

Religio medici. / By Sir Tho. Browne, Knt. M.D. A new edition, corrected and amended. With notes and annotations never before published, upon all the obscure passages therein. To which is added The life of the author. Also Sir Kenelm Digby's observations.

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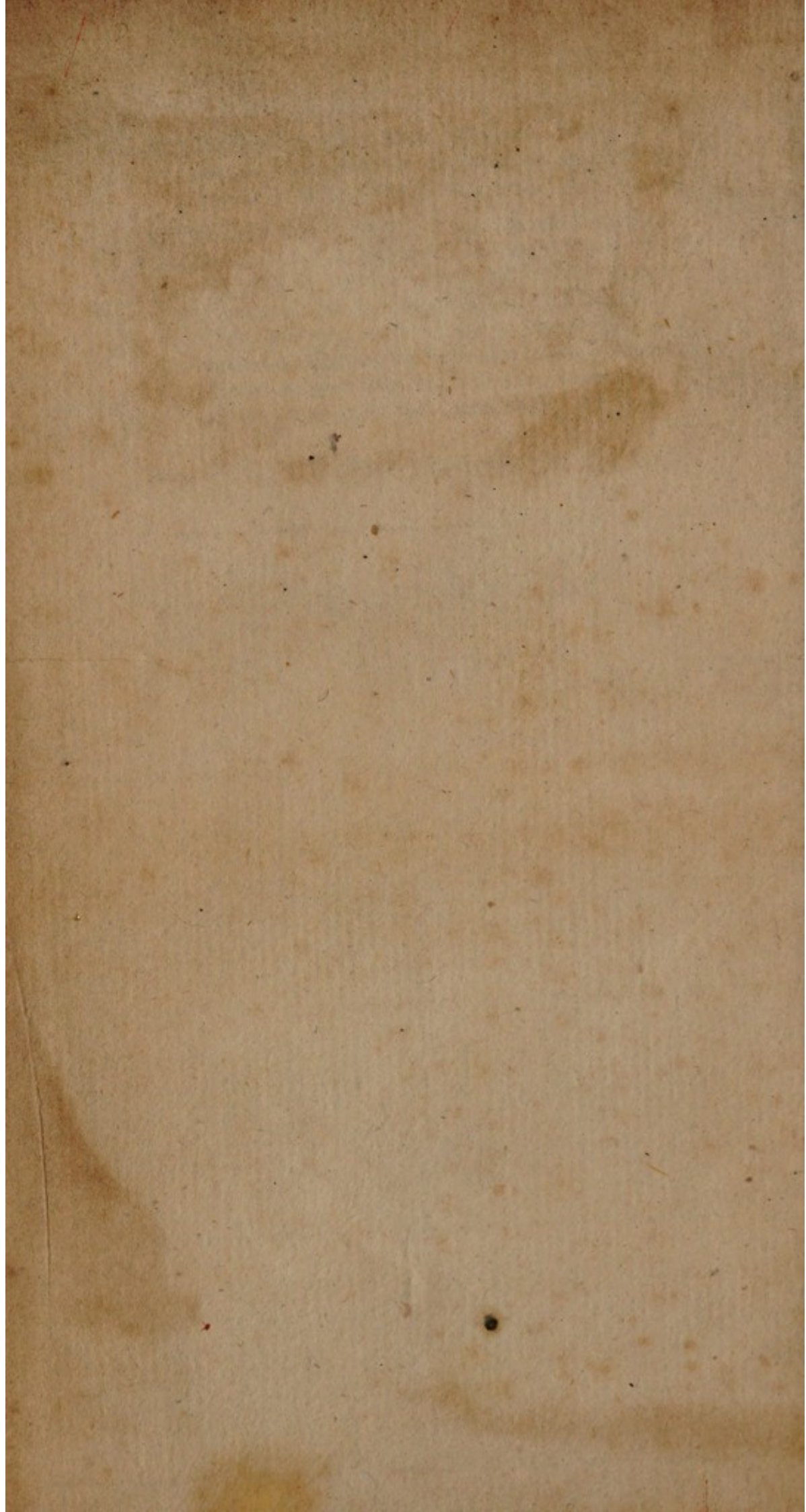
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BROWNE'S (Sir Thomas) Works, containing Vulgar and Common Errors, Religio Medici—Hydriotaphia, or Urn Burial, and Tracts, *fine portrait, folio, calf*, 18s. 1686

BROWNE (Sir Thomas) The Works of, including his Unpublished Correspondence and Memoir, edited by S. Wilkin, *port.* 4 vols. 8vo. *cloth*, £1 11s. 6d. 1846

A great English writer: he ennobles and consecrates whatever he touches. Past and present, life and dissolution, time and immortality, seem to meet in his works as in a fane 'for festal purpose.' Never surely by any other writer has so much sentiment been put into the dry bones of antiquity.—*Retrospective Review*.







3683
RELIGIO
MEDICI.

By Sir THO. BROWNE, Knt. *M. D.*

A New EDITION, Corrected and Amended.

WITH
NOTES and ANNOTATIONS

Never before published,

Upon all the obscure Passages therein,

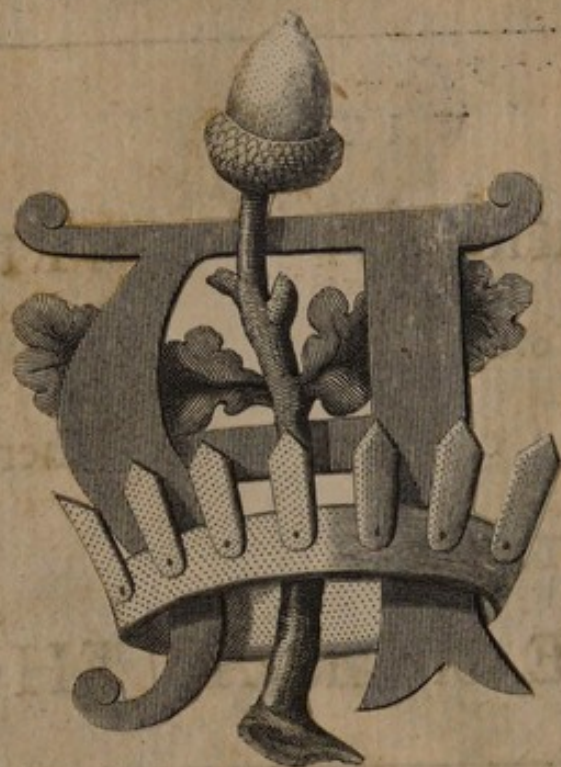
To which is added

The LIFE of the AUTHOR.

ALSO
Sir KENELM DIGBY'S
OBSERVATIONS.

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. TORBUCK, in *Clare-Court*, near *Drury-Lane*; and C. CORBETT, against *St. Dunstan's Church* in *Fleet-street*. M,DCC,XXXVI.



Printed for J. Toner, in Great Court, near Court
Lane, and C. Courtenay, against St. Dunstons Church
in London. M.DCCCXXVI.



*A LETTER sent by Sir
THO. BROWNE, upon the
Information of Animad-
versions to come forth up-
on the imperfect and sur-
reptitious Copy of Religio
Medici, whilst this true
one was going to Press.*

Honoured Sir,

GIVE your Servant, who
hath ever honour'd you,
leave to take Notice of a
Book at present in the Press, in-
tituled (as I am informed) *Ani-
madversions* upon a Treatise lately
printed under the Name of *Religio
Medici*, whereof, I am advertised,
you have condescended to be the

Author. Worthy Sir, permit me to affirm there is contain'd therein nothing that can deserve the Reason of your Contradictions, much less the Candour of your *Animadversions*; and to certify the Truth thereof, That Book (whereof I do acknowledge myself the Author) was penn'd many Years past, and (what cannot escape your Apprehension) with no Intention for the Press, or the least Desire to oblige the Faith of any Man to its Assertions. But what hath more especially emboldened my Pen unto you at present, is, That the same Piece, contrived in my private Study, and as an Exercise unto myself rather than an Exercitation for any other, having pass'd from my Hand under a broken and imperfect Copy, by frequent Transcription it still run forward into

Corrup-

Corruption, and after the Addition of some Things, Omission of others, and Transposition of many, without my Assent or Privacy, the liberty of these Times committed it unto the Press; whence it issued so disguised, the Author without Distinction could not acknowledge it. Having thus miscarried, within a few Weeks I shall, God willing, deliver unto the Press the true and intended Original (whereof in the mean Time your worthy Self may command a View) otherwise whenever that Copy shall be extant, it will most clearly appear how far the Text hath been mistaken, and all Observations, Glosses, or Exercitations thereon, will in a great part impugn the Printer or Transcriber, rather than the Author. If after that, you shall esteem it worth your vacant

Hours to discourse thereon, you shall but take that liberty which I assume myself, that is, freely to abound in your Sense as I have done in my own. However you shall determine, you shall sufficiently Honour me in the Vouchsafe of your Refute, and I oblige the whole World in the Occasion of your Pen.

Norwich.

Your Servant,

T. B.

Worthy



Worthy Sir,

Speedily upon the Receipt of your Letter of the third Current, I sent to find out the Printer that Mr. Crook (who delivered me yours) told me was printing something under my Name, concerning your Treatise of Religio Medici, and to forbid him any further proceeding therein; but my Servant could not meet with him; whereupon I have left with Mr. Crook a Note to that purpose, entreating him to deliver it to the Printer. I verily believe there is some mistake in the Information given you, and that what is printing must be from some other Pen than mine; for such Reflections as I made upon your learn'd and ingenious Discourse, are so far from meriting the

A 5 Press,

*Press, as they can tempt no Body to a serious reading of them; they were Notes hastily set down, as I suddenly ran over your excellent Piece, which is of so weighty Subject, and so strongly penned, as requireth much Time, and sharp Attention but to comprehend it; whereas what I writ was but the Imployment but of one sitting; and there was not twenty-four Hours between my receiving my Lord of Dorset's Letter that occasioned what I said, and the finishing my Answer to him; and yet part of that Time was taken up in procuring your Book, which he desired me to read and give him an Account of, for till then I was so unhappy as never to have heard of that worthy Discourse. If that Letter ever comes to your View, you will see the high Value I set upon your great Parts; and if it should be thought I have
been*

been something too bold in differing from your Sense, I hope I shall easily obtain pardon, when it shall be considered, That his Lordship assigned it me as an Exercitation to oppose in it, for Entertainment, such Passages as I might judge capable thereof; wherein what liberty I took, is to be attributed to the Security of a private Letter, and to my not knowing (nor my Lord's) the Person whom it concerned.

But, Sir, now that I am so happy as to have that Knowledge, I dare assure you, that nothing shall ever issue from me but savouring of all Honour, Esteem and Reverence both to yourself and that worthy Production of yours. If I had the Vanity to give myself Reputation by entering the Lists in publick with so eminent and learned a Man as you are, yet I know right well, I am no ways able to do it; it would be a

very unequal Progress: I pretend not to Learning; those slender Notions I have, are but disjointed Pieces I have by chance gleaned up here and there. To encounter such a sinewy Opposite, or make Animadversions upon so smart a Piece as yours is, requireth such a solid stock and exercise in School-learning. My superficial Besprinkling will serve only for a private Letter, or a familiar Discourse with Lady-auditors. With longing I expect the coming abroad of the true Copy of that Book, whose false and stolen one hath already given me so much Delight. And so assuring you I shall deem it a great good Fortune to deserve your Favour and Friendship, I kiss your Hand and rest

Winchester
House.

Your most humble Servant,

KENELM DIGBY.



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

est 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
falsly

falsly fet 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, Reparation being within ourselves, I have at present represented unto the World a full and intended Copy of that Piece, which was most imperfect 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 leifurable 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
fundry

xvi *To the Reader.*

fundry Particulars and personal Expressions therein, will easily discern the Intention was not publick: 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 dissidentaneous 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

more that I suspected myself. It was set down many Years past, and was the Sense of my Conception 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 passed Apprehension, which are not agreeable unto my present Self. There are many Things delivered Rhetorically, many Expressions therein meerly 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

xviii *To the Reader.*

Judgments shall authorize them:
Under favour of which Confide-
rations I have made its Secrecy pub-
lick, and committed the Truth
there to every ingenuous Reader.

THO. BROWNE.



THE



THE
ANNOTATOR
TO THE
READER.

A Gellius (Noct. Attic.
l. 20. cap. ult.) *notes*
some Books that had
strange Titles; Pliny (Præfat. Nat.
Hist.) speaking of such, could not
pass them over without a Jeer:
So strange (saith he) are the Titles
of some Books, That it is the Oc-
casion why many have forfeited
their Recognizances. And Seneca
saith, Some such there are, That
they would even stop a Man who was
fetching

xx The Annotator

fetching a Midwife to a Woman in Labour. *Of the same Fate this present Tract Religio Medici hath partaken: Exception by some hath been taken to it in respect of its Inscription, which, say they, seems to imply that Physicians have a Religion by themselves, which is more than Theology doth warrant: But it is their Inference, and not the Title, that is to blame; for no more is meant by that, or endeavoured to be prov'd in the Book, than that (contrary to the Opinion of the Unlearned) Physicians have Religion as well as other Men.*

For the Work it self, the present Age hath produced none that has had better Reception amongst the Learned; it has been received and fostered by almost all, there having been but one that I know of (to verify that Books have their

their Fates from the Capacity of the Reader) *that has had the Face to appear against it; that is Mr. Alexander * Roffe; but he is dead, and it is uncomely to skirmish with his Shadow. It shall be sufficient to remember to the Reader, that the noble and most learned Knight, Sir Kenelm Digby, has delivered his Opinion of it in another Sort, who though in some Things he differs from the Author's Sense, yet hath he most candidly and ingeniously allow'd it to be a very learned and excellent Piece; and I think no Scholar will say there can be an Approbation more authentick. Since the Time he published his Observations upon it, one Mr. Jo. Merryweather, a Master of Arts, of the University of*

* In his *Medicus Medicatus*.

xxii The Annotator

Cambridge, hath deem'd it worthy to be put into the universal Language, which about the Year 1644, he performed; and that hath carried the Author's Name not only into the Low-Countries and France (in both which Places the Book in Latin hath since been printed) but into Italy and Germany; and in Germany it has since fallen into the Hands of a Gentleman of that Nation * (of his Name he hath given us no more than L. N. M. E. N.) who hath written learned Annotations upon it in Latin, which were printed together with the Book at Strasbourg, 1652. And for the general good Opinion the World had entertained both of the Work and

* That he was a German appears by his Notes, Page 35, where he hath these Words, *Dulcissima nostra Germania, &c.*

Author, *this Stranger tells you* *: Among other Authors, a Book has lately fallen into my Hands intituled *Religio Medici*, which I find has been read with pleasure and delight by the most Learned of the Age. I was not ignorant that this Book was in great Esteem in *England, France, Italy* and *Germany*; I knew it was not only publish'd in *England, Holland*, and at *Paris*, with a Preface, containing large Encomiums upon the Author, but according to many very learned Men, the Author appears (as far as may be discovered by his Writings) to be a Person of Religion and Piety, &c. *But for the Worth of the Book, it is so well known to every Englishman that is fit to read it, that this At-*

* In *Præfat. Annotat.*

xxiv The Annotator

testation of a Foreigner may seem superfluous.

The German, to do him right, hath in his Annotations given a fair Specimen of his Learning, shewing his Skill in the Languages as well ancient as modern; as also his Acquaintance with all manner of Authors, both sacred and prophane, out of which he has amass'd a world of Quotations; but yet, not to mention that he hath not observed some Errors of the Press, and one or two main Ones of the Latin Translation, whereby the Author is much injured: It cannot be denied but he hath pass'd over many hard Places untouch'd that might deserve a Note; that he hath made Annotations on some where no need was; in the Explication of others hath gone besides the true Sense.

