitted so long a continuance unto it, how He Who cursed the earth in the first days of the first man and drowned it in the tenth generation after, should thus lastingly contend with flesh and yet defer the last flames. For, since He is sharply provoked every moment, yet

¹ Job, xxxviii, 4. ² *ib.*, xxxviii, 7. ³ *ib.*, xxxvi, 2.

punisheth to pardon and forgives to forgive again, what patience could be content to act over such vicissitudes, or accept of repentances which must have after penitences, His goodness can only tell us. And surely, if the patience of Heaven were not proportionable unto the provocations from earth, there needed an Intercessor not only for the sins but the duration of this world, and to lead it up unto the present computation. Without such a merciful longanimity the heavens would never be so aged as to grow old like a garment¹; it were in vain to infer from the doctrine of the sphere that the time might come when Capella, a noble northern star, would have its motion in the equator, that the northern zodiacal signs would at length be the southern, the southern the northern, and Capricorn become our Cancer. However, therefore, the wisdom of the Creator hath ordered the duration of the world, yet since the end thereof brings the accomplishment of our happiness, since some would be content that it should have no end, since evil men and spirits do fear it may be too short, since good men hope it may not be too long, the prayer of the Saints under the altar² will be the supplication of the righteous world—that His mercy would abridge their languishing expectation and hasten the accomplishment of their happy state to come.

Though good men are often *taken away from the evil to come*³, though some in evil days have been glad that they were old, nor long to behold the iniquities of a wicked world or judgments threatened by them, yet is it no small satisfaction unto honest minds to leave the world in virtuous well-tempered times, under a prospect of good to come and continuation of worthy ways acceptable unto God and man. Men who die in deplorable days, which they regretfully behold, have not their eyes closed with the like content, while they cannot avoid the thoughts of proceeding or growing enormities displeasing unto that Spirit unto whom they are then going, whose honour they desire in all

¹ *Ps.*, ciii, 25–6. ² *Rev.*, vi, 9–10: [*v.* p. 53, l. 16].

³ *Is.*, lvii, 1.

times and throughout all generations. If Lucifer could be freed from his dismal place, he would little care though the rest were left behind. Too many there may be of Nero's mind who, if their own turn were served, would not regard what became of others, and, when they die themselves, care not if all perish. But good men's wishes extend beyond their lives, for the happiness of times to come and never to be known unto them. And therefore, while so many question prayers for the dead, they charitably pray for those who are not yet alive: they are not so enviously ambitious to go to Heaven by themselves; they cannot but humbly wish that the little flock might be greater¹, the Narrow Gate wider, and that, as many are called, so not a few might be chosen².

That a greater number of Angels remained in Heaven than fell from it the Schoolmen will tell us; that the number of blessed souls will not come short of that vast number of fallen spirits we have the favourable calculation of others. What age or century hath sent most souls unto Heaven He can tell who vouchsafeth that honour unto them. Though the number of the blessed must be complete before the world can pass away, yet, since the world itself seems in the wane and we have no such comfortable prognostics of latter times, since a greater part of time is spun than is to come and the blessed roll already much replenished, happy are those pieties which solicitously look about, and hasten to make one of that already much filled and abbreviated list to come.

Think not thy time short in this world since the world itself is not long. The created world is but a small parenthesis in eternity and a short interposition for a time between such a state of duration as was before it and may be after it. And, if we should allow of the old tradition that the world should last six thousand years³, it could scarce have the name of old, since the first man lived near a sixth part thereof⁴, and seven Methuselahs would exceed its whole duration.

¹ *Luke*, xii, 32.

² *Matt.*, xxii, 14.

³ [See p. 52, l. 28].

⁴ *Gen.*, v, 5, 27.

However, to palliate the shortness of our lives and somewhat to compensate our brief term in this world, it's good to know as much as we can of it, and also so far as possibly in us lieth to hold such a theory of times past as though we had seen the same. He who hath thus considered the world, as also how therein things long past have been answered by things present¹, how matters in one age have been acted over in another, and how *there is nothing new under the sun*², may conceive himself in some manner to have lived from the beginning, and to be as old as the world ; and, if he should still live on, 'twould be but the same thing.

Lastly, if length of days be thy portion, make it not thy expectation. Reckon not upon long life : think every day the last, and live always beyond thy account. He that so often surviveth his expectation lives many lives, and will scarce complain of the shortness of his days. Time past is gone like a shadow ; make time to come present. Approximate thy latter times by present apprehensions of them ; be like a neighbour unto the grave, and think there is but little to come. And, since there is something of us that will still live on, join both lives together, and live in one but for the other. He who thus ordereth the purposes of this life will never be far from the next, and is in some manner already in it, by a happy conformity and close apprehension of it. And if (as we have elsewhere declared)³ any have been so happy as personally to understand Christian annihilation, ecstasy, exolution, transformation, the kiss of the spouse, and ingression into the Divine Shadow, according to mystical theology, they have already had an handsome anticipation of Heaven ; the world is in a manner over, and the earth in ashes unto them.

¹ [See p. 10, l. 17]. ² *Eccles.* i, 9-10. ³ [p. 135, last §].

'The night is come, like to the day.'

The following translation of the hymn on p. 86, by the Rev. Dr H. KYNASTON, appeared in *The Guardian* of 31st January 1877:

Vesperascit; instar solis,
 Mundi Lux, abire nolis,
 Culpae ne quid nox obfuscet
 Nigra quod de Te coruscet.
 Te obverte mi, diurna
 Semitae fax et nocturna;
 Somni expers dormientem
 Vise, hostibus patentem.
 Qui quo claudo plus palpebras
 Vigilant plus per tenebras.
 Somnium ne me infestet
 Malum, mentem quod incestet.
 Tempus adsint ob utrumque
 Scalæ caelitem, caelumque;
 Dormiam sic, ut reffectus
 Surgam, sancte experrectus;
 Ceu sol, reparare rursus
 Giganteum gaudens cursum.
 Mors si sopor, possim scire
 Dormiens quid sit obire,
 Culcitam premens, sepulcrum
 Lectuli ceu foret fulcrum.
 Quoquo nox me trahat secum,
 Expergiscar saltem Tecum;
 Tibi tantum me assuescens,
 Exsomnia vel revivescens.
 Inter somnum et laborem
 Vitam terimus priorem:
 Nocte jam carebit dies,
 Fiet sine somno quies.

GLOSSARY

OF

OBSOLETE AND OBSOLESCEMENT WORDS

AND OF WORDS USED IN SENSES DIFFERENT FROM
THOSE OF THE PRESENT DAY

*Extracted from the Annotated Edition of SIR THOMAS BROWNE'S
WORKS by the same Editor*

- Aaron, the purple piston of :
the arum flower.
- abbreviations : abbrevia-
tions.
- abrupt, (*vb*) : break off.
- abstersion : wiping, cleans-
ing.
- absumption : wasting away,
gradual destruction.
- Academics : followers of
the Platonic School of
philosophy.
- Academy, the : the Aca-
demic philosophy.
- accension : kindling.
- account, a lower : a later
date.
- acquest : acquisition.
- acquittment : acquittal.
- aculeous, acuminate :
needle-like, sharp-
pointed.
- admire : wonder.
- adumbration : a shading ;
a representation in out-
line or symbolic shadow-
ing.
- advise : admonition.
- affect : like, love.
- affection : influence ; *in*
pl., property, quality ;
emotion, feeling, passion.
- amazed : alarmed.
- ambidextrous : both-
handed, facile.
- ambient : encompassing.
- ambitions : ambitious men.
- amission : loss.
- amphibology : ambiguity.
- ampliation : amplification.
- anatomies : skeletons.
- Ancient of Days, The : God.
- animosity : courage.
- antecedencies : antecedents.
- anthropophagi : cannibals.
- antic : (*n.*) grotesque per-
former, clown ; (*adj.*) gro-
tesque.
- antimetathesis : inversion of
the numbers of an anti-
thesis.
- antinomy : oppositions to
natural law.
- antiperistasis : the force of
contrast of circumstances.
- apogee : the utmost dist-
ance from the earth and
its affairs.
- appetites : men with appe-
tite.
- apposition : application.
- apprehend : be fearful con-
cerning ; conceive.
- apprehension : understand-
ing ; expectation ; con-
ception.
- apprehensions, grosser :
men of grosser appre-
hension.
- arae : altars.