And

And were we free from all these, yet one great Fault there is, he may be justly charg'd with, that is, that he cannot forbear making Remarks even in Matters the most obvious; which is an Affectation ill-becoming a Scholar; witness the most learned Annotator Claud. Minos. Divion. in Præfat. Cominentar. Alciat. Emblematis. præfix. It is better (saith he) to touch lightly upon such Things which every one understands, than to expatiate upon them by a tedious Rhapsody.

I go not about by finding fault with his, obliquely to commend my own; I am as far from that, as 'tis possible others will be: All I seek, by this Preface, next to acquainting the Reader with the various Entertainment of the Book, is, that he would be advertized,
a
that

xxvi The Annotator

that these Notes were collected ten Years since, long before the German's were written; so that I am no Plagiary (as who peruseth his Notes and mine will easily perceive:) And in the second place, that I made this Recuil meerly for mine own Entertainment, and not with any Invention to evulge it; Truth is my Witness, the Publication proceeds meerly from the Importunity of the Bookseller (my special Friend) who being acquainted with what I had done, and about to set out another Edition of the Book, would not be denied these Notes to annex to it; 'tis he (not I) that divulgeth it, and whatever the Success be, he alone is concern'd in it; I only say*

* Excepting two or three Particulars, in which reference is made to some Books that came over since that Time.

*for myself what my Annotations
bear in the Frontispiece,*

Nec fatis est vulgasse fidem——

*That is, that it was not enough
to all Persons (tho' pretenders to
Learning) that our Physician had
publish'd his Creed, because it
wanted an Exposition. I say fur-
ther, that the German's is not full,
and that (——— though I am be-
neath the Censure of the Learn-
ed ———) my Explications do in
many Things illustrate the Text
of my Author.*





T H E
L I F E
O F

Sir THOMAS BROWNE, K^{nt}.

SIR *Thomas* was the eldest Son of Mr. *Thomas Browne*, Merchant, descended from an ancient Family at *Upton* in *Cheshire*, and was born in the Parish of *St. Michael's, Cheapside, London*, the 19th of October, 1605. His Father dying when he was very young, left him a handsome Fortune, but his Mother marrying soon after to Sir *Thomas Dutton*, he was left entirely to the Care of his Guardians, one of whom had the Villany to defraud him of a great Part of his Fortune. They sent him however to be educated at *Wakeham's Grammar-School* near *Winchester*, and in the Year 1623 he was entered a Commoner at *Broadgate's-Hall*, now called *Pembroke College*, in the University of *Oxford*. Jan. the 31st, 1626, he took the Degrees of Batchelor of Arts, and afterwards that of Master, entered on the Physick Line, and

and practised that Faculty in *Oxfordshire* for some Time.

He travelled afterwards into Foreign Countries, lived at *Montpelier*, *Padua* and *Leyden*, where he was made Doctor of Physick, and upon his Return to *England*, took his Degree of Doctor at the University of *Oxford*, *July* the 10th, 1637; about which Time, by the Persuasion of his Tutor, Mr. *Thomas Lushington*, he removed to *Norwich*, where he practised Physick with the greatest Reputation and Success.

The Honour he had acquired by his excellent Writings, not only gained him the Esteem of his own Countrymen, who were famous for Learning, but likewise those of foreign Nations, with whom he corresponded, and who frequently applied to him for his Opinion in some nice Points of Learning, amongst these were *Gruter*, *Windet*, *Theodore Jones*, of *Ireland*, &c. he was likewise peculiarly serviceable to Sir *William Dugdale*, in his History of *imbanking and draining of divers Fens and Marshes*, &c. published in the Year 1662. Neither was the Honour of his Practice confined to the narrow Limits of the City where he lived, but gained him so general a Reputation, that the College of Physicians of the City of *London* complimented him with a *Diploma*, and in Honour to his Memory, his Picture is to be seen at this Day in their College. About the latter End of *September*, 1671, King *Charles* the Second

being at *Norwich*, conferred the Honour of *Knighthood* upon him, with special Assurances of his Royal Favour.

But to come to his Writings. In the Year 1642, he published this excellent Treatise, intituled, *RELIGIO MEDICI*, which he was obliged to upon Account of a *spurious Copy* sent to the Press, and in his *Preface* greatly complains of the Errors of that *Copy*.

In the Year 1643, a Tract was published, intituled, *Observations upon RELIGIO MEDICI*, occasionally written by Sir Kenelm Digby, *Knt.* Another Edition of which was printed at *London* in 1644. The general Commendation Sir Kenelm gives of this curious Piece, may be seen in his *Observations* here bound together with the original Work.

In the Year 1645, an Answer to *RELIGIO MEDICI* was published by *Alexander Ross*, under the Title of, *Medicus Medicatus: Or, The Physician's Religion cured by a Lenitive or gentle Potion, &c.* But this met with a very indifferent Reception from the Publick. About the same Time Annotations upon the most obscure Passages therein were published by an unknown Hand, and not long after, the *RELIGIO MEDICI* was translated into *Latin* by Mr. *John Merryweather*, Master of Arts, of *Magdalen College* in *Cambridge*, who, from the different Sentiments entertained abroad of his Book, met with some Difficulty to have his Translation printed, at *Leyden* in *Holland*, three several Booksellers

or Printers, *Haye, de Vogel*, and *Christian* refusing it; but was at length printed by *Hackius*, who undertook it after two Days Deliberation. The Translator had the Satisfaction to find his Version re-printed at *Strasburg* in 1652, with *Latin* Annotations, by *Levinus Nicolaus Moltkius* a German, who informs us in his Preface, that the Book itself, which is translated into *French, Italian, German, Dutch, &c.* has been much admired by the Learned and Curious. All these Particulars shew in what Esteem this Book was, by the Desire every Nation had to read it in their own Language. The Authors of the *Acta Eruditorum*, in the first Volume of their Supplement, published at *Leipsick* in 1692, pass this Judgment upon it, That it is full of excellent Precepts, among which are inserted some Paradoxes.

Besides the *RELIGIO MEDICI*, our Author published another Book at *London*, Anno. 1646, intituled, *PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA*: Or, *Enquiries into very many received Tenets, and commonly presumed Truths*: Or, *Enquiries into common and vulgar Errors*: The Sixth Edition whereof in 1673 was enlarged by the Author, with many Explanations and Alterations. Father *Niceron* in his *Memoirs, Pour servir à l'Histoire des hommes illustres*, gives this Character of it; That it is an excellent Work, and contains a Variety of curious Observations. A Translation of it was published in *High-Dutch*, Anno

Anno 1680, by Christian Nor, Baron of Ro-seuroth, under the Name of Christopher Paganus. Alexander Ross, finding that no Notice was taken of his Remarks upon RELIGIO MEDICI, published others equally trifling upon the PSEUDODOXIA EPIDEMICA, under the Title of, Arcana Microcosmi: Or, The hidden Secrets of Man's Body discovered, Anno 1652. This Book was likewise answered by Dr. John Robinson a Physician, Anno 1656, in a Tract, intitled, Eudoxa, seu Questionum quarundam Miscellanearum examen probabile; which met with the same Fate as that of Alexander Ross.

In the Year 1658 our Author published another Treatise, intitled, HYDRIOTAPHIA: Or, *A Discourse of sepulchral Urns, lately found in NORFOLK.* Wherein he gives an Account of the Manner of burning dead Bodies among the Romans, Britains, Saxons, and Danes, together with the Garden of Cyrus, or the Quincunical Lozenge or Network Plantations of the Antients, artificially, naturally, mystically considered, with sundry Observations.

Another Book was likewise published, Anno 1657, under our Author's Name, intitled, *Nature's Cabinet unlock'd, wherein is discovered the natural Causes of Metals, Stones, precious Earths, &c.*

The following is Dr. Wood's Character of it; 'A dull worthless Thing, stole for the most Part from the Physicks of *Magirus* by

‘ by a very ignorant Person, a Plagiary so
 ‘ ignorant and unskilful, that not distin-
 ‘ guishing *Lævis* and *Levis* in the said *Ma-*
 ‘ *girus*, he hath told us of the Liver, that
 ‘ one Part of it is gibbous, and the other light;
 ‘ and yet had the Confidence to call this
 ‘ Scribble, *Nature’s Cabinet unlocked*; an ar-
 ‘ rogant and fanciful Title, of which our
 ‘ Author’s true Humility would no more
 ‘ have suffered him to be Father, than his
 ‘ great Learning could have permitted him
 ‘ to have been the Author of the said Book.

Besides those published by himself, three
 others have been printed since his Death.
 First his *Miscellany Tracts*, published from
 our Author’s Manuscripts, by Dr. Thomas
Tenison, late Archbishop of Canterbury. Con-
 taining 1. *Observations upon several Plants*
mentioned in Scripture. 2. *Of Garlands and*
Coronary or Garden Plants. 3. *Of the*
Fishes eaten by our Saviour with his Disciples
after his Resurrection. 4. *An Answer to cer-*
tain Queries relating to Fishes, Birds and In-
sects. 5. *Of Hawks and Faulconry antient*
and modern. 6. *Of Cymbals and other musical*
Instruments. 7. *Of Ropalick, or gradual*
Verses. 8. *Of Languages, particularly the*
Saxon. 9. *Of artificial Hills, Mounts and*
Boroughs in many Parts of England: What
they are, to what End raised, and by what
Nations. 10. *Of Troas, what Place is meant*
by that Name; also the Situation of Sodom,
Gomorrhah, Zeboim in the dead Sea. 11. *Of*
the

the Answers of the Oracle of Apollo at Delphos, to Croesus King of Lydia. 12. *A Prophecy concerning the future State of several Nations.* 13. *Musæum clausum: Or, Bibliotheca abscondita.* Containing some remarkable *Books, Antiquities, Pictures,* and *Rarities* of several Kinds, scarce ever seen by any Man now living.

The Second was printed in the Year 1716, intituled, *Christian Morals*, by Sir Thomas Browne of Norwich, M. D. and Author of the *RELIGIO MEDICI*, published from the *original and correct Manuscript of the Author*, by John Jeffery, D. D. Archdeacon of Norwich. The Third posthumous Work of his, is a Collection of Pieces containing first, *Repertorium: Or, The Antiquities of the Cathedral Church of Norwich*, 1680. 2. *Some Letters which passed between Mr. Dugdale and Dr. Browne, Anno 1658.* 3. *An Account of Ireland, Anno 1662.* 4. *Concerning some Urns found in Brampton-Field in Norfolk, Anno 1667.* 5. *Against the too nice Curiosity of censuring the present, or judging into future Dispensations.* 6. *Upon reading Hudibras.* 7. *A Letter to a Friend upon the Death of his intimate Friend.*

He wrote a Treatise likewise, intituled, *De lucis causâ & Origine*, in a Letter to Isaac Vossius, with whom he had a Dispute upon that Subject: Printed at Amsterdam in 1663, and criticised on Vossius's Work *de Natura & Proprietate Lucis*, wherein he strongly maintains

maintains *Des Cartes* Hypothesis. He also wrote an Apology for the *Cartesian* Philosophy, in Opposition to a Divine, named *Vogelsang*.

Thus much for our Author's Writings. I come now to the Character of his Person. His Complexion and Hair was brown, his Stature moderate, and Habit of Body neither fat or lean. His Manner of Cloathing plain and unaffected. He was well skilled in *Astronomy*, *Geography*, *Geometry*, *Natural History* and *Botany*; and had so excellent a Memory, that he not only remembered what was most remarkable in the Books he read, and knew those Persons he had once seen, at any Distance of Time; but the Particulars of their Conversation. In the *Latin Poets* he remembered all that was most acute and pungent, and his Observation upon *History*, both antient and modern, were singular, and such as are not made by ordinary Readers. He was so much Master over his Passions, as always to make them controulable by his Reason; was never seen transported with Mirth, or dejected with Sorrow; always chearful, but rarely merry, and seldom heard to break a Jest without being apt to blush at the Levity of it. Those who knew him only by his Writings, found themselves deceived in their Expectation when they came into his Company, from the Gravity of his Aspect and Conversation; for he was so far from being loquacious, that
it

it was difficult to engage him in any Discourse, tho' when once engaged in it, was singular and uncommon. He was very careful to improve his Time, and so impatient of Sloth and Idleness, that he would often say, He could not do nothing. Sir Thomas understood most of the *European* Languages, viz. All contained in *Hutter's Bible*; the *Greek* and *Latin* he understood critically. As to his Religion, tho' the Gentlemen of his Faculty have fallen under the Disgrace of having very little; yet he has declared himself in his *RELIGIO MEDICI*, to be a steadfast Member of the Church of *England*, preferring its Doctrine before any in the World, and for this Reason he says himself, *Because every Part of it squares unto his Conscience, and its Articles, Constitutions and Customs seem so consonant to Reason, &c.* He was a Man of exemplary Patience, which was founded upon true *Christian Philosophy*, and an humble Submission to the Providence of God, which he shewed to the Day of his Death. He died at *Norwich* on the 19th of *October*, (the Day of his Birth) *Anno* 1682, in the Seventy Seventh Year of his Age, and was buried in the Church of *St. Peter's Mancroft* at *Norwich*, where there is a Mural Monument erected to his Memory, fixed to the *South* Pillar of the Altar.



RELIGIO MEDICI.

SECTION I.



FOR my Religion, though there be several Circumstances that might perswade the World I have none at all, as the general Scandal of my (a) Profession; the natural Course of my (b) Studies;
B the

ANNOTATIONS.

(a) Physicians (of the Number whereof it appears by several Passages in this Book the Author is one) do commonly hear ill in this behalf. It is a common Speech (but only amongst the unlearned Sort) of *three Physicians, two Atheists*. The Reason why those of that Profession, (I declare myself that I am none, but a moderate Pleader of Causes, to use *Horace's* Phrase) may be thought to deserve that Censure, the Author rendreth, § 19.

(b) The Vulgar lay not the Imputation of Atheism only upon Physicians, but upon Philosophers in general, who for that they give themselves to understand the Operations of *Nature*, they calumniate them, as though they rested in the second Causes without any Respect to the first. Hereupon it was, that in the tenth Age Pope *Silvester* the Second pass'd for a Magician, because he understood Geometry and Natural Philosophy. *Baron. Annal.* 990. And *Apuleius* long before him labour'd

the Indifferency of my Behaviour and Discourse in Matters of Religion (*c*), neither violently defending one, nor with that common Ardour and Contention opposing another; yet in Despite hereof, I dare, without Ufurpation, assume the honourable Stile of a Christian. Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font (*d*), my Education, or Climate wherein I was born, as being bred up

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bour'd of the same Suspicion upon no better Ground; he was accus'd, and made a learned Apology for himself, and in that hath laid down what the Ground is of such Accusations, in these Words: *It is the general Opinion of the Vulgar and Illiterate, that those Philosophers, who search into natural Causes, are not only without any Religion; but even deny the Existence of the Gods, as Anaxagoras, Lucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus, with other Enquirers into the Secrets of Nature.* Apul. in Apolog. And it is possible that those that look upon the second Causes scattered, may rest in them and go no further, as my Lord Bacon in one of his *Essays* observeth; but our Author tells us there is a true Philosophy, from which no Man becomes an Atheist. § 46.

(*c*) Bigots are so oversway'd by a preposterous Zeal, that they hate all Moderation in Discourse of Religion; they are the Men forsooth—who allow no Religion but that they profess themselves.—*Erasmus* upon this Account makes a great Complaint to Sir *Thomas More*, in an Epistle of his touching one *Dorpius* a Divine of *Lovain*, who because, upon Occasion of Discourse betwixt them, *Erasmus* would not promise him to write against *Luther*, told *Erasmus*, that he was a *Lutheran*, and afterwards publish'd him for such; and yet as *Erasmus* was reputed no very good Catholick, so for certain he was no Protestant.