- araeostylos : building in which the distance between the columns is equal to four or more diameters of the column.
 archimime : chief jester.
 arefaction : drying.
 artifice of clay : art of working clay.
 aspires : aspirations.
 asquint : askance.
 assassine : assassinate.
 assize : court of justice.
 assize, to call to : to summon to judgment.
 assuefaction : use, habituation.
 Atomists : a Puritanical sect in England in the seventeenth century.
 attenuable : capable of being made thinner.
 attrition : friction, wear and tear.
 audacities : audacious persons.
 auditory : lecture-room.
 augmenting-glass : magnifying-glass.
 aurelian : relating to the aurelia, or chrysalis.
 automatous : acting only from mechanical impulse.
 Balance with, in : in accordance with.
 basilisco : a large cannon, usually of brass.
 belief ; beliefs : believer ; believers.
 beneplacit : good pleasure, gracious purpose.
 benevolous : favourable.
bezo las manos : Spanish for 'I kiss the hand'.
 bivious : leading in two directions, doubtful.
 bottom : ship ; ball of yarn or worsted.
bravache : boastful, swaggering.
 bravery : bravado.
 breeze : gadfly, here vaguely for fly.
 bulk, in the : in power.
 by ends : secondary motives.
 by themes : out-of-the-way subjects.
 Cadaverous burials : burials of the entire corpse.
 cadaver : corpse.
 caitiff (*adj.*) : niggardly.
calda : tepid water, with which the Romans tempered their wine.
 calicular : cup-shaped.
 callosity : callousness.
 candour : whiteness.
 canicular days : dog-days.
 cantons : corners of a shield (heraldic).
 capitulation : covenant.
 Capricorn, in : *i.e.* when the days are shortest.
 carnified : made flesh.
 carnous : fleshy.
 carrack : large merchant-ship, galleon.
 castrensiel : belonging to a camp.
 catholicon : panacea, universal cure.
 causally : for a special reason.
cavedia : court, atrium.
 cenotaph : sepulchral monument to one whose body lies elsewhere.
 cento : patchwork, scraps.
 cere-clothed : wrapped in a cere-cloth, or waxed winding sheet.

- channelled: worn into channels.
- chapters (of the pillars): capitals.
- chet-mat: check-mate.
- chiasmus: arrangement of two lines crossed diagonally like the Greek X, decussation (*q.v.*)
- chiliast: millenarian.
- chiromancy: palmistry.
- chiromantical conjecturers: palmists.
- chirurgery: surgery.
- choragium (of the stars): revolutions.
- chorography: topographical description.
- chymicks: chemists.
- circenses: circus-games, especially horse-races.
- circinations: roundings.
- circumscription: limitation.
- circumstantial: accidental.
- circumstantially: by attendant circumstances.
- cirrous: bearing *cirri*, or tendrils.
- civilians: writers or authorities upon the Civil Law.
- civility: state of civil society; courtesy; civilization.
- civilly: in a civilized manner.
- clamation, conclamation: lamentations.
- clawing: fluttering, fawning.
- clout: blow.
- cock-boat: small ship's-boat, dinghy.
- cod: husk, or pod.
- coetaneous unto: of the same age as.
- collectable: deducible.
- commissure: joining, juncture, seam.
- commodities: advantages.
- commutation: substitution.
- commutative justice: justice which is corrective in human transactions, supposing an exchange of goods mutually profitable. The opposite of 'distributive justice'.
- commutatively: in accordance with commutative justice.
- compage: compaction, structure.
- compellation: title.
- complemental: subsidiary, not essential.
- complexed: complex.
- complexion: temperament.
- complexionally: temperamentally.
- complexioned: inclined by temperament.
- Composer, the first: the Creator.
- composition, fusion.
- composition, to come to: to arrive at an agreement.
- compute: computation.
- conceit (*vb*): imagine.
- conceit (*n.*): conception, idea; jest; pride.
- conclamation: *v.* clamation.
- concourse: concurrence, help.
- confinium*: border-ground.
- consideration unto: value in comparison with.
- considerations: considerers.
- considerators: considerers.
- consist: stand firm, abide.
- constellated unto: born under a constellation which adapts one to.