(*d*) As most do, taking up their Religion according to the Way of their Ancestors; this is to be blamed amongst all Persons: It was practised as well amongst Heathens as Christians.

I take

up either to confirm those Principles my Parents instilled into my Understanding, or by a general Consent proceed in the Religion of my Country : But having in my riper Years and confirmed Judgment, (e) seen and examined all, I find myself obliged by the Principles of Grace, and the Law of my own Reason, to embrace no other Name but this : Neither doth my Zeal herein 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 Stile, than maligning those who refuse so glorious a Title.

§ 2. BUT because the Name of a Christian is become too general to express our Faith, there being a Geography of Religion (f) as well as Lands, and every Cli-

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mate

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I take that sacred Oath my Father took before, saith Ascanius in Virgil: And Apuleius notes it for an Absurdity, Which do you think the greatest Scandal to a Philosopher, to know such Things or to be Ignorant of them? To neglect or to observe them? To consult Providence in Matters of Religion, or implicitly to embrace the Religion of our Ancestors? saith he in Apolog. and so doth Minutus! Not one of you consider that you ought first to know God before you worship him, while you are inconsiderately taught to be guided by your Parents; and choose rather to embrace the Errors of others, than to believe yourselves. Minut. in Octav.

(e) According to the Apostolical Precept, *Try all Things, and hold fast to that which is good.*

(f) i. e. of Christian Religion, which you may see describ'd in Mr. Brerewood's Enquiries; he means not of the Protestant

mate 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 (*g*); 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 decay'd, impair'd, 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, (*b*) the slender Means whereby, the low

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Protestant Religion; for though there be a Difference in Discipline, yet the *Anglican*, *Scotic*, *Belgic*, *Gallican*, and *Helvetic* Churches differ not in any essential Matter of the Doctrine, as by the *Harmony of Confessions* appears, in the 5th Letter of *Theodore Beza* to Bishop *Grindal*.

(*g*) That is *Lutheran*, *Calvinist*, *Zuinglian*, &c.

(*b*) This is graphically described by *Thuanus* in his History: But because his Words are too large for this Purpose, I shall give it you somewhat more briefly, according to the Relation of the Author of the History of the Council of *Trent*. The Occasion was the Necessity of Pope *Leo X*, who by his Profusion had so exhausted the Treasure of the Church, that he was constrained to have recourse to the publishing of Indulgencies to raise Monies: Some of which he had destined to his own Treasury, and other Part to his Allies, and particularly to his Sister he gave all the Money that should be raised in *Saxony*; and she, that she might make the best Profit of the Donation, commits it to one *Aremboldus*.

low and abject Condition of the Person by whom, so good a Work was set on Foot,

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boldus, a Bishop, to appoint Treasurers for these Indulgences. Now the Custom was, that whensoever these Indulgences were sent into *Saxony*, they were to be divulged by the Fryars *Eremites* (of which Order *Luther* then was) but *Aremboldus's* Agents thinking with themselves, that the Fryars *Eremites* were so well acquainted with the Trade, that if the Business should be left to them, they should neither be able to give so good an Account of their Negotiation, nor yet get so much themselves by it as they might do in Case the Business were committed to another Order; they thereupon recommend it to (and the Business is undertaken by) the *Dominican* Fryars, who perform'd it so ill, that the Scandal arising both from thence, and from the ill Lives of those that set them on Work, stirred up *Luther* to write against the Abuses of these Indulgences; which was all he did at first; but then, not long after, being provoked by some Sermons and small Discourses that had been published against what he had written, he rips up the Business from the Beginning, and publishes 95 *Theses* against it at *Wittenberg*. Against these, *Tekel* a *Dominican* writes; then *Luther* adds an Explication to his; *Eckius* and *Prierius*, *Dominicans*, thereupon take the Controversy against him: And now *Luther* begins to be hot; and because his Adversaries could not found the Matter of Indulgences upon other Foundations than the *Pope's* Power and Infallibility, that begets a Disputation betwixt them concerning the *Pope's* Power, which *Luther* insists upon as inferiour to that of a *general Council*; and so by Degrees he came on to oppose the Popish Doctrine of *Remission of Sins*, *Penances*, and *Purgatory*; and by Reason of Cardinal *Cajetans* imprudent Management of the Conference he had with him, it came to pass that he rejected the whole Body of Popish Doctrine. So that by this we may see what was the accidental Occasion, wherein the slender Means whereby, and the abject Condition of the Person by whom, the Work of Reformation of Religion 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.

§ 3. Yet have I not so shaken Hands with those desperate Resolvers, who had rather venture at large their decay'd Bottom, than bring her in to be new trimm'd 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 reform'd from them, not against them (*i*); for omitting those Improperations,
and

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(*i*) Which by Mr. Merryweather is thus render'd, *sc.* *Nec tamen in vecordem illum pertinacium hominum gregem memet adjungo, qui labefactatum navigium malunt fortunæ committere quàm in navale de integro resarciendum deducere, qui malunt omnia promiscuè retinere quàm quicquam inde diminuere, & pertinaciter esse qui sunt quàm qui olim fuerunt, ita uti isdem ex diametro repugnent: ab illis, non contra illos, reformationem instituimus, &c.* And the Latin Annotator sits down very well satisfied with it, and hath bestowed some Notes upon it; but under the Favour both of him and the Translator, this Translation is so far different from the Sense of the Author, that it hath no Sense in it; or if there be any Construction of Sense in it, it is quite besides the Author's Meaning; which will appear if we consider the Context, by that we shall find that the Author in giving an Account of his Religion, tells us first, that he is a Christian; and farther, that he is of the reform'd Religion; but yet he saith, in this Place, he is not so rigid a Protestant, nor at Defiance with Papists so far, but that in many Things he can comply with them, (the Particulars he afterwards mentions in this Section) for, saith he, we have reform'd
from

and Terms of Scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our Affections, and not our Cause,

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from them, not against them; that is, as the *Archbishop* of *Canterbury* against the *Jesuit* discourseth well, We have made no new Religion nor Schism from the old; but in calling for the old, and desiring that which was novel and crept in might be rejected, and the Church of *Rome* refusing it, we have reform'd from those upstart novel Doctrines, but against none of the old: And other Sense the Place cannot bear; therefore how the *Latin Annotator* can apply it as though in this Place the Author intended to note the *Anabaptists*, I see not, unless it were in Respect of the Expression, *a perverse Herd of obstinate Men*; which truly is a Description well befitting them, though not intended to them in this Place: However, I see not any Ground from hence to conclude the Author to be any whit inclining to the *Bulk* of Popery (but have great Reason from many Passages in this Book to believe the contrary) as he that prefix'd a Preface to the *Parisian Edition* of this Book hath unwarrantably done.

But for the Mistake of the Translator, it is very obvious from whence that arose. I doubt not but it was from the Mistake of the Sense of the *English Phrase*, *Shaken hands*, which he hath rendred by these Words, *Memet adjungo*, wherein he hath too much play'd the Scholar, and shew'd himself to be more skilful in foreign and ancient Customs, than in the vernacular Practice and Usage of the Language of his own Country; for although amongst the *Latins* Protension of the Hand were a Symbole and Sign of Peace and Concord (as *Alex. ab Alexandro*; to give the Hand in earnest, signified the Desire of Friendship, (saith he) *Gen-Dier. lib. 4. cap. ult.* which also is confirmed by *Cicero pro Dejotaro*; and *Cæsar, l. 2. of the War against the Gauls*) and was used in their first Meetings, as appear by the Phrase, *To join Hands in Token of Friendship*; and by that of *Virgil*,

We prayed for Peace and stretched our feeble Hands.

and

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 prophane our Prayers, or the Place wherein we make them; or that a resolved Conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in Places devoted to his Service; where if their Devotions offend him, mine may please him; if theirs prophane 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, natu-

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and many like Passages that occur in the Poets, to which I believe the Translator had Respect; yet in modern Practice, especially with us in *England*, that Ceremony is used as much in our *Adieu's* as in the *first Congress*; and so the Author meant in this Place, by saying he had not *shaken Hands*; that is, that he had not so deserted, or bid farewell to the *Romanist*, as to stand at Sword's Point with them: And then he gives his Reasons at those Words, *For omitting those Improperations, &c.* So that instead of *memet adjungo*, the Translator should have used some Word or Phrase of a clean contrary Signification; and instead of *ex diametro repugnent*, it should be *repugnem*.

rally

rally inclin'd 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 Motions 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 Journies of Pilgrims, or condemn the miserable Condition of Fryers ; 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 direct their Devotions to her, I offer mine to God, and rectify the Errors of their Prayers, by rightly ordering my own :

* A Church Bell that tolls every Day at Six and Twelve of the Clock ; at the hearing whereof, every one in what Place soever, either of House or Street, betakes himself to his Prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin. This Custom is not only among the *Papists*, but the *Lutherans* ; but these do not direct their Prayers to the Virgin.

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 askint on the Face of Truth, and those unstable Judgments that cannot resist in the narrow Point and Center of Virtue without a Reel or Stagger to the Circumference.

§ 4. As there are many Reformers, so likewise many Reformatations ; every Country proceeding in a particular Way and Method, according as their national Interest, together with their Constitution and Climate, 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 Extreams, the Contrarieties in Condition, Affection and Opinion, may with the same Hopes expect an Union in the Poles of Heaven.

§ 5. But

§ 5. 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 our selves, to compute the Nativity of our Religion from *Henry* the Eighth, who though he rejected the Pope, refus'd not the Faith of *Rome* (k), and effected no more

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than

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(k) So much *Buchanan* in his own Life written by himself testifieth, who speaking of his coming into *England* about

than what his own Predecessors desired and assayed in Ages past, and was conceived the State of *Venice* would have attempted in our Days(i). 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 temporal Prince, we owe the Duty of good Language : I confess there is a Cause of Passion between us ; by his Sentence I stand excommunicated, Heretick 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 Satyrs and Invectives of the Pulpit may perchance produce a good Effect on the Vulgar, whose Ears are opener to Rhetorick than Logick ; yet do they in no wise confirm the Faith of wiser Believers, who know that a good Cause needs not to be pleaded by Passion, but can sustain it self upon a temperate Dispute.

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about the latter End of that King's Time, saith : *But at that Time every Thing was upon so precarious a Footing, that those of both Factions were burnt the same Day, and with the same Fire, Henry the 8th. having more Regard to his own Security than to the Purity of Religion.* And for Confirmation of this Assertion of the Author, *vide Stat. 31 H. 8. Cap. 14.*

(i) This Expectation was in the Time of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, who by excommunicating that Republick, gave occasion to the Senate to banish all such of the Clergy as would not by Reason of the Pope's Command administer the Sacraments ; and upon that Account the *Jesuits* were cast out, and never since received into that State.

§ 6. 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 within a few Days I should dissent myself (*l*). 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 (*m*), nor fit to take up the Gauntlet in the Cause of Verity: Many from the Ignorance of these Maxims, and
an

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(*l*) I cannot think but in this Expression the Author had respect to that of the excellent French Writer, Monsieur Montaigne (in whom I often trace him). *How differently do we judge of Things? how often do we change our Fancies? what I believe To-day I believe stedfastly. But has it not often happened to me, not only once but a thousand times, nay even every Day, that I have been of a different Opinion.* Montaign. lib. 2. des Essais. Cap. 12.

(*m*) A good Cause is never betray'd more than when it is prosecuted with much Eagerness, and but little Sufficiency, and therefore Zuinglius, though he were of Carolistadius's Opinion in the Point of the Eucharist against Luther, yet he blamed him for undertaking the Defence of that Cause against Luther, not judging him able enough for the Encounter:

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 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

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counter: *Who has not Strength enough*, saith he of *Carlostad*, alluding to that of *Horace*,

*Let Authors first, before they write a Page,
Choose such a Subject as they have Strength to engage.*

So *Minutius Felix*; *Self-evident Truth generally has a different Appearance in proportion to the Capacity of the Disputants and the Force of Eloquence.* *Minut. in Octav.* And *Lactantius* saith, this Truth is verified in *Minutius* himself; for *Him, Tertullian* and *Cyprian*, he spares not to blame (all of them) as if they had not with Dexterity enough defended the Christian Cause against the Heathens. *Lactantius of Justice, chap. 1.* I could wish that those that succeeded him had not as much Cause of Complaint against him; surely he is noted to have had many Errors against the Faith.

* It is reported that there was a strange Animal near *Thebes*, called *Sphynx*, which offered a certain Riddle to be explained to every one who passed that Way, and those who could not explain it were torn in Pieces by that Animal. *OEdipus* went to this Place, and discovered the Meaning of the Riddle, and made it publick, whence comes this Proverb, *Davus sum non OEdipus*, that is, *I am a heavy Fellow and not quick of Apprehension.*

Truce,

Truce, find a Way to loose those Bonds wherewith the Subtleties of Error have enchain'd our more flexible and tender Judgments. In Philosophy, where Truth seems double-fac'd, there is no Man more Paradoxical than myself; but in Divinity I love to keep the Road (*n*); 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 have no Gap for Heresy, 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 Au-

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(*n*) Appositely to the Mind of the Author, saith the Publisher of Mr. *Pembel's Book Of the Origin of Forms*: *We ought certainly to avoid broaching any new Doctrine in the Pulpit, lest it should endanger the Peace of the Church, and the Truth of the Gospel; but ought to confine ourselves to a certain Rule of speaking, which St. Austin very piously and prudently advises, lest too great a liberty of Speech should generate a new Sect. But in the Schools where we swear against no Doctrine, and dispute freely without hazarding the Peace of the Church and our own Salvation, we have a greater liberty of Thought and Expression.* Capet, in Ep. Dedicat. *Pembel. de Origine Form. Præf.*

thors, but like the River *Arethusa* †, though they lose their Currents in one Place, they rise up again in another (o): One general Council is not able to extirpate one single Herefy; it may be cancell'd 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 *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;

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(o) Who would not think that this Expression were taken from Mr. *Montaigne*, l. 2. *des Ess. cap. 12*. Where he hath these Words, *Nature teaches us in her ordinary Course, that the Belief, the Judgment and Opinions of Mankind have their Revolutions as well as all other Things*; and that *Montaigne* took it from *Tully*. For Men's Opinions don't die with themselves, *Tull. de Nat. Deor. l. 1, &c.* Of the River *Arethusa* thus *Seneca*: *You shall see the Fountain Arethusa, so celebrated by the Poets, pouring out the coolest and most limpid Streams, whether it receives the Water from its original Source, or mixed from several Rivers, still preserves its Purity and pours forth the same.* *Senec. de consolat. ad Martiam.*

† This River is in *Sicily*, near the City of *Syracusa*, but *Ferrarius* says that it is entirely dried up. See what *Strabo* in the 6th Book says of it, and *Virgil* in the 3d Book of his *Æneis*.

* A Revolution of certain thousand Years, when all Things should return unto their former Estate, and he be teaching again in his School as when he delivered this Opinion.

there

there hath been many *Diogenes**, and as many *Timons*†, though but few of that Name; Men are liv'd over again, 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 as it were his revived Self.

§ 7. Now the first of mine was that of the *Arabians* (p). 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

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(p) For this Heresy, the Author here sheweth what it was; they are called *Arabians* from the Place where it was fostered; and because the *Herefiarch* was not known, *Euseb.* *St. August.* and *Nicephorus* do all write of it: The Reason of this Heresy was so specious, that it drew Pope *John XXII.* to be of the same Perswasion. Where then was his Infallibility? Why, *Bellarmino* tells you he was nevertheless infallible for that; for, saith he, he maintained this Opinion when he might do it without peril of Heresy, for that no Definition of the Church, whereby 'twas made Heresy, had preceded when he held that Opinion. *Bellar. l. 4. de Pontif. Roman. cap. 4.* Now this Definition was first made ('tis true) by Pope *Benedict* in the fourteenth Age; but then I would ask another Question, that is, If 'till that Time there was nothing defined in the Church touching the Beatitude of Saints, what certainty was there touching the Sanctity of any Man? and upon what ground were those Canonizations of Saints had, that were before the fourteenth Age?