- contempered : diluted.
 contentation : satisfaction.
 contents : satisfactions.
 contignation : joining, or framing together, of beams.
 contingency, angles of : the least of angles.
 conversation : mode of life, behaviour.
 convincible : capable of proof.
 cornigerous : horned.
 coronally : in the shape of a crown.
 corpse : body, living or dead.
 corpulency : solidity, bodily nature.
 crambe : stale, tedious.
 crany : cranium.
 crisis : mixture of humours. *i.e.* temperament.
 cretaceous : containing chalk.
 cruciated : crossed.
 crucigerous : bearing the figure of a cross.
crusero : (Italian) cross.
 cummin-seed, to cut a : to split hairs.
 cunctation : delay.
cuneus : wedge (military).
 cupel : vessel made of pounded bone-ash used in assaying gold or silver with lead.
 curiosities : subtleties.
 current (divinity) : having the quality of current coin, *i.e.* 'sterling', authoritative.
 currie, a : a short run, a brief race, *i.e.* life.
 Dashed with : qualified by.
 dastard, (*vb*) : intimidate.
 decimation : selection of every tenth number.
 deflexion : turning of the magnetic needle away from its zero.
 decretory : authoritative, final.
 decussated, decussative, decussatively : intersecting in the form of an X.
 decussation : intersection in the form of an X.
 deformity : difference in form.
 delator : informer.
 deliveries : accounts, relations.
 demonstrations : demonstrable truths.
 denominate : give a name to, characterize.
 deprave : corrupt ; defame, vilify.
 depravedly : in a corrupt form.
 derived to one another : communicated to one another.
 derived (ray) : trajected.
 desires : desirers.
 devotions : devout men.
 diabolism : slander.
 diameter with, stand in : be in a diametrical opposition to.
 diameters, diminish their : reduce their proportions.
 diametrally : diametrically.
 diametrals : diameters.
 dichotomy : severing in two.
 dictates : maxims.
 dietetical conservation : preservation of food.
 difference (*vb*) : show the difference between ; define more closely.

- differing : capable of observing slight differences.
- digladiation : (gladiatorial) contest.
- disavouch : disavow.
- discernments : discerners.
- discretions : discreet persons.
- discruciating : excruciating.
- discuss : shake off.
- displacencies : dissatisfaction, discontent.
- dissentaneous thereunto : differing from.
- distributive justice : the opposite of 'commutative justice' (*q.v.*), consisting in the distribution among several parties of something in shares proportionate to their several deserts.
- diuturnity : long duration.
- divinity : divines.
- donatives : gifts.
- dorado* : a gorgeous fish, here used figuratively for a rich man.
- dormative : sleeping-draught.
- doublings : reverses ; duplicity.
- draught : drawing, sketch.
- ductor : leader.
- Earless : deaf.
- eccentric : eccentric, not mutually concentric.
- ecliptically : in the direction of the sun's (apparent) annual motion in the ecliptic.
- ecstatic souls : persons in a trance.
- edificial : architectural.
- edified : constructed.
- effront : embolden.
- elater : spring, elasticity.
- eleemosinaries : beggars.
- elemental composition : combination of elements.
- embezzle : squander, dissipate.
- embryon : embryonic, undeveloped.
- empyrean, empyrean (*adj.*) : belonging to the sphere of fire, or highest heaven.
- empyrean (*n.*) : the highest heaven.
- enharden : embolden.
- enquiries : enquirers.
- entelecheia* : the actual being, as opposed to simple capacity of existing.
- ephemerides : diaries ; astronomical tables.
- epidemical : prevalent, common to all.
- epitome, by : by a short cut.
- equable : equitable.
- equal : impartial ; equitable.
- equally : impartially.
- equicrural : isosceles.
- equivocal production : abnormal production, *sc.* spontaneous generation.
- ergotism : logically deduced conclusions.
- ethnic (superstition) : Gentile.
- evacuate : render void, needless.
- evulsion : plucking out, extraction.
- exaltation (of gold) : purification.
- exantlation (of truth) : pumping out truth, as from a well, at the bottom of which it is said to live.
- exasperate : embitter, aggravate.

- exception : objection.
 excoriable : capable of being stripped off.
exedrae : halls, parlours.
 exenteration : disembowelling.
 exequies : funeral rites.
 exiguity : smallness.
 exility : smallness.
 exolution (more correctly exsolution) : rapturous languor.
 exorbitancies : enormities, excessiveness.
 exorbitancy : extravagance.
 exordial : introductory.
 expatiate : rove without limitation.
 expilator : pillager.
 explantations : offshoots.
 explication : unfolding, opening.
 expressions : marks, characters.
 exsuccous : dry, juiceless.
 exsuperances : excellences.
 extance : emergence, external existence.
extempore : all at once.
 extemporary (knowledge) : intuitive.
 extenuate : make less, depreciate.
 extract : abstract, epitome.
 extramission : emission.
- Faces : *sc.* on coins and medals.
 faculty : authority, power.
 faith : believer.
 fair : favourable, lucky.
 fasciated : bandaged up.
 fasciation : bandages.
 favaginous : resembling a honeycomb.
feretra : biers.
 ferity : barbarity.
- festination : haste.
 fictile : moulded by the potter.
 flatuous : resulting from inflation.
 flaws : squalls of wind.
fol : (French) mad.
 foraminous roundles : round forms full of holes.
forceps : a shear-shaped battle-array.
 fore-being : pre-existence.
 forewriters : previous writers.
 forlorn : insignificant.
fougade : a small powdermine.
 frustum : the portion of a cone left after cutting off the upper part by a plane parallel to the base.
 fulciment : fulcrum.
 funambulatory (track) : like the course of a ropewalker.
 furdling : furling.
 fusil : a heraldic bearing in the form of an elongated lozenge.
- Gallature : treadle, or germ of an egg.
 galliardize : merriment.
 geomancer : diviner by means of signs derived from the earth, *e.g.* figures assumed by earth scattered at hap-hazard.
 glome : ball or clue of yarn or worsted.
 graff : graft.
 grain (*vb*) : dye in grain = fast.
 grate : iron cage.
 gratitudes : grateful persons.

- gravelled : perplexed,
 puzzled.
 greener studies : youthful
 studies.
 gust : taste.
 gustation (spiritual) : tasting
- Haggard : intractable, wild.
hastati : spear - armed
 Roman soldiers, who
 fought in the first line.
 hatches : engraved lines,
 especially those by which
 shading is represented.
 heads : thinkers.
 heliacal : spiral.
 helix : spiral line.
helluo : (Latin) glutton.
 hermetical philosophers :
 disciples of Hermes Tris-
 megistus, addicted to al-
 chemistry.
 histrionism : acting.
 holocausts : entire burnt-
 offerings, as opposed to
 mere peace-offerings.
 homicide : used for suicide.
 honesties : honest men.
 hoodwink : blindfold.
horae combustae : the time
 when the moon is in
 conjunction and obscured
 by the sun.
 horny-coat : cornea of the
 eye.
 hug ourselves : congratu-
 late ourselves.
 hull about : float about
 without rudder or sails.
 humidity, metropolis of :
 the brain.
 humorist : one who grati-
 fies his own humours.
 humorous depravity of
 mind : depravity arising
 from some special ' hum-
 our ', or idiosyncrasy.
- hydropical : dropsical.
 hypogæum : vault.
 hypomochlion : fulcrum.
 hypostasis : distinct sub-
 stance.
- Ideated man : God's idea
 of man before the Crea-
 tion.
 impassible : immune from
 injury or detriment.
 impregnant : impregnated,
 pregnant.
 impropriations : taunts.
 inadvertent upon,
 steal : make gradually
 inadvertent.
 incession : movement.
 incinerable : capable of re-
 duction to ashes.
in coagulato : *v. in soluto*.
 incommixed : unmixed.
 incrassated : thickened.
 incrassation : thickening.
 incremable : incombust-
 ible.
 incurvate : render crooked.
 indenture (angle of) : in-
 dentation.
 indifferency : impartiality ;
 equality ; matter of in-
 difference.
 indifferently : impartially.
 inflexures : folds.
 inform : animate.
 informer : one who lays an
 ' information ' against,
 delator.
 ingenuities, grateful : men
 of grateful disposition.
 ingression : entrance.
 inhumation : burial.
 iniquous : unjust.
 innitency : leaning, pres-
 sure.
 inquinated : polluted, de-
 filed.

- inquisition : investigation.
 insensible : so small as to be incapable of being felt.
 insignificant : without significance or warning.
in soluto : in a state of extension, separated ; the opposite of *in coagulato*.
 instances of time : instants.
 integral conservation : preservation in its entirety.
 intelligences : human minds.
 intend : extend.
 intentions : intenders.
 interarboration : intermixture of branches of trees on opposite sides.
 intercolumniation : the space between adjacent columns.
 intercurrence : intervention.
 internodial : between the joints.
 inversedly : upside-down.
 intermissive : intermittent.
 item : intimation, suggestion.
 iterately : repeatedly, frequently.

 Jubilee : a period of fifty years ; a time of deliverance, of rejoicing.
 judgments : judges, persons of judgment.

 Lacteous stars : the Milky Way, Charles' Wain.
 ladder : *v.* scale.
 laqueary combatants : gladiators using the noose, or lasso.
 larix : larch.
 larron : (French) thief.
 lash : soft, watery.
 latitude (of years) : extent.
 lazy (of Brazil) : sloth.

 laureat draft : picture with laoreal.
 leaden planet, that : Saturn.
 lecture : reading.
 lectures of (morality) : discourses on.
 ligation : binding.
 liquation : state of melting.
 liveries, to wear our : to be in our service.
 livery (without a) : reward.
 lixivious : alkaline.
 longanimity : forbearance.
 lower : later.
 luciferously : luminously.
 lure : bait.