* The Life of *Diogenes* is to be found in *Laertius*.

† The extraordinary Inhumanity of *Timon* the *Athenian*, is to be found in *Lucian*, *Aristophanes*, *Plato*, and many other Authors.

Philosophy hath yet thoroughly disproved, and that both entred the Grave together, yet I held the same Conceit thereof that we all do for the Body, that it rise again. Surely it is but the Merits of our unworthy Natures, if we sleep in Darknes until the last Alarm. 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* (q), 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 found therein no Malice, and a ready Weight to sway me from the other Extream 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 wish'd it had been consonant to Truth, and not offensive to my Religion, and that is the

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(q) Besides St. *Augustine*, *Epiphanius*, and also S. *Hierom* do relate that *Origen* held, That not only the Souls of Men, but the *Devils* themselves should be discharged from Torture after a certain Time; but *Genebrard* endeavours to clear him of this. *Vid. Coquæum, in 21 lib. Aug. de Civ. Dei, cap. 17.*

Prayer

Prayer for the Dead ; whereunto I was inclin'd from some charitable Inducements, whereby I could scarce contain my Prayers for a Friend at the Ringing of a Bell, or behold his Corps without an Orison for his Soul: 'Twas a good way methought to be remembred by Posterity, and far more noble than an History. These Opinions I never maintained with pertinacy, or endeavoured to enveagle 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 (r), but bare Errors, and single Lapses of my Understanding without a joynt 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

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(r) For to make an Heretick, there must be not only a Defect in the Understanding, but an Obstinacy in the Will. So St. Aug. *Those that defend their own Opinions, although they are false and perverse, without Obstinacy or Disturbance, and at the same time are seeking after Truth, and readily convinced when they have found it, are by no means to be deemed Hereticks.* Aug. cont. Manich. 24. qu. 3.

Villany

Villany of the first Schism of *Lucifer*, who was not content to err alone, but drew into his Faction many Legions, 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.

§ 8. That Heresies should arise, we have the Prophecy of Christ; 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 other: Even in the Doctrines heretical, there will be Super-heresies; and Arians not only divided from their Church, but also among themselves: For Heads that are disposed unto Schism, and complexionably propense to Innovation, are naturally-disposed for a Community; nor will be ever confined unto the Order or Œconomy 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

for there is yet, after all the Decrees of Councils, and the Niceties of Schools, many Things untouch'd, unimagin'd, wherein the Liberty of an honest Reason may play and expatiate with Security, and far without the Circle of an Heresy.

§ 9. As for those wingy Misteries in Divinity, and airy Subtleties in Religion, which have unhing'd 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 Misteries ours contains, have not only been illustrated, but maintained by Syllogism, and the Rule of Reason (s): I love to lose my self in a Mystery, to pursue my Reason to an *O altitudo!* 'Tis my solitary Recreation to pose my Apprehension with those involved Ænigma's 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 learn'd of Tertullian, It is true, because it is impossible. I desire to exercise my Faith in the difficultest Point; for to credit ordinary and visible Objects, is not Faith but Perswasion. Some believe the better for seeing Christ's Sepulchre; and when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the

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(s) And since this Book was written, by Mr. White in his *Institutiones Sacrae*.

Miracle.

Miracle (*t*). Now contrarily, I blefs 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 one of those *Israelites* that pass'd 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 not. '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 Cenotaphe, 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

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(*t*) Those that have seen it, have been better informed than Sir *Henry Blount* was; for he tells us, That he desired to view the Passage of *Moses* into the Red Sea (not being above three Days Journey off,) but the *Jews* told him the precise Place was not known within less than the Space of a Day's Journey along the Shore; wherefore (saith he) I left that as too uncertain for any Observation. *In his Voyage into the Levant.*

I rather use it in the Adjunct the Apostle gives it, a Buckler; 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 Platonick 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 live you tell me, *That the Soul is the Angel of Man, the Body of God, as Entelechia; Light the Shadow of God, as the Act of extraordinary Brightness (x);* where there is an Ob-

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(x) Great Variety of Opinion there hath been amongst the ancient Philosophers touching the Definition of the Soul. *Thales's* was, that it is a Nature without Repose; *Asclepiades*, that it is an Exercitation of Sense. *Hesiod*, that it is a Thing composed of Earth and Water; *Parmenides* holds, of Earth and Fire; *Galen*, that it is Heat; *Hippocrates*, that it is a Spirit diffused through the Body: Some others have held it to be Light; *Plato* saith, 'tis a Substance moving it self; and after him cometh *Aristotle* (whom the Author here reproveth) and goeth a Degree farther, and saith it is *Entelechia*, that is, that which naturally makes the Body to move. But this Definition is as rigid as any of the other; for this tells us not what the *Essence*, *Origine* or

* A Sphere whose Center is every where, and its Circumference no where: This Description is to be found in *Hermes*; but *Causabon* and other learned Writers imagine many Things imputed to *Hermes* which are none of his.

scurity too deep for our Reason, 'tis good to sit down with a Description, Periphrasis, or Adumbration; for by acquainting our

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or *Nature* of the *Soul* is, but only marks an *Effect* of it, and therefore signifieth no more than if he had said (as the Author's Phrase is) that it is *Angelus Hominis*, or an *Intelligence* that moveth Man, as he supposed those other to do the Heavens.

Now to come to the Definition of Light, in which the Author is also unsatisfied with the School of *Aristotle*, he saith, It satisfieth him no more to tell him that Light is the Act of extraordinary Brightness, than if you should tell him that it is the Shadow of God. The Ground of this Definition given by the *Peripateticks*, is taken from a Passage in *Aristot. de anima*, l. 2. cap. 7. where *Aristotle* saith, That the Colour of the Thing seen doth move that which is *perspicuum actu* (i. e.) *illustratam naturam quæ sit in aere aliove corpore transparente*) and that that, in regard of its Continuation to the Eye, moveth the Eye, and by its Help the internal *Sensorium*, or Place where the Sense is received; and that so Vision is perform'd. Now as it is true that the Sectators of *Aristotle* are too blame, by fastening upon him by occasion of this Passage, that he meant that those Things that made this Impression upon the Organs are meer Accidents, and have nothing of Substance; which is more than ever he meant, and cannot be maintained without Violence to Reason and his own Principles; so for *Aristotle* himself, no Man is beholden to him for any Science acquir'd by this Definition: For what is any Man the near for his telling him that Colour (admitting it to be a Body, as indeed it is, and in that Place he doth not deny) doth move *actu perspicuum*, when as the Perspicuity is in relation to the Eye; and he doth not say how it comes to be perspicuous, which is the Thing enquired after, but gives it that Denomination before the Eye hath perform'd its Office; so that if he had said it had been *umbra Dei*, it would have been as intelligible as what he hath said. He that would be satisfied how Vision is perform'd, let him see Mr. *Hobbs* in *Tract. de Nat. Human. cap. 2.*

Reason

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 Fields were not yet grown; for God had not caus'd it to rain upon the Earth (y). I believe that the Serpent (if we shall literally understand it) from his proper Form and Figure made his Motion on his Belly before the Curse (z). I find the Tryal of the Pucelage and Virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very * fallible (a). Experience and History informs

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me

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(y) *St. Aug. de Genes. ad literam cap. 5. 6.* salves that Expression from any Inconvenience; but the Author in *Pseudodox. Epidemic. l. 7. cap. 1.* shews that we have no Reason to be confident that this Fruit was an *Apple*.

(z) Yet the Author himself sheweth in *Pseudodox. Epidemic. lib. 7. cap. 1.* that the Form or Kind of this Serpent is not agreed on: Yet *Comestor* affirm'd it was a *Dragon*, *Eagubinus* a *Basilisk*, *Delrio* a *Viper*, and others a common Snake; but of what Kind soever it was, he sheweth in the same Volume, *lib. 5. c. 4.* that there was no Inconvenience that the Temptation should be perform'd in his proper Shape.

(a) *Locus extat. Deut. c. 22.* the same is affirmed by *Laurentius* in his *Anatom.*

* This Passage is in *Deuter. 22. 17.* This Affair is not absolutely decided among the Learned, it is still disputed whether

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 Sex (*b*); yet do I believe that all this is true, which indeed my Reason would perswade 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.

§ 11. In my solitary and retired Imagination (*neither am I thoughtless when alone, either in Bed or out of it*) I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to con-

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(*b*) Many Historiographers of *India* make mention of this, among others *Adrian de Donck* in his Description of the *New Netherlands*; and likewise by *Linschoten* where he speaks of the Custom of the Country. This is also proved by *Montaigne*, who says, That notwithstanding what Physicians tell us of the Pains of Women in Labour, and that we undergo them with so much Difficulty in *Europe*, there are whole Nations however, who make nothing of it. *L. 1. de Eff. Chap. 14.*

whether this Sign is infallible; and moreover, in what it consists. *Pincæus* has writ a little Treatise upon that Subject, and *Bartholin* in the 3^d Book of his *Anatomy*, Chap. 31. brings the Opinion of several to confirm it. But *Laurentius Capivaccius*, *Augenius*, and others, have fully confuted him. *Leo Afer* tells you it is the Custom at *Fex* in *Morocco*, to examine the Linnen of the Bride the Day after Marriage, and if it is not found bloody, she is sent back to her Parents with disgrace. The same Custom prevails in *Spain*. But it is possible to play so many Tricks to deceive Mankind, that these Proceedings are entirely uncertain.

template 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 Solœcism, or think thereof without an Extasy? Time we may comprehend (c); 'tis but five Days elder than ourselves,

C 2

selves,

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(c) Touching the Difference betwixt *Eternity* and *Time*, there have been great Disputes amongst Philosophers; some affirming it to be no more than *Duration perpetual consisting of Parts*; and others (to which Opinion, it appears by what follows in this Section, the Author adheres) affirmed (to use the Author's Phrase) that it hath no distinction of Tenses, but is according to *Boetius's* (*lib. 5. consol. prof. 6.*) Definition, *An entire and total Possession of an endless Life*. It is none of my Business to decide such Controversies; I shall only observe what each of them hath to say against the other. Say those of the first Opinion against those that follow *Boetius's* Definition; That Definition was taken by *Boetius* out of *Plato's Timæus*, and is otherwise applyed, though not by *Boetius*, yet by those that follow him, than ever *Plato* intended it; for he did not take it in the Abstract, but in the Concrete, for an *eternal Thing*, a *Divine Substance* by which he meant *God, or Soul of the World*; and this he did, to the Intent to establish this Truth, That no Mutation can befall the Divine Majesty, as it doth to Things subject to generation and corruption; and that *Plato* there intended not to define or describe any *Species* of Duration: And they say that it is impossible to understand any such *Species* of Duration that is (according to the Author's Expression) but one *permanent Point*.

Now that which those that follow *Boetius* urge against the other Definition is, They say it doth not at all difference *Eternity* from the Nature of Time; for they say if it be composed of many *Nuncs*, or many *Instants*, by the addition of one more, it is still encreased; and by that means

Infinity

selves, 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 *Moses*; and 'twas a short one, to confound Mortality, that durst question God, or ask him what he was; indeed he only is (*d*); all others have 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 wisest to explain, is in respect to God no prescious Determination of our Estates to come, but a definitive Blast of his Will already fulfilled, and at the Instant that he first decreed it; for to his Eternity which is in-

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Infinity or *Eternity* is not included, nor ought more than *Time*. For this, see Mr. *White*, *de Dial. Mundo*, *Dial.* 3. *Nod.* 4.

(*d*) This the Author infers from the Words of God to *Moses*, *I am that I am*; and this to distinguish him from all others, who (he saith) have and shall be: But those that are learned in the *Hebrew*, do affirm that the Words in that Place (*Exod.* 3.) do not signify, *I am what I am*, and *who is*, &c. but *I shall be he that shall be*, and *he that will be*, &c. Vid. *Gassend. in animad. Epicur. Physicolog.*

divisible,

divisible, and all together, the last Trump is already sounded, the Reprobates in the Flame, and the Blessed in *Abraham's* Bosom. *St. Peter* speaks modestly, when he saith, a thousand Years to God are but as one Day: 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.

§ 12. 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 (*e*): His * Similitude of a Triangle,

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(.) (That is, that God and the World both, were eternal.) I wonder more at either the Ignorance or Incogitancy of the *Conimbricenses*, who in their Comment upon the eighth Book of *Aristotle's Physicks*, treating of the Matter of Creation, when they had first said that it was possible to know it, and that actually it was known, (for *Aristotle* knew it) yet for all this they afterwards affirm, That considering only the Light of Nature, there is nothing can be brought to demonstrate Creation: And yet farther, when they had defined Creation to be the Production of a Thing

* Several Authors have endeavoured to enlighten the Mystery of the Trinity by Comparisons. See *Mornay on the Truth of the Christian Religion.*

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 (*f*), 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 thus united as to make but one

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Thing *from nothing*, and had proved that the World was so created in Time, and refused the Arguments of the Philosophers to the contrary, they added this, That the World might be created *from Eternity*: For having propos'd this Question [*Whether any Thing could be produced by God from Eternity?*] they defend the Affirmative, and assert, That not only incorporeal Substances, as Angels; or permanent, as the celestial Bodies; or corruptible, as Men, &c. might be produced and made *from Eternity*, and be conserved by an infinite Time, *in both Cases*; and that this is neither repugnant to God the Creator, the Things created, nor to the Nature of Creation; for Proof whereof they bring Instances of the *Sun*, which if it had been eternal, had illuminated eternally, (and the Virtue of God is not less than the Virtue of the Sun.) Another Instance they bring of the *divine Word*, which was produc'd *from Eternity*: In which Discourse, and in the Instances brought to maintain it, it is hard to say whether the Madness or Impiety be greater; and certainly if Christians thus argue, we have the more Reason to pardon the poor Heathen *Aristotle*.

(*f*) The *Peripateticks* held that Men had three distinct Souls, whom the Hereticks, the *Anomæi*, and the *Jacobites* followed. There arose a great Dispute about this Matter at *Oxford*, in the Year 1276, and it was then determined against *Aristotle*. *Daneus Christ. Eth. l. 1. c. 4.* and *Suarez* in his Treatise of the Cause of Forms: The Question was, *Whether several Forms are in one Compound?* affirmeth there was a Synod, that did *anathematize* all that held with *Aristotle* in this Point.

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 Magick 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 Pinacles and highest Pieces of Divinity. The severe Schools shall never laugh me out of the Philosophy of *Hermes*; that this visible World is but a Picture of the invisible, wherein as in a Pourtrait, Things are not truly, but in equivocal Shapes, and as they counterfeit some real Substance in that invisible Fabrick.

§ 13. 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 Recompence 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 it. 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* Eye; 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

* *Ἦν᾽ ὁ θεὸς σεαυτὸν*, *Know thy self*: This was writ over the Gate of the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*, according to *Plutarch*, the God to whom this Temple was dedicated, saluted and spoke these Words to the People who went thither to offer up their Prayers.

is but one Mind that decrees without Contradiction : Nor needs he any ; his Actions are not begot with Deliberation, his Wisdom naturally knows what is best ; his Intellect stands ready fraught with the Superlative and purest *Idea's* of Goodness ; Consultation and Election, which are two Motions in us, make but one in him ; his Action springing from his Power, at the first Touch of his Will. These are Contemplations Metaphysical : 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 ev'n to th' Abyss below ;
Rally the scatter'd 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're be known.
The Devils do know thee, but those damn'd
 Meteors*

*Build not thy Glory, but confound thy Crea-
tures.*

*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 Hea-
 vens discover.*

*And then at last, when homeward I shall drive
Rich with the Spoils of Nature to my Hive,
There will I set like that industrious Flie,
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
doeth

doeth the Will of his Father, shall be saved; 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.

§ 14. There is but ~~our~~ first Cause, and ~~one~~ four second Causes of all Things (g); some

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are

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(g) In that he saith there is but one first Cause, he speaketh in Opposition to the *Manichees*, who held there were *two first Causes*; One from whom came all Good, and the Other from whom came all Evil: The Reason of *Protagoras* did it seem impose upon their Understandings; he was wont to say, *If there is no God from whence proceed good Things? If there is one, whence proceed the Bad?* In that he saith, there are but four second Causes, he opposeth *Plato*, who to the four Causes, *material, efficient, formal, and final*, adds for a fifth, *exemplar or Idæa*, viz. *That by which an Artificer performs what he designed*; according to whose Mind *Boetius* speaks *lib. 3. mot. 9. de cons. Philosoph.*

*O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum Cæliq; sator, qui tempus ab ævo
Ire jubes, stabilisq; manens das cuncta moveri:
Quem non externæ pepulerunt fingere causæ
Materiæ fluitantis opus, verum insita summi
Forma boni livore carens: Tu cuncta superno
Ducis ab exemplo, pulchrum pulcherrimus ipse
Mundum mente gerens, similique in imagine formans
Perfectasq; jubens perfectum absolvere partes.*

And *St. Aug. l. 83. quæst. 46*, where (amongst other) he hath these Words, *It follows, therefore all things proceed from some Cause; but a Man and a Horse not from the same; for this would be absur'd; But all Things proceed from their own proper Causes. But these Idæa, Plato's Scholar Aristotle,*
would

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

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would not allow to make or constitute a different Sort of Cause from the *formal* or *efficient* ; to which Purpose he disputes *l. 7. Metaphysic.* but he and his Sectators, and the *Romists* also, agree (as the Author) that there are but the Four remembred Causes : So that the Author in affirming there are but Four, hath no Adversary but the *Platonists* ; but yet in asserting there are Four (as his Words imply) there are that oppose him, and the *Schools* of *Aristot.* and *Ramus.* I shall bring for Instance Mr. *Nat. Carpenter*, who in his *Philosophia libera* affirmeth, there is no such Cause as that which they call the *Final Cause* : He argueth thus : Every Cause hath an Influence upon its Effect, but so has not the End, therefore it is not a Cause. The *major* Proposition (he saith) is evident, because the Influence of a Cause upon its Effect, is either the Causality itself, or something that is necessarily conjoyn'd to it : And the *minor* as plain ; for either the End hath an Influence upon the Effect immediately, or mediately, by stirring up the Efficient to operate ; not immediately, because so it should enter either the *Constitution*, or *Production*, or *Conservation* of the Things ; but the Constitution it cannot enter, because the Constitution is only of *Matter* and *Form* ; nor the Production, for so it should concur to the Production, either as it is *simply the End*, or as an *Exciter of the Efficient* ; but not simply as the End, because the End *as End* doth not go before, but followeth the Thing produced, and therefore doth not concur to its Production : If they say it doth so far concur, as it is desired of the Agent or Efficient Cause, it should not so have an immediate Influence upon the Effect, but should only first move the Efficient. Lastly (saith he) it doth not enter the Conservation of a Thing, because a Thing is often conserved, when it is frustrate of its due End, as when its converted to a new Use and End. Divers other Arguments he hath to prove there is no such 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 beautiful a Structure, as the World and the Creatures thereof, was but his Art ; but their fundry 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

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Cause as the final Cause. *Nat. Carpenter, Philosop. liber. Decad. 3. Exercitat. 5.* But for all this, the Author and he differ not in Substance : For 'tis not the Author's Intention to assert that the End is in Nature præexistent to the effect, but only that whatsoever God has made, he has made to some End or other ; which he doth to oppose the Sectators of *Epicurus*, who maintain the contrary, as is to be seen by this of *Lucretius* which follows :

But now t'avoid their gross Mistake who teach
The Limbs were made for Work ; a use for each.
The Eyes design'd to see, the Tongue to talk,
The Legs made strong and knit to Feet to walk ;
The Arms fram'd long and firm, the servile Hands
To work, as Health requires, or Life commands ;
And so of all the rest, whate'er they feign,
Whate'er they teach, is Nonsense all, and vain ;
For proper Uses were design'd for none,
But, all the Members fram'd each made his own.
No Light before the Eye, no Speech was found
Before the Tongue, before the Ears no Sound.
In short, the working Seeds each Limb create,
Before its use, so 'tis not fram'd for that.

Lucret. lib. 4.

a Rea-

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's* Book *De usu partium*, as in *Suarez* Metaphysicks : Had *Aristotle* been as curious in the Enquiry 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.

§ 15. *Nature makes nothing in vain*, is the only indisputed Axiome in Philosophy ; there are no *Grotesques* in Nature (*b*) ; not any Thing 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 every where, 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 Admiration ; 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,

AN NOT A T I O N S.

(*b*) So *Mons. Montaigne*, *There is nothing in Nature useless, not even Uselessness it self. Nothing exists in the World but what is convenient.* Ess. 1. 3. c. 1.

Dromidaries

Dromidaries and Camels; these I confess, are the Colossus and majestick Pieces of her Hand: But in these narrow Engines there is more curious Mathematicks; and the Civility of these little Citizens, more neatly sets forth the Wisdom of their Maker. Who admires not *Regio Montanus's* Fly beyond his Eagle (i), or wonders not more at the Operation of two Souls in those little Bodies, than

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(i) Of these *Du Bartas*:

*Que diray je del' aigle,
D'ont un doct Aleman honore nostre siecle
Aigle qui dislogeant de la maistresse main,
Aila loin au devant d'un Empereur Germain;
Etl' ayant recontrè, soudaind' une aisle accortè
Se tour nant le suit au suel de la porte
Du fort Noremburgois, que lis piliers dorez,
Les tapissez chemius, les ares elabourez,
Les four droyans Canons, in la jeusnesse isnelle,
In le chena Senat, n' honnoroit tant come elle.
Un jour, quæ cetominer plus des esbats, que de mets,
En privè, festoyoit ses seigneurs plus a mees,
Une mousche de fer, dans sa main recolee,
Prit sans ayde d' autroy, sa gallard evolée:
Fit une entiere Ronde, & puis d' un cerveaulas
Come ayant jugement, se purcha sur son bras.*

Thus English'd by SYLVESTER.

Why should I not that wooden Eagle mention?
(A learned German's) late admir'd Invention,
Which mounting from his Fist that framed her,
Flew far to meet an *Almain* Emperor:
And having met him with her nimble Train,
And weary Wings turning about again,
Followed him close unto the Castle Gate
Of *Norémburg*; whom all the Shews of State,
Streets hang'd with Arras, Arches curious built,
Loud thund'ring Cannons, Columns richly gilt,

Gray.

than but one in the Trunk of a (k) 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 further Travel I can do in the Cosmography of myself; we carry with us the Wonders we seek without us (l): 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.

A N N O T A T I O N S.

Gray-headed Senate, and Youth's gallantize,
 Grac'd not so much as only this Device.
 Once as this Artist more with Mirth than Meat,
 Feasted some Friends that he esteemed great,
 From under's Hand an Iron Fly flew out,
 Which having flown a perfect round about,
 With weary Wings return'd unto her Master,
 And as (judicious) on his Arm she plac'd her.

(k) That is, the *Vegetative*, which, according to the common Opinion, is supposed to be in *Trees*, though the *Epicures* and *Stoicks* would not allow any Souls in Plants, but *Empedocles* and *Plato* allowed them not only a *vegetative* Soul, but affirm'd them to be *Animals*. The *Manichees* went farther, and attributed so much of the rational Soul to them, that they accounted it *Homicide* to gather either their Flowers or Fruit, as *St. Aug.* reports.

(l) So *St. Aug. l. 10. de civ. c. 3.* The greatest Miracle belonging to Mankind is himself.

Thus

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 publick Manuscript, that lies expans'd (*m*) 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 *Israel* *; 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 Hieroglyphicks, 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 the Schools, to be the Principle of Motion and Rest, but that streight and regular Line, that settled and constant Course the Wisdom of God hath ordained the Actions

ANNOTATIONS.

(*m*) So is the Description of *Du Bartas*, 7. jour de la *sepm.*

Study the Law of Nature and you'll find
Nought else is wanting to improve the Mind.

* See *Jos.* 10. 13. There are many Opinions upon this Matter. The Author of the *Præadamites* endeavours to explain it in the 5th *Chap.* of the 4th *l.*

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, 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 sweetneth the Water with a * Word, 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 Stroak 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 forelaid 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

* See *Exod.* Chap. 15. 25.

‖ See *Genes.* Chap. 7, and 8.

+ The only exception seems to be the Snake - this all
alike detest - perhaps from memory of God's origi
Religio Medici. not Case when it.

43

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 Writing. I hold there is a general Beauty in the Works of God, and therefore no Deformity in any Kind of Species or Creature whatsoever: I cannot tell by what Logick 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 pass'd that general Visitation of God, who saw that all that he had made was good, 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 is a Kind of Beauty, Nature so ingeniously contriving the irregular Parts, as they become sometimes more remarkable than the principal Fabrick. To speak yet more narrowly, there was never any Thing Ugly or Mis-shapen, 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,

World, and Art another. In brief, all Things, are artificial; for Nature is the Art of God (*n*).

This is the ordinary and open Way of his Providence, which Art and Industry have in a good Part discovered, whose Effects we may foretel without an Oracle: To foreflew these, is not Prophecy, but Prognostication. There is another Way full of Meanders and Labyrinths *, whereof the Devil and Spirits have no exact Ephimerides, and that is a more particular and obscure Method of his Providence, directing the Operations of Individuals and single Essences (*o*): This we call Fortune, that Serpentine and crooked

ANNOTATIONS.

(*n*) So Mr. *Hobbs*, in his *Leviathan* (*in the Beginning*) Nature is the Art whereby God governs the World.

(*o*) Things singular, or individuals, are in the Opinion of Philosophers not to be known but by the Way of Sense, or by that which knows by its Essence, and that is only God. The Devils have no such Knowledge, because whatsoever knows so, is either the Cause or Effect of the Thing known; thereupon *Averroes* concluded that God was the Cause of all Things, because he understands all Things by his Essence; and *Albertus Magnus* concluded, That the inferiour Intelligence understands the Superiour, because it is an Effect of the Superiour: But neither of these can be said to be of the Devil; for it appears he is not the Effect of any of these inferiour Things, much less is the Cause, for the Power of Creation only belongs to God.

* The River *Meandrus* is in *Great Phrygia*, in *Asia*, its Course is so very crooked, that *Dion Prusæus* reckons it to have no less than six hundred Turnings.

Line, whereby he draws those Actions his Wisdom intends in a more unknown and secret Way: This cryptick 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 Thicket came thither by Accident *; humane Reason would have said, that meer Chance convey'd *Moses* in the Ark to the Sight of *Pharaoh's* Daughter †; What a Labyrinth is there in the Story of *Joseph* ‖, able to convert a Stoick? 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 meer Hand of God. 'Twas not dumb Chance, that to discover the Fougade or Powder-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 For-

* *Abraham* being commanded by God to Sacrifice his Son, a *Ram* appeared in a Thicket, which he sacrificed. *Genf.* 22. 13.

† See *Exod.* Chap. 1. and 2.

‖ See *Genf.* Chap. 37.

** See History of King *James I.*

†† This Victory happened in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, Anno 1588. See *Camden*.

tune, to wit, the Tempests, and Contrariety of Winds. King *Philip* did not detract from the Nation, when he said, he sent his *Armado* 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 the Writing upon the Wall, we may behold the Hand, but see not the Springs that moves it. The Success of that petty Province of *Holland*, (of which the Grand *Seignior* proudly said, if they should trouble him as they did the *Spaniards*, he would send his Men with Shovels and Pick-axes, 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 (*p*), there is a Revolution and Vicif-

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(*p*) This Theme is ingeniously handled by Mr. *Montaigne*, *livr. 1. Ess. cap. 22.* the Title whereof, *The Advantage of one is the Disadvantage of another.*

sicitude

situde 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 a Helix that still enlargeth; but on a Circle, where arriving to their Meridian, they decline in Obscurity, and fall under the Horizon again.

§ 18. 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 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 *Sortiliges* and Matters of greatest Uncertainty, there is a settled and pre-ordered 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

thets 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 (*q*); which doth not any way deject the Spirit of wiser Judgments, who thoroughly understand the Justice of this Proceeding; and being enrich'd 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 the Body or Fortune: And it is an Error worse than Heresy, to adore these contemplative 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

ANNOTATIONS.

(*q*) So *Petron. Arbiter. The love of Knowledge never made any Man rich, in Satyric.* And *Apuleius in Apolog. Idem mihi etiam, (saith he) paupertatem approbavit acceptum Philosopho crimen & ultro profitendum*; and then a little afterwards, he sheweth that it was the common Fate of those that had singular Gifts of Mind: *For Poverty was still the same among the Greeks, with Aristides the Just, Phocyon the Benevolent, Epaminondas the Brave, Socrates the Wise, or Homer the Eloquent.*

those

those of weaker Merits he imparts a larger Portion, and pieces out the Defect of one, by the Access 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 (*r*); for if there be a Truth therein, 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 Logick

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(*r*) There is nothing in *Judicial Astrology* that may render it impious; but the Exception against it is, That it is vain and fallible; of which any Man will be convinced, that has read *Tully de Divinitat.* and *St. Aug. 5 Book de Civ. Dei.*

* See his 8th *Iliad*, which *Lucan* ridicules in his *Jupiter refuted.*

may conjoyn Heaven and Earth in one Argument, and with less than a *Sorites* resolve all Things into God. For though we christen Effects by their most sensible and nearest Causes, yet is God the true and infallible Cause of all, whose concurrence though it be general, yet doth it subdivide it self into the particular Actions of every Thing, and is that Spirit, by which each singular Essence not only subsists, but performs its Operation.

§ 19. 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 tripple Government of three Competitors, which distract the Peace of this our Common-wealth, not less than did that other the State of *Rome*(s).

As Reason is a Rebel unto Faith, so Passion unto Reason: As the Propositions of

ANNOTATIONS.

(s) There were two *Triumvirates*, by which the Peace of *Rome* was distracted; that of *Crassus*, *Cæsar*, and *Pompey*, and that other of *Augustus*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*, by whom saith *Florus*, *The Commonwealth was plucked and torn to pieces*, which comes somewhat near the Author's Words, and therefore I take it that he means this last Triumvirate.

Faith

Faith seem absurd unto Reason, so the Theorems of Reason unto Passion, and both unto Reason; 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, 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 Villany 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 *Archidoxes*, and read the secret || Sympathies of Things, he would dissuade my Belief from

|| *Paracelsus* and many others have writ upon this Subject, and pretended to cure Wounds by anointing the Instruments that made them with a certain Ointment. Our Countryman, Sir *Kenelm Digby*, likewise wrote a Treatise upon this Subject, entitled, *A Discourse upon the Sympathetick Powder*, wherein he relates many strange Stories of its wonderful Effects: But this Sympathetick Doctrine has been so often refuted since, that it is now quite out of Date.

the Miracle of the * Brazen Serpent (*t*), make me conceit that Image worked by Sympathy, and was but an † *Ægyptian* 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 *Elijah* (*u*), when he

ANNOTATIONS.

(*t*) *Vid. Coqueum in l. 10. Aug. de Civ. Dei, c. 8.*

(*u*) The History is 18. 1 Reg. The Author in 15 cap. 7 lib. *Pseudodox*, sheweth it 'was not perform'd naturally; he was (as he saith) a perfect Miracle.