 Madness, statute- : madness defined by law
 madness, the short : anger.
 maggot, in the house of the solitary : 'there being a single maggot found almost in every head'—
Note by the author.
 magisterial and masterpieces : chief works, *chefs d'œuvre*.
 magnalities : great works, great things.
 malign : regard with hatred.
 mannerliest : most respectful, most reverential.
 mansion : fixity.
 map (of time) : course.
 mascle : a lozenge voided (heraldic).
 material (*vb*) : materialize
 mediocrity : moderation.
 member, thy best : *sc.* the tongue.
 memorist within us, the punctual : *sc.* the conscience.
 Mercurial characters, the : letters or figures relating to Mercury.

- merits : deserts (in a bad sense).
- metempsychosis : transmigration of the soul.
- meticulously : timidity.
- microcosm : world in miniature, used for (1) man, (2) the womb.
- microcosmical circumference : limits of the human body.
- minorate : diminish.
- minority : nonage.
- mistle-berry : mistletoe-berry.
- mitral : mitre-shaped.
- moderating : nicely balancing.
- moderator : arbiter, judge.
- motives : moving forces, or influences.
- mutilate : mutilated.
- mutin* : (French) stubborn.
- mystery : craft, trade.
- mystery of religion, the greatest : *sc.* the Incarnation.
- Naked (appetite) : natural, simple.
- naked nominations : mere names.
- nakedly (know) : without disguise.
- name, I dislike nothing but the : *sc.* Protestantism.
- native notes : birth-marks.
- naturality : naturalness.
- natures, contemplative : men of contemplative nature.
- navel, the man without a : *sc.* Adam, who was not born of woman.
- neat : unadulterated, simple.
- noctambulo : somnambulist.
- non ultra* : limit beyond which it is impossible to go.
- numerical : individual.
- numerists : those who treated of numbers.
- Obliquations : obliquity.
- observator : watcher, observer.
- obtain : hold good, be valid.
- obvert : turn aside.
- obvious (good) : easily procured.
- olympiad : space of four years.
- omneity : allness, opposed to 'nullity'.
- oneirocritical masters : authorities on dreams.
- opacous : dark.
- opiniatrety : pertinacity in opinion.
- opinion (*vb.*) : opine, suppose.
- orbity : bereavement.
- osseous : bony.
- ossuary : receptacle for the bones of the dead.
- ostiary : mouth of a river.
- ostracion : a genus of fish.
- Painted (mistakes) : fictional, deceptive.
- palative (delights) : of the palate.
- panoplia : complete suit of armour of the Greek *hoplite*.
- pantaloon : buffoon.
- pappous : furnished with a *pappus*, or down, *e.g.* dandelions.
- parallaxis : parallax, the difference in the apparent position of an object caused by a different position of the point of observation.

- paralogical : false, illogical,
 paramour : lover, not in a
 bad sense.
 parcels : quantities.
 particularities : peculiar-
 ities.
 patron (*vb*) : patronize.
 peradventure of, to make
 a : to call in question.
 perflation : through-current
 of air.
perihypate meson, or *si fa ut* :
 the *hypate* is the first
 (most grave) string in the
 lyre, the lowest of the
 tetrachords, a scale of
 four notes, the oldest
 Greek musical system and
 the basis of all later.
 pericardium : bag of the
 heart.
periæci, to be but their :
i.e. placed only at a dist-
 ance in the same line,
 opposed to 'Antipodes',
 or opposites.
 periphrasis : circumlocution.
 periscian state, in a : *i.e.*
 with shadows all round.
 perish upon : die for the
 sake of.
 perpend : weigh mentally,
 consider carefully.
 perpetuity : *v.* students of
 perpetuity.
 perspectives : telescopes.
 pertinacy : pertinacity.
 phylactery : guard.
 phytognomy : physiology
 of plants.
 phytology : science of
 plants, botany.
pia mater : the innermost,
 as *dura mater* is the outer-
 most, membrane envelop-
 ing the nervous mass of
 the brain.
 pickthank delators : offi-
 cious informers.
 pieties : pious men, pious
 actions.
 pismire : ant, emmet.
 plashes : puddles, pools.
 Platonic (description) :
 without a rigid definition.
 plausible : worthy of ap-
 plause or praise.
 plunged : puzzled.
 pointers, the : the two stars
 in the Great Bear that
 point to the Pole Star.
 poisons : poisonous crea-
 tures.
 polary life, a : a life like that
 obtaining at the Poles.
 poltroon : (*n.*), coward ;
 (*adj.*), base.
 ponderation : weight, act of
 weighing.
 posy : motto or inscription
 on a ring.
 potion, the State : *sc.* hem-
 lock.
poultron : (French) cowardly.
 practised (conclusions) :
 practical.
 precedents : tokens.
 precogitations : previous
 thoughts.
 pre-existimation : higher
 esteem.
 prejudicate (*adj*) : pre-
 judged.
 prescious : foreknowing.
 prescript : direction.
 prescription, make : regard
 as one's right.
 prime (baronet) : premier.
 principals : main subject.
principes : heavy-armed
 Roman knights who
 fought in the second
 line, after the *hastati*.
 process of the text : context.