* See *Numb. 21. 4.*

† Ancient Historiographers agree, that the *Ægyptians* were never without some famous Magicians, who surpassed those of all other Nations in Arts and Sciences; and without Dispute *Moses*, who made the Brazen Serpent, was endued with an uncommon Knowledge: For St. *Stephen* testifies, *Acts 7. 22. That he was instructed in all the Wisdom of the Ægyptians, and that he was powerful in Words and Deeds.*

‖ This is likewise called *Jews Pitch*, and is a fat oily Liquor, which issues from a shining combustible Substance that easily takes fire.

It is of a white Colour, and attracts the Fire to it self at a great Distance, and sets the Air on Fire that surrounds it, and burns even in Water: It was the Custom in *Sicily* to use it in their Lamps instead of Oil. *Plutarch*, in his Life of *Alexander the Great*, tells us, That the *Babylonians* willing to shew him the Force of *Naphtha*, scattered some Drops of it in the Streets of the City, especially near his Palace, that coming afterwards with a Flambeau it began to burn in such a manner, that the Streets which were sprinkled with it seemed all on Fire.

entrenched

entrenched the Altar round with Water: For that inflammable Substance yields not easily to 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 (x), and that there was an Asphaltick and Bituminous Nature in that Lake * before the Fire of *Gomorrab*. I know that *Manna* is now plentifully gathered in *Calabria*; and *Josephus* tells me, in his Days it was as plentiful in *Arabia*; the Devil therefore made the *Quære*, Where was then the Miracle in the Days of *Moses*? The *Israelite* saw but that in his Time, the Natives of those Countries behold in ours. Thus the Devil played at Chesse 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.

§ 20. Neither had these or any other ever such Advantage of me, as to incline me to

ANNOTATIONS.

(x) Of that Opinion was *Strabo*, whereupon he is reprehended by *Genebrard* in these Words: *Strabo is in an Error, when he says it was destroyed by Sulphur and Pitch bursting out of the Earth, which was appointed by Heaven, that is, an angry God. Tacitus reports it according to the Bible, fulminis ictu arsisse.*

* *Strabo* in his 16th Chapter says, It was reported that this Lake was not before the Destruction of the City, which was followed by an Earthquake.

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 (y), have spoken probably, and proceed upon a Principle as inductive as the other. That Doctrine of *Epicurus*, that denied the Providence of God, was no Atheism (z), but a magnificent and high

ANNOTATIONS.

(y) *Lactantius* was one of those; Therefore we must be subservient to Religion, in which whosoever is negligent, he debases himself, abdicates Humanity, and leads the Life of a Beast. *Lactant. de fals. Sapientia. cap. 10.*

(z) I doubt not but he means that delivered in his Epistle to *Menecæus*, and recorded by *Diogenes Laertius*, lib. 10. A Being that is Happy and Eternal, that lives undisturbed, disturbs no body, and therefore is neither angry or pleas'd, for such Beings are all frail and mortal; which the *Epicurean* Poet hath delivered almost in the same Words:

For

* It is disputed whether there have been Atheists or not; but what will you say of *Vaxinus* who was burnt alive for Atheism at *Theoulouse* in *France*, Anno 1620, who as he was going from the Prison to the Stake, said to those who led him, among other Things, pray feel my Pulse and see if you can perceive the least Emotion or Alteration in it; you shall not find me utter the least Word of Despair as your Christ did when he was upon the Cross. And when he was brought to the Stake, to which he was bound, and felt the Heat of the Fire, he cry'd out my God, my God: A certain Monk, who stood by, hearing this, asked him how he came to call upon God now, since he had denied him all his Life before, upon which he answered him from the Midst of the Flames, Sir, it is only the Manner of Speaking.

strained

strained Conceit of his Majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial Actions of those inferior Creatures. That fatal Necessity of the Stoicks, is nothing but the immutable Law of his Will. Those that heretofore denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, have been condemned, but as Hereticks; and those that now deny our Saviour (though more than Hereticks) 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 (*a*), 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

ANNOTATIONS.

For every Deity must live in Peace,
In undisturb'd and everlasting Ease:
Not care for us, from Fears and Dangers free
Sufficient to his own Felicity:
Nought here below, nought in our Power he needs,
Ne'er smiles at Good, ne'er frowns at evil Deeds.

Lucret. lib. 2

(*a*) It was *Ochinus* that composed this Piece; but there was no less a Man than the Emperor *Frederick II.* that was as lavish of his Tongue as the other of his Pen; who used often to say, *There were three notorious Impostors who had seduced Mankind, Moses, Christ, and Mahomet.* *Lips. Monit. & exempl. Politic. cap. 4.* And a greater than he, Pope *Leo X.* was as little favourable to our Saviour, when he used that Speech which is reported of him, *What immense Riches has that Story of Christ brought us.*

Age its *Lucian*, whereof common Heads must not hear, nor more advanced Judgments too rashly venture on: It is the Rhetorick of *Satan*, and may pervert a loose or prejudicate Belief.

§ 21. I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet Belief; yet are their Heads carried off with the Wind and Breath of such Motives. I remember a Doctor in Physick of *Italy*, who could not perfectly believe the Immortality of the Soul, because* *Galen* seemed to make a Doubt thereof. 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 Tradition of *Ælian* or *Pliny*, yet in Histories of Scripture raise Queries and Objections, believing no more than they can parallel in humane Au-

* *Galen* not only doubted, but absolutely denied the Immortality of the Soul, as appears from several Passages in his Writings.

† After Death there is nothing, and Death it self is nothing. Death is an unavoidable Corruption of the Body, and does not suffer the Soul to inhabit it. We die entirely, and nothing of us remains.

thors. I confess there are in Scripture Stories that do exceed the Fables of (b) Poets, and to a * captious Reader sound like *Gargantua* or *Bevis*: Search all the Legends of Times past, and the fabulous Conceits of these 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 from the little Finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that either in the Discourse of

ANNOTATIONS.

(b) So the Author of *Relig. Laici*. *There are certainly more wonderful Stories told us in Scripture, than in all other Histories together*; (and then he concludes with the Author) *which do not impose upon the Understanding but delight it.*

* There have been Men in all Ages and are at present, who have given no more Credit to the Book of *Moses* upon the Creation, than to that of *Ovid* in his *Metamorph.* and who believe *Seneca's* Epistles as canonical as *St. Paul's*, and think the Airs of *Anacreon* not inferior to the Canticles of *Solomon*. *Hierocles* says, that *Apollonius Tyaneus* has performed more, and greater Miracles than Christ; and praises *Philostratus* who wrote the Life of *Tyaneus*, beyond *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, who, he says, wrote the Life of Christ; upon whom he bestows the Character of learned and subtle Impostors. The Emperor *Julian*, surnam'd the *Apostate*, when he made War against the *Persians*, laid a heavy Tax upon the Christians, who going to complain to him, made them this Answer, That it was just and reasonable they should be oppress'd, since their own God had said, Happy are those who suffer Oppression and Persecution. And when he pillaged the Churches and Priests, he said it was done that they might more easily attain Heaven. For it is written, *Blessed are the Poor, for they shall inherit the Kingdom of Heaven.*

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 fantastick 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 more, yet not question how she found out her Mate that was left behind: That *Lazarus* was raised from the Dead, 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 *Adam*, 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 (c): Whether *Adam* was an Hermaphrodite, as the Rabbins contend

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(c) The Author *cap. 2. l. 7. Pseudodox*, sheweth that it appears in Anatomy, that the Ribs of Men and Women are equal.

upon the Letter of the Text, 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* (d), because it was created in them all; for whatsoever Sign the

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(d) In this Matter there is a Consent betwixt two learned Poets, *Lucretius* and *Virgil*, that it begins in *Spring*.

*At novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat,
Nec nimios æstus, nec magnis virtibus auras.*

Lucretius.

Which he would have to be understood of *Autumn*, because that resembles old Age rather than Infancy. He speaks expressly of the Fowls:

*Principio genus alituum variæq; volucres
Ova relinquebant exclusæ tempore verno.*

Lucretius.

Then for *Virgil*.

*Non alios prima nascentis origine mundi
Illuxisse dies aliumve habuisse tenorem
Crediderim, ver illud erat, ver magnus agebat
Orbis, & hibernis parcebant flatibus Euri.*

Virgil. 2. Georgic.

But

* Because it is said in *Genes. 1. 27. And God created Man in his own Image, in the Image of God created he him; in the Image of God created he them.* Therefore because *Eve* was not created at this Time, some Rabbins have thought that *Adam* was an Hermaphrodite. See *Tostatus* upon *Genes. 1.*

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 successively in any Part thereof. There are a Bundle of Curiosities, not only in Philosophy, but in Divinity, proposed and discussed by Men of most 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* *.

§ 22. 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 down the general Flood of *Noah*, in that particular Inundation of *Deucalion* (e); that there was

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But there is great Difference about it betwixt Church-Doctors, some agreeing with these Poets, and others affirming the Time to be Autumn: But truly, in strict speaking, it was not created in any one, but all of the Seasons, as the Author saith here, and hath shewed at large, *Pseudodox. Epidemic. lib. 6. cap. 2.*

(e) As the Heathens some of them sometimes did: For this Reason the Heathens have confounded some other Floods which happened long after, with the general Deluge that happened

* In *Rabbelais*.

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 Cubits, to a Reason that rightly examines, it will appear very (f) feasible.

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pened before, as may be perceived by the Fables interspersed in the Flood of Ducalion; but not always, or every where. *Author. Observat. in Mytholog. Nat. Com.* Then amongst those that confound them, he reckons *Ovid* and *Plutarch*.

(f) Yet *Apelles*, the Disciple of *Mercion*, took upon him to deride the History of *Moses* in this particular, alledging that it must needs be a Fable, for that it was impossible so many Creatures should be contain'd in so small a Space. *Origen* and *St. Aug.* to answer this pretended Difficulty, alledge, that *Moses* in this Place speaks of geometrical (and not vulgar) Cubits, of which every one was as much as six vulgar Ones, and so no Difficulty. But *Perer. l. 10. com. in Genes. Question 5 concerning the Ark*, rejects this Opinion of *Origen*, as being both against Reason and Scripture: 1. Because that Sort of Cubit was never in Use amongst any People, and therefore absurd to think *Moses* should intend it in this Place. 2. If *Moses* should not speak of the same Cubits here, that he mentions in other Places, there would be great equivocation in Scripture: Now in another Place, *i. e. Exod. 27.* he saith, God commanded him to make an Altar three Cubits high; which if it should be intended of Geometrical Cubits, it will contain 18 vulgar Cubits; which would not only render it useless, but would be contrary to the Command, which he saith, God gave him, *Exod. 20. Thou shalt not go up by Steps to my Altar.* For without Steps what Man could reach it? It must therefore be meant of ordinary Cubits; but that being so it was very feasible. I can more easily believe than understand it.

There

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 (g); 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 tripple 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 save this

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(g) This honest Father was St. *Aug.* who delivers his Opinion, that it might be miraculously done, *lib. 16. de Civ. Dei, cap. 7.* where having propos'd the Question how it might be done, he answers, *For if Men had taken them and brought them away with them, and by that Means have stocked the Countries they inhabited themselves; that this might be done for the Sake of Hunting, is not incredible, however it cannot be denied, but they might be transported by God's Command and Permission, and by the Assistance of Angels;* but St. *Aug.* saith not, That it could not be done without a Miracle.

* These are very high Mountains in *Georgia*, upon which the Ark is thought to have rested during the Time of the Deluge, and that the Creatures went out of the Ark at this Place.

would

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 Tenents drawn from Scripture, and generally believed as Scripture, whereunto notwithstanding, I would never betray the Liberty of my Reason. 'Tis a Paradox to me, that *Methusalem* was the longest liv'd of all the Children of *Adam* (*b*), 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 Word hath given Occasion to translate it; yet in another Place, in a more punctual Description, it makes it improbable, and seems to overthrow it (*i*). That our Fathers,

after

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(*b*) See both these Points cleared by the Author, in *Pseudodox, Epidemic.* the first, *lib. 6. cap. 6.* the other, *l. 7. cap. 3.*

(*i*) These two Places that seem to contradict one another, are *Matthew 27. 5.* and *Acts 1. 8.* The doubtful Word he speaks of is in the Place of *Matthew*; it is ἀπὸ ἡγξάτο, which signifieth suffocation as well as hanging (ἀπελθὼν ἀπὸ ἡγξάτο, which may signify literally, after he went

out

after the Flood, erected the Tower of *Babel*, to preserve themselves against a second Deluge,

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out he was choak'd) but *Erasmus* translates it, *he went away and hanged himself in a Noose*: The Words in the *Acts* are *When he had thrown down himself headlong he burst in the Middle, and all his Bowels gushed out*, which seems to differ much from the Expression of *Matthew*; yet the ancient Writers, and Fathers of the Church do unanimously agree that he was hanged; some I shall cite. *Anastaf. Sinaita. l. 7. Avagog. Contempl. He was an ungrateful Thief being the Type of the Devil, of the Serpent, and of Judas who hanged himself upon a Tree. Gaudentius Brixienf. tract. 13. de natal. Dom. He died the Death he deserved, by a Rope he had prepared for himself. Drogottoshen de sacram. dominic. pass. He had left Christ long before, and hanged himself with a Cord, he purchased with the Money he had received; but that he did it in private is well known. S. Martialis in Ep. ad Tholosanos. He did not repent till he put himself to Death by a Cord. Ignat. ad Philippens. The Devil shewed him a Cord, and taught him to hang himself, Leo. Serm. 3. de passion. He hung suffocated between the Heavens and the Earth, and being swell'd with his Crimes his Bowels burst out, &c. Bernard. serm. 8, in Psalm. 9. Judas burst asunder as he hung in the Air.*

There are those that are so particular that they acquaint us with the Manner, *as that it was done with a Cord. Antiochus Laurenfis. As he was now in the utmost Despair, the Devil rushing upon him, he put a Cord about his own Neck; but the Cord breaking by which he was strangled, he fell headlong to the Earth. 2. That it was done on a Fig-tree, Beda. As you go from David's Parch, there is a Spring which runs directly South through the Valley, in the Middle whereof, it is reported, that Judas hang'd himself. For in this Place there stands a lofty and ancient Fig-Tree.*

3. Some acquaint us with the Time when it was done, *viz. The next Day after he had given the Kifs. So Chrysostom. Homil. 1. de proditor. That prophane Neck which thou this Day stretchedst forth to salute Christ, To-morrow shalt thou*

Deluge (*k*), is generally opinioned and believed, yet is there another Intention of theirs expressed in Scripture: 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 conclude 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* knock'd at the Door; 'Tis not he, but his Angel; that is, might some say, his Messenger, or some body from him; for so the Original 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 re-

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thou stretch it with a Rope. But there are two, that is, *Euthymius* and *OEcumenius*, that tell us, *That the Hanging did not kill him*; but that either the Rope broke, or that he was cut down, and afterwards cast himself down headlong, as it is related in the before-mentioned Place of the *Acts*. It is allowed by some, that he was cut down before he was suffocated; moreover that he lived a little while in some retired Place, till throwing himself headlong down a Precipice, he burst in Pieces, and his Bowels came out, *Euthym.* cap. 67. in *Matth.* *Judas did not die by being hanged; but survived it, being cut down before he was strangled, which is declared in the Acts of the Apostles, because he threw himself headlong and burst in the Midst.* *OEcumen.* in *Act.* And this may serve to reconcile these two seemingly disagreeing Scriptures.

(*k*) For this, see what the Author saith in his *Pseudodox, Epidemic*, l. 7. cap. 6.

member

member the *Franciscan* Opponent reply'd no more ; but that it was a new, and no authentick Interpretation.

§ 23. 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 chuse 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 *Ptolomy* (1), that thought not his Library compleat without it.