profound (*vb*): fathom, investigate; plunge into.
 progressional: preparatory.
 progressionally: gradually.
 propense to: inclined to.
 propension unto: inclination for.
 proprietaries: proprietors.
 propriety: property.
 pucelage: virginity.
pulvinaria: a kind of mediæval embroidery done in cross-and-tent stitch.
 puncticular: of the size of a pin's head, minute.
 punctilio: point, minute part.
 punctual: precise, exact.
 punctually: precisely, exactly.
 pyral combustion: burning on a funeral pyre.

Quadrate, to: to 'square with', suit.
 queasy: fastidious, easily upset.
 questuary: for the sake of profit.
 quincuncial: arranged in the form of a quincunx.
 quincunx: an arrangement of five objects such that four occupy the corners, and the fifth the centre, of a square or other rectangle.
 quinquernio: a set of five.
 quodlibetically: a *quodlibet* was a scholastic debate on some philosophical or theological question capable of discussion and solution from more than one point of view.
 quotidian: daily.

Radication: process of taking root.
 railed into: driven into by railing.
 rampiers: ramparts.
 rapt: rapture.
 rational: *rationale*.
 reaction: retaliation.
 reasons: reasonable persons.
 reception (without): application to themselves.
 recompensive (justice): which compensates for inequalities.
 reduce: bring back to its former state; force to adopt.
 reflex: reflection; consideration.
 reflux: ebb.
 regiment within, that unruly: *sc.* the evil passions.
 Register of Christ: the roll of the unbaptized.
 rejoices: rejoicings.
 relentment: relaxation, dissolution.
 relish of: taste of.
 remora: obstacle.
 rencounter: conflict.
 reprobated; condemned to everlasting punishment.
 required: sought for.
 resolution: solution, explanation, determination.
 resolutions, desperate: men of desperate resolution.
 resound: echo.
 respective: partial.
 respectively: in relation to.
 restraint of, upon: restrained by conditions.
 resume themselves again: become themselves once more.

- retiary : net-like ; web-making.
- retiary combatants : gladiators who used the net, with a trident, and a dagger.
- reticulate : formed of network.
- retracted (looks) : unfrank.
- retribute unto : render back to.
- retrograde hereafter, to be : to return from old age to the perfection of manhood.
- reverberated : fused as in a furnace.
- revolve : examine.
- rhapsodies : rhapsodical books.
- rodomontado : vain boasting.
- roundles : rungs of a ladder ; round forms.
- rubs : collisions, 'friction'.
- Salamander's wool : a kind of asbestos or mineral flax.
- salient (animals) : which move by leaping.
- sallow (*n.*) : willow.
- saltires : an ordinary consisting of a cross in the form of the letter X, a St Andrew's Cross.
- salve : save.
- salvically for us (died) : for our salvation.
- sanctum sanctorum* : holy of holies.
- sation : sowing.
- scabbed : afflicted with the skin disease *scabies*.
- scale : ladder.
- scape : escape ; escapade.
- scheme : external form.
- Schools : Schoolmen.
- scintillation : sparkling.
- Scripture of the heathens : *sc.* the Book of Nature.
- scrupulous, were not : had no objection.
- seases : perhaps a misprint for *seats*.
- sea-stars : star-fish.
- secondine : after-birth.
- secutores* : the pursuer, in gladiatorial contests.
- sella curulis* : aedile chair.
- seminalities of vegetables : power of producing vegetables.
- seminals : germs.
- sesquitercian : bearing the ratio of 1 to $1\frac{1}{2}$, or 3 to 4.
- sharp, to play at : to fight in earnest.
- shop (vegetable) : kingdom.
- signality : signification.
- signatures : signs.
- simple (*vb*) : to seek for simples, botanize.
- sinistrous unto : awkward in, ill-disposed towards.
- sinistrously : disingenuously.
- smallage : celery.
- society : co-operation ; help.
- solemnity : annual ceremony.
- solicitous of : concerned about ; careful.
- solisequious (plants) : which 'follow the sun', *i.e.* turn to it as it 'moves'.
- sorites* : series of elliptical syllogisms (*logical term*).
- sortileges* : divination by lot.
- specious : beautiful.
- speculate : ponder upon.
- spend upon (a false scent) : back upon, follow up.

speran : spermaceti.
 sperm : seed.
 spermatical : pertaining to the seed.
 spicated, spicous : spike-shaped, eared like corn.
 spindles : stalks.
 Spintrian : obscene.
 squamous : scaly.
 statistas : statesmen, politicians.
statua : statue.
 statute-madness : *v.* madness.
 stenography : shorthand.
 stint : limit.
 strift : striving.
 students of perpetuity : seekers after immortality.
 sun, that terrestrial : *sc.* gold.
 super-heresies : heresies within heresies.
 supinity : supineness, indolence.
 supposed (abilities) : unquestionable.
 supputation : computation.
 surd : deaf.
 suspensory : undogmatic, with judgment suspended.

Tables (game of) : backgammon.

tegument : covering.

telarly : in a web-like fashion.

temerarious : rash.

tempers, confident : persons of confident temper.

tenacle : small hook.

tenth sphere : last sphere before the empyrean (*q.v.*)

tenuifolious : narrow-leaved

teretous : cylindrical and tapering.

testa : (Latin) an earthen vessel.

testaceous : made of earthenware.

testify their possession : bear witness that they were possessed by them.

tetric : sullen, morose.

textuary (*n.*) : authority.

textury : weaving.

theorems, bivious : doubtful speculations.

theorems of reason : acknowledged truths.

theoretical mistakes : mistakes in speculation.

theory : speculation.

theta : Θ , the mark of death (*thanatos*) inscribed on the Greek judge's *tessara*, or ballot.

thrum : bushy internal parts of a flower.

thwart (*adj.*), thwarting : transverse.

tincture : tinge ; colour ; stain.

tortile : twisted.

traduction : propagation.

trajection : emission.

transanimation : transmigration of the soul.

transcorporating : holding the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

transom : thwart piece across a double window or across the lights separated by mullions.

transpeciate : change into another species.

treasure : treasury.

triarii : veterans of the Roman legion, of acknowledged valour, who occupied the third line.

triquetrous : three-edged.

Trisagion : *sc.* 'Holy, holy, holy'.

trite (road) : well-worn.

trivial : common ; trifling.

trope : figure-of-speech.

tropical (expressions) : figurative.

tropics and deflexions, let vicious ways have their : turn back and turn aside from vicious ways, the tropic being the place where the sun 'turns', after reaching its greatest declination north or south.

tubes : telescopes.

Ubi : habitation, for *ubi habitat*, where he dwells.

U finita : rule without exception.

uliginous : slimy.

univocacy : settled order.

uncous : hooked.

under-heads : inferior persons.

understandings, the wisest : men of the wisest understanding.

underweening : underestimating.

uniterable : incapable of being repeated.

unreclaimed (reason) : undisciplined.

urging (fire) : fierce.

use upon use : interest upon interest, here used merely to signify reduplication.

ustrina : crematorium.

ustrinum vas : vessel in which the dead were burnt.

Utinam, a melancholy : a regretful wish.

Vacuities : open spaces.

vaired coats : coats charged with *vair* (heraldic).

Vein, the Royal : one of the veins of the arm opened in blood-letting.

veneficial : using sorcery.

venially : pardonably.

venny : a bout at fencing.

ventilation : fanning.

verticities : rotations.

vespilloes : corpse-bearers.

vice, that inhuman : malice.

Victory of '88 : the Spanish Armada, 1588.

vinosity : winy quality.

visive : visual.

vitiosity : viciousness.

vitrication : conversion into glass.

volée, à la : at random.

volutation : rolling.

votes (of Hell) : wishes.

Ward, lie at close : are successfully on the defensive, hold at bay.

wheel : *sc.* of Fortune.

Yvrongne : (Old-French), drunken.

Zeals : zealous men.

zenith : height of prosperity.

Zoilism : a carping and malignant nature.