The

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(1) He means of *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, who founded the Library of *Alexandria*, which he speaks of in the next Section, he was King of *Egypt*; and having built and furnish'd that Library with all the choicest Books he could get from any Part of the World: and having good Correspondence with *Eleazar* the High Priest of the *Jews*, by Reason that he had released the *Jews* from Captivity, who were taken by his Predecessor *Ptolemæus Lagi*; he did by the Advice of *Demetrius Phalerius* the *Athenian*, whom he had made his Library-keeper, write to *Eleazer*, desiring him that he would cause the Books of the *Jews*, which contained their Laws, to be translated for him into *Greek*, that he might have them to put into his Library: To which the Priest consents; and for the King's better Satisfaction, sends to him Copies of the Books, and with the same 72 Interpreters skilled both in the *Greek* and *Hebræw* Language, to translate them for him into *Greek*; which afterwards they performed. This is for certain; but whether they translated only the *Pentateuch*, as *St. Jerome* would have it, or together with that the Books of the Prophets also, as *Leo de Castro* and *Baronius* contend, I undertake not to determine: But as to that Part of the Story, that these Interpreters were put into so many several Cells, whilst they

The Alcoran of the *Turks* (I speak without Prejudice) is an ill compos'd Piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous Errors in Philosophy (*m*), 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

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they were about the Work of Translation; and notwithstanding they were thus severed, that they all translated it *totidem verbis*; it is but Reason to think with St. *Jerome*, (notwithstanding the great Current of Authority against him) that it is no better than a Fable.

(*m*) It is now in every Man's Hand, having been lately translated into *English*; I shall therefore observe but these few Particulars in it, in regard the Book it self is so common; and indeed they are not my own, but *Lipsius's* Observations. He begins, *What Trifles! what Phantoms!* First, He observes that there is one substantial God, and that he is Incorporeal. That Christ is no God, but a great Prophet; but that he himself is greater, and immediately sent by God. Then speaking of the Rewards in the next World, which he calls Paradise, and will be shut up in so many thousand Years, there, he tells you, are four Rivers, flowing with Milk, Wine, Honey, and Water; there are magnificent and stately Edifices adorned with Jewels and Gilding, Flesh of the most delicious Birds, and all sorts of Fruit, which you shall eat, lying in the Shade under the Trees, &c. These and some others that are in the Alcoran he reckons up. But his Physicks are likewise to be admired: For he makes the Sun and Moon to be drawn by Horses; but that the Sun shall be plunged every Evening into hot Water, where being well wash'd he shall ascend and rise; that the Stars shall hang in the Air by golden Chains, and the Earth be fixed upon the Tip of the Bull's Horns, and move by the shaking of his Head; but that Man shall be formed from a Leech, &c. Just. Lips. Monit. & exempl. Politic. cap. 3.

Foot by Arms and Violence: This without a Blow, hath diffeminated it self through the whole Earth. It is not unremarkable what *Philo* first observed, That the Law of *Moses* continued two thousand Years without the least Alteration; whereas, we see, the Laws of other Common-weals do alter with Occasions, and even those that pretend their Original from some Divinity, to have vanished without Trace or Memory. I believe besides *Zoroaster*, there were divers that writ before *Moses* (*n*), who, notwithstanding have suffered the common Fate of Time. Men's Works have an Age like themselves; and though they out-live 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.

§ 24. I have heard some with deep Sighs lament the lost Lines of * *Cicero*; others with as many Groans deplore the Combustion

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(*n*) *Zoroaster* was long before *Moses*, and of great Name; he was the Father of *Ninus*, *Justin. l. 1.* If so be you search a little back, you will find that I am that *Carinondas*, or *Damigeron*, or that *Moses*, or *Jannes*, or *Appollonius*, or even *Dardanus*, or whosoever has been famous among the Magicians since *Zoroaster* and *Hofanes*. *Apuleius in Apol.*

* Many of *Cicero's* Writings have been lost, as appears by his Fragments; but what the Learned principally regret the Loss of, is what he wrote upon the Republick.

tion

1000 recovered & published from the Vatican

tion of the Library of *Alexandria* (o): 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 † *Solomon*. I would not omit a Copy of *Enoch's* Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than *Josephus* (p), or did not

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(o) This was that Library before spoken of, set up by *Ptolomeus Philadelphus*; in which 'tis reported by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, there were 700000 Volumes; it was burnt by *Jul. Cæsar's* Means, whose Navy being environed before *Alexandria*, he had no Means to keep off the Enemy, but by flinging of Fire, which at length caught the Library and consumed it, as *Plutarch* has it in his Life of *Cæsar*: But notwithstanding, we have no Reason to believe it was quite consumed, because *Sueton.* in *Claudius* tells us, that that Emperor added another to it; and there must be somewhat before, if it were an Addition; but true it is, too many of the Books perished: To repair which Loss, care was taken by *Domitian* the Emperor, as the same *Suetonius* and *Aurel. Victor* do relate.

(p) For this the Story is, that *Enoch*, or his Father *Seth*, having been inform'd by *Adam*, that the World was to perish once by Water, and a second time by Fire, did cause two Pillars to be erected, the one of Stone against the Water, and another of Brick against the Fire; and that upon those Pillars was engraven all such Learning as had been delivered to, or invented by Mankind; and that thence it came that all Knowledge and Learning was not lost by
means

† It is very certain that we have not many things mentioned in 1 *Kings* 4. 32, 33. *Josephus* tells us besides, in lib. 8. of his Antiquities, that *Solomon* wrote upon Witchcraft and the manner of casting out Devils.

relish

relish somewhat of the Fable. Some Men have written more than others have spoken; *Pineda* || quotes more Authors in one Work, than are necessary in a whole World. Of those three great Inventions in *Germany*, there are two which are not without their Incommodities (*q*), and 'tis disputable whe-

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means of the Flood, by reason that one of the Pillars (though the other perished) did remain after the Flood; and *Josephus* witnesseth, 'till his Time, *lib. 1. Antiq. Judaic. cap. 3.*

(*q*) Those two he means are *Printing* and *Gun-Powder*, which are commonly taken for *German* Inventions; but Artillery was in *China* above 1500 Years since, and Printing long before it was in *Germany*, if we may believe *Juan Concales Mendosa* in his *History of China, lib. 3. cap. 15, 16.* The Incommodities of these two Inventions are well described by *Sam. Daniel, l. 6. of the Civil Wars.*

Fierce *Nemesis*, Mother of Fate and change,
Sword-bearer of th' eternal Providence,
Turns her stern Look at last into the West,
As griev'd to see on Earth such happy Rest;
And for *Pandora* calleth presently,
Pandora, *Jove's* fair Gift, that first deceived,
Poor *Epimetheus* in his Imbecility.
That though he had a wondrous Boon receiv'd,
By Means whereof curious Mortality
Was of all former Quiet quite bereav'd.

To

|| *Pineda* in his *Monarchica Ecclesiastica*, quotes one thousand and forty Authors. He that would give himself the trouble to reckon the Number of Authors quoted by *Voe-tius* in his *Theological Disputes*, will find they far surpass the Number of *Pineda*.

ther

ther they exceed not their Use and Commodities. 'Tis not a melancholy Wish of my own,

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To whom being come, deck'd with all Qualities,
The wrathful Goddess breaks out in this Wise:
Dost thou not see in what secure Estate
Those flourishing fair Western Parts remain?
As if they had made Covenant with Fate,
To be exempted free from others Pain,
At one with their Desires, Friends with Debate,
In Peace with Pride, content with their own Gain.
Their Bounds contain their Minds, their Minds applied
To have their Bounds with plenty beautified.

Devotion (Mother of Obedience)
Bears such a Hand on their Credulity,
That it abates the Spirit of Eminence,
And busies them with humble Piety:
For see what Works, what infinite Expence,
What Monuments of Zeal they edify,
As if they would, so that no Stop were found,
Fill all with Temples, make all holy Ground.
But we must cool this all-believing Zeal,
That hath enjoy'd so fair a Turn so long, &c.
Dislike of this first by degrees shall steal,
As upon Souls of Men perswaded wrong;
And that the sacred Power which thus hath wrought,
Shall give herself the Sword to cut her Throat.
Go therefore thou with all thy stirring Train
Of swelling Sciences (the Gifts of Grief)
Go loose the Links of that Soul-binding Chain,
Inlarge this uninquisitive Belief:
Call up Men's Spirits that simpleness retain,
Enter their Hearts, and Knowledge make the Thief
To open all the Doors to let in Light,
That all may all Things see, but what is right
Opinion arm against Opinion (grown)
Make new-born Contradictions still arise
As if *Thebes* Founder (*Cadmus*) Tongues had sown
Instead of Teeth, for greater Mutinies:

Bring

own, but the Desires of better Heads, that there were a general Synod; not to unite

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Bring new-defended Faith against Faith known,
 Weary the Soul with Contrarieties,
 'Till all Religion become Retrograde,
 And that fair Tye the Mask of Sin be made.
 And better to effect a speedy End,
 Let there be found two fatal Instruments,
 The one to publish *, th' other to defend
 Impious Contention and proud Discontents:
 Make that instamped Characters may send
 Abroad to thousands, thousand Men's Intents
 And in a Moment may dispatch much more,
 Than could a world of Pens perform before;
 Whereby all Quarrels, Titles, Secrecies,
 May unto all be presently made known,
 Factions prepar'd, Parties allur'd to rise,
 Seditions under fair Pretences sown;
 Whereby the Vulgar may become so wise,
 That with a Self-presumption over-grown,
 They may of deepest Mysteries debate,
 Controul their Betters, censure Acts of State.
 And then when this dispersed Mischief shall
 Have brought Confusion in each Mystery,
 Call'd up Contempts of State in general,
 And ripen'd the Humour of Impiety,
 Then take the other † Engine wherewithal
 They may torment their self-wrought Misery;
 And scourge each other in so strange a wise,
 As Time or Tyrants never could devise, &c.

*See Bellerмонтan. in his Dissertat.
 politic. dissert. 29. and 30.*

For the other Invention, the Latin Annotator doubts whether the Author means Church-Organs, or Clocks? I suppose

* *Printing.*

† *Guns.*

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 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* (r).

§ 25. I cannot 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,

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suppose he means Clocks, because I find that Invention reckon'd by a *German*, with the other two, as a remarkable one. It is by *Busbequius*, speaking of the *Turks*, who hath these Words: *For Example, they pretend to be the first Inventors of great and small Guns, and many other Things invented by us; but they could never say they were the first Inventors of Printing and Church Clocks.* Epist. Legat. Turcic. I suppose if he had known any Invention which next to the other two had been greater than this, he would not have named this; and this being the next considerable, we have no cause to doubt but the Author meant it.

(r) Of this, *Cunæus*, in his *Satyre Sardi vœnales*. He that does not send some Performance to the *German Fairs* twice in the Year, thinks his Reputation lost in the Republick of Letters; from whence it happens, that we have more Books now in one Day, than a Shower of Rain produces Mushrooms.

*True
still
now*

* See 2 *Kings* 17. and how they were despised by the *Jews*, *John* 4. 29. and 8. 44.

how that contemptible and degenerate Issue of *Jacob*, once so devoted to Ethnick 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 Flock; 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 new 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,

Christian, and the Mahometan against both. For the Turk, in the Bulk he now stands, is beyond all hope of Conversion (s): If he fall afunder there may be conceived Hopes, but not without strong Improbabilities. The Jew is obstinate in all Fortunes; the Persecution of fifteen 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 an indirect Way to plant Religion: It has 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 (t): For, to speak properly, those

E 2

are

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(s) That is, in respect of his great Strength, against which it is not probable the Christians will prevail, as it is observed by Monsieur de Silhon. *The Ottoman Race, which disowns the Religion God has revealed, and robs Mankind of the Liberty they should enjoy by the Law of Nations, has made so considerable a Progress for above these 300 Years past, that it has nothing to fear from its Enemies abroad; neither can its Empire be destroyed but by Intestine Wars, and by the Dissolution of the Parts which compose so vast a Body.* Mr. de Silhon en son Minist. d'Etat. l. 1. c.

(t) Of the Fortitude of the Christians in this Particular, *Minutius Felix*, in the Person of the Heathen, hath these Words: *They despise present Torments with a very wonderful Fool-hardiness and an incredible Resolution, while they are under*

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 Valour, we shall find the Name only in his Master *Alexander*, and as little in that Roman Worthy *Julius Cæsar* (u); and if any, in that easy and active Way,

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der terrible Apprehensions of things uncertain and to come; and while they fear what may happen after Death, they are not afraid to die. And afterwards, when he speaks in the Person of the Christian, he saith, that Christian-women and Children have in this surpassed *Scævola* and *Regulus*: *I compare these People to Mutius and Attilus Regulus; the very Women and Children bear all Punishments we can inflict with a supernatural Patience.* Minut. in Octav. vide Aug. de Civ. Dei, l. 1. c. 23, 24.

(u) *Aristot.* 3 *Ethic.* cap. 6. Amongst other Requisites, it requires to Valour, that a Mediocrity be kept betwixt Audacity and Fear; that we thrust not ourselves into Danger when we need not; that we spare not to shew our Valour when occasion requires: He requires for its proper Object, Death; and to any Death, he prefers Death in War, because thereby a Man profits his Country and Friends; and that he calls an honest or honourable Death: And thereupon he defines a valiant Man to be, *He that is not shocked at an honourable Death, or with all the sudden Preparations attending it.* So that by the Author's saying, there was only the Name in *Alexander*, he means only that which is render'd in the two last Words, *metu vacans*, and not the rest that goes to make up the Definition of a valiant Man, which is very truly affirmed of *Alexander*,

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

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der, who expos'd himself to hazard many times when there was no cause for it: As you may read in *Curtius*, he did in the Siege of *Tyrus*, and many other Ways. *He seems to seek and run into Dangers like an impetuous Torrent, which rushes forward without Discretion or Choice against every thing it meets*, saith *Montaigne*, speaking of *Alexander*. *l. 2. des Ess. cap. 34.* And for *Cæsar*, it cannot be denied, but in his Wars he was many times (though not so generally as *Alexander*) more adventurous than Reason Military could warrant to him; and therefore *Lucan* gives him no better Character than

Acer & indomitus quo spes quoque ira vocasset

Ferre manum, &c.

Lucan. lib. 1.

To instance in some Particulars: With what an inconsiderable Strength did he enterprize the Conquest of *Egypt*, and afterwards went to attack the Forces of *Scipio* and *Juba*, which were ten times more than his own? After the Battle of *Pharsalia*, having sent his Army before into *Asia*, and crossing the *Hellepont* with one single Vessel, he there meets *Lucius Cassius* with ten Men of War, he makes up to him, summons him to surrender, and he does it. In the famous and furious Siege of *Alexia*, where he had eighty thousand Men to make defence against him, and an Army of one hundred and nine thousand Horse, and two hundred and forty thousand Foot, all marching towards him to raise his Siege; yet for all that, he would not quit the Siege, but first fought with those without, and obtain'd a great Victory over them, and soon afterwards brought the Besieged to his Mercy.

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.

§ 26. 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 Heretick; the Stories of his own Party stile him a Martyr (x): He must need offend the Di-

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(x) *John Huss* did agree with the Papists against us in the Point of Invocation of Saints, Prayers and Sacrifice for the Dead, free Will, good Works, confession of Sins, seven Sacraments, &c. *Gordon. Hunt. l. contr. 3. de Sacr. Euch. cap. 17.* Yet was he condemn'd for maintaining certain Articles said by that Council to be heretical and seditious, and was burnt for Heresy. Now as I will not take upon me to say he was an *Heretick*, so can I not maintain that he was a *Martyr*, if it be but for this one Article, which in the 15 Sess. of that Council was objected against him, which he did acknowledge, but would not recall, *i. e.* *There is no Civil Magistrate, while he is in mortal Sin.* If that Doctrine should be believed, we shall have little Obedience to Civil Magistrates; and without that, how miserable is human Condition? That which begat Compassion towards *Huss* in those of his own Party was, that he had a safe Conduct from the Emperor *Sigismund*; and therefore it was, say they, a Violation of publick Faith in the Council and Emperor in putting him to death.

* See *Aeneas Sylvius's* 3d Chapter of his *History of Bohemia*. But in what Manner, and for what he suffered, is largely recorded in the *History of Martyrs*.

vinity 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 wise Heathen *Socrates*, who suffered upon a fundamental Point of Religion, the Unity of God (y). I have often pitied the miserable Bishop that suffered in the Cause of *Antipodes* (z); yet cannot chuse 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.

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(y) That *Socrates* suffered on this Point, divers Christian Writers do object to the Ethnicks, as *Justin Martyr*, *Apolog.* 2. *Euseb.* l. 5. *de præparat. Evangelic.* c. 14. *Tertul.* in *Apolog.* cap. 14. and *Lactant.* *de Justitia*, cap. 15. whose Words are these: Plato indeed speaks much of one God by whom he says the World was made, but not a Word of Religion, for he dreamt only of God without knowing him. But if he himself, or any other would under the Defence of his Justice, he ought first to lay aside the Heathenish Religion as contrary to true Piety. For attempting whereof *Socrates* was cast into Prison; so that it was plain even at that Time, what those Men were to expect who undertook the Defence of the Truth, and the Unity of God.

(z) The Suffering was, that he lost his Bishoprick for denying the *Antipodes*. *Vid. Aventin.* in *Hist. Roio.* Besides him, there were other Church-men of great Note, that denied the *Antipodes*, as *Lactantius*, *Augustin*, and *Bede*.

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, Politick 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.

§ 27. 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 Scripture: That they out-lived 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

Body and Blood of our Saviour* : For the Conversion of Water into Wine, which he wrought in *Cana*, or what the Devil would have had him done in the Wilderness, of Stones into Bread, 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 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 (a). I cannot see why

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(a) Who would not think the Author had taken this from *Montaigne*, whose Words are, *I always thought that the following manner of Speaking was indiscreet and irreverent in a Christian (God cannot unsay himself) (God cannot do this or that). I cannot think it right thus to confine the Divine Power to our manner of Speaking. And let the Appearance be what it will that should give room for such Expressions, it ought to be represented in a more Reverent and Religious Manner.* Liv. 2. des Ess. c. 12.

* This was the first Miracle Christ wrought, *John* 2.

† That is before the World was created.

the Angel of God should question *Esdra*s to recall the Time past, if it were beyond his own Power; or that God should pose Mortality in that which he was not able to perform himself (*b*). 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,

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(*b*) Sir *K. Digby* in his Notes upon this Place saith, There is no Contradiction in this, because he saith it was but putting all Things that had Motion into the same State they were in at that Moment, unto which Time was to be reduc'd back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the same Motions, &c. which God could do. But under Favour, the Contradiction remains, if this were done that he mentions; for Time depends not at all upon Motion, but has a Being altogether independent of it, and therefore the same Revolution would not bring back the same Time, for that was efflux'd before; as in the Time of *Joshua*, when the Sun stood still, we cannot but conceive though there were no Motion of the Sun, but that there was an Efflux of Time, otherwise, how could the Text have it, *That there was not any Day, before or after, that was so long as that?* For the Length of it must be understood in respect of the Flux of Time. The Reasoning of Sir *Kenelm* is founded upon the Opinion of *Aristotle*, who will needs have it, that Time cannot be without Mutation; he gives this for a Reason, because when we have slept, and cannot perceive any Mutation to have been, we do therefore use to connect the Time of our sleeping and of our awaking together, and make but one of it: To which it may be answered, although some Mutation be necessary, that we may mark the Flux of Time, it doth not therefore follow that the Mutation is necessary to the Flux itself.

and

and they both with all the rest do make but one God.

§ 28. 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 Relicks *, 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 (c) on his Bridle, which our Saviour bore upon the Cross in his Hands. I compute among *Religious Frauds*,

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(c) *Hac de re videatur P. Diac. hist. miscell.*

* The *Papists* boast much of the Power of Saints Relicks, because the Bones of *Elisba* raised a Man from the Dead: and the Hem of Christ's Garment cured a Person of a Flux of Blood: Imagining that Relicks still have the same Power. *Aldegonde* says, that the *Roman Catholics* boast of having the Cross, the Nails, and Lance used at the Crucifixion of Christ, and the Manger he lay in; the Tail of the Ass he rode upon to *Jerusalem*; and the Cord with which *Judas* hanged himself: And that they worship these Things for the Virtue that is in them. See chap. 3. lib. 4.

† See *Nicephorus's Ecclesiastical History*. Lib. 8. Chap. 29.

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 Relicks, is, I think the 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 stiled the ancient of Days *, cannot receive the Abjunct 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.

§ 29. But above all Things I wonder how the Curiosity of wiser Heads could pass that great and indisputable Miracle, the Cessation

|| The Popes used to send Swords to those Princes who made War against the Enemies of the Church. One of these Swords is to be seen in the *Tower of London*, which was sent by Pope *Leo X.* to *Henry VIII.* when he honoured him with the Title of Defender of the Faith.

* God is so called. *Dan.* 7. 9.

† The Grand Climacterick is the sixty third Year of a Man's Life.

of Oracles (*d*) ; and in what Swoon their Reasons lay, to content themselves, and sit down with such a far-fetch'd and ridiculous Reason

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(*d*) There are three Opinions touching the Manner how the Predictions of these Oracles were performed : Some say by Vapours, some by the Intelligences, or Influences of the Heavens, and others say by the Assistance of the Devils. Now the indisputable Miracle the Author speaks of, is, that they ceas'd upon the coming of Christ ; and it is generally so believed ; and the Oracle of *Delphos* delivered to *Augustus*, mentioned by the Author in this Section, is brought to prove it, which is this :

A *Hebrew* Child whom the blest Gods adore,
Has bid me leave these Shrines and pack to Hell ;
Therefore of Oracles now you have no more,
Away then from our Altars and farewell.

But yet it is so far from being true that their Cessation was miraculous, that the Truth is, there never were any Predictions given by those Oracles at all.

That their Cessation was not upon the coming of Christ, we have luculent Testimony out of *Tully*, in his 2. *lib. de Divinat.* which he writ many Years before Christ was born ; who tells us, that they were silent (and indeed he never thought they were otherwise) long before that Time, inso-much that they were come into Contempt : *The Reason why the Oracle of Apollo has not spoken in this Age and long before, proceeds from its being held in Contempt.* So that for that of *Delphos*, which was the most famous of them all, we see we have no Reason to impute the Cessation of it to Christ ; Why therefore should we do so for any of the rest ?

2. For their Predictions, let us consider the three several Ways before-mentioned, whereby they are supposed to operate ; and from thence see whether it be probable that any such Oracles ever were.

The first Opinion is, that it was by Exhalation or Vapour drawn up from the Earth ; and gives this for a Reason

Reason as *Plutarch* alledgeth for it. The
Jews that can believe the supernatural Solstice
 of

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son of their being, that they were for a Time nourished by those Exhalations; and when those ceased, and were exhausted, the Oracles famished and died for Want of their accustomed Sustainance: This is the far-fetch'd Reason given by *Plutarch* for their Defect; but 'twas not devised by him, but long before, as appears, in that *Tully* scoffs at it, *lib. de Divinat. Do you think it spoke by the Power of Wine or strong Liquors, which lose their Strength by being long kept.* This seem'd absurd to others, who do therefore say this was not to be attributed to any Power of the Earth, but to the Power of the Heavens, or *Intelligences Cælestial*; to certain Aspects, whereof, they say, the Statua's of those Oracles were so adapted, that they might divine and foretell future Events. But yet to others, this Way seemeth as absurd as the others; for, say they, admitting that there were an Efficacy in the Heavens, more than in the Earth; yet how can it be that Men should come by the Skill to fit the Statua's to the Aspects or Influences of the Heavens? Or if at any Time they had such Skill, why should not the same continue the rather, because Men are more skill'd in the Motions of the Heavens, of later than in former Time? Again, they do not see how it should be that the Cause should be of less Excellency than the Effect; for if a Man (say they) can by his Industry make such Oracles, why can he not produce the same Effect in another Man? For if you affirm that the Heavens Influence is requisite, they will tell you that Influence may happen as well to a Man, as to a Statue of Wood or Stone. Therefore the third Sort being unsatisfied, which either of the former Ways conclude, that this was performed by the Devil; but for that it will appear as contrary to Reason and Philosophy, as either of the former; for Philosophy teacheth that Things singular, or individual, are to be known only by Sense, or by such an Intellect, as doth know by its Essence; and Theology teacheth that God only knoweth the Heart, and that the Devil doth not know by Sense, nor by Essence; and since 'tis admitted by all, that most of the Answers that were pretended

of the Sun in the Days of *Joshua* *, have yet the Impudence to deny the || Eclipse, which every Pagan confessed at his Death :

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pretended to be given by those Oracles, were of *single Things or Individuals*; it is evident that these Predictions were not performed by Devils. How then? Why those Predictions which the ignorant Heathen took to come from Heaven, and some Christians (not less ignorant) from the Devil, was nothing but the Juggling and Impostures of the Priest, who from within the Statua's gave the Answers, which Princes connived at, that they might upon Occasion serve their Turns upon the Ignorance of the People; and the learned Men, for fear of their Princes, durst not speak against it. *Lucian* hath noted it, and so a more authentick Author, *Minut. Felix*, in *Octav.* *They believe it come from the Mouth of a Deity there present, while they are inspired by the Priests.* But in Process of Time, the People grew less credulous of their Priests, and so the Oracles became to be silent: *But when Apollo left off making Verses, at which time, his doubtful Oracle failed him; then Men grew more free and less credulous.* *Sir H. Blount* in his *Levantine Voyage*, saith, he saw the Statua of *Memnon* so famous of old; he saith it was hollow at Top, and that he was told by the *Egyptians* and *Jews* there with him, that they had seen some enter there and come out at the Pyramid, two Bows-shoot off; then, saith he, I soon believed the Oracle, and believe all the rest to have been such; which indeed, is much easier to imagine than that it was performed by any of the three Ways before-mentioned. *St. Aug.* hath composed a Book, where he handleth this Point at large, and concludeth that the Devils can no more foretel Things to come, than they are able to discern the Thoughts that are within us. *Aug. lib. Of the Knowledge of Devils.*

* Touching this, see *Jos. 10. 13.*

|| See *Luke 23. 44, 45.* *And it was about the sixth Hour, and there was Darknes over the whole Earth till the ninth Hour. And the Sun was darkned.*

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 humane History, or seek to confirm the Chronicle of *Hester* or *Daniel*, by the Authority of *Magasthenes* 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* (e). 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

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(e) These Words of *Justin* are, *But when the Ægyptians discovered that the Israelities were Scabby, Moses was ordered to retire out of Ægypt, to prevent the Distemper from spreading.* lib. 36. But he is not singular in this, for *Tacitus* tells us, *Hist. lib. 5. Many Authors agree that the Ægyptians having an Erruption upon their Bodies, King Pharoah was commanded by the Oracle of Hammond, which he had consulted, to clear his Kingdom of the Israelites, and to drive them out of the Land. And a little lower, that they had been Scabby before.*

* In his Oracle to St. *Augustus*.

† There was one *Magasthenes* who wrote of the *Indies*, of whom *Pliny*, *Strabo*, and *Josephus* often make mention; but no body mentions a *Magasthenes* who wrote of the Affairs of *Persia*, and the Authority of *Herodotus* is little esteemed.

come. Some have been of my Opinion, and endeavoured to write the History of their own Lives; wherein *Moses* has out-gone them all, and left not only the Story of his Life, but as some will have it of his Death also ||.

§ 30. It is a Riddle to me, how this Story of Oracles hath not worm'd out of the World that doubtful Conceit of Spirits and* Witches; how so many learned Heads should so far forget their Metaphysicks, and destroy the Ladder and Scale of Creatures, as to question the Existence of Spirits: For my Part, I have ever believed, and do now know, that there are Witches (*f*); they that doubt

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(*f*) What Sort of Witches they were that the Author knew to be such, I cannot tell, for those which he mentions in the next Section, which proceed upon the Principles of Nature, none have denied that such there are; against such it was, that the *Julian Law against Witches was made*, that is, those, *who had intoxicated any body by noxious Draughts, or by bad Drugs*. Al. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. lib. 3. cap. 1. But for the Opinion that there are Witches which co-operate with the Devil, there are Divines of great Note, and far from any Suspicion of being irreligious, that do oppose it. Certainly there is no Ground to maintain

|| Those who are of Opinion that *Moses* wrote the five Books, ought also to believe that he wrote the History of his Death. I had rather believe that he did not write the fifth Book; but some conclude from thence that he wrote none at all.

* It is impossible to make a just Conclusion in this Affair, because ancient Historiographers concerning Oracles, have contradicted each other in their Relations.

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 (*f*): 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 Bread. 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

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tain their Being from the Story of Oracles, as may be seen from what hath been said on the precedent Section.

(*f*) *Pliny* saith, so it fared with *Nero*, who was so hot in Pursuit of the Magick Arts, that he did dedicate himself wholly to it, and yet could never satisfy himself in that Kind, though he got all the Cunning-men he could from the *East* for that Purpose. *Plin.* l. 3. *Nat. Hist.* c. 1.

* The ancient Pagans were of this Opinion. *Ovid* in his 3d Book of *Metam.* describes in what Manner *Ulysses's* Sailors were chang'd into Hogs. *Camerarius* also makes mention of such Things in his *Horis Sub.*

be Action enough to content decrepit 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 (g), is ridiculous, and a Conceit fitter for a *Rabbin* than a Christian. I hold that the Devil doth really possess some Men; the Spirit of Melancholly 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 Defection of the Maid of *Germany* †, hath left a pregnant Example.

§ 31. Again, I believe all that use Sorceries, Incantations, and Spells, are not Witches, or as we term them, Magicians; I conceive there is a traditional Magick, not learned immediately from the Devil, but at second Hand from his Scholars, who having once the Secret betrayed, are able, and do empirically practise without his Advice, they pro-

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(g) Though as the Author saith, it be without a Possibility of Generation, yet there are great Men that hold that such Carnality is perform'd; as *August. in Levit. Aquin. l. 2. de qu. 73. art. ad 2.* and *Justin Martyr. Apol. 1.*

* See St. *Austin* upon that Subject in his *Treatise upon Antichrist*, from whence it appears, that this was an ancient Opinion.

† We don't certainly know who that Maid was.

ceeding

ceeding 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 Part of Philosophy was Witchcraft, which being afterwards 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 Magick. 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 ; *Our good Angel reveals many Things to those who seek into the Works of Nature.* 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 Nature on Earth ; and therefore believe that those many Prodigies and ominous Prognosticks, which fore-run 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.

§ 32. Now besides these particular and divided Spirits, there may be (for ought I know) an universal and common Spirit to the whole World. It was the Opinion of * *Plato*,

* This Opinion of his is to be found in his *Parmenidis* and *Timæus*.

and it is yet of the *Hermetical* Philosophers : If there be a common Nature that unites and tyes 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 in 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 Waters, 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 : Whatsoever 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 Tropick ; nor any Light, though I dwelt in the Body of the Sun.

As when the labouring Sun bath 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 o'er; my drooping Spirits sing,
And ev'ry Part revives into a Spring.
But if thy quickning Beams a while decline,
And with their Light bless not this Orb of
mine,*

*A chilly Frost surpriseth ev'ry 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 choak my devout aspires.*

§ 33. 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 Opi-

* David seems to be of this Opinion in the 34th Psalm, where he says, *The Angel of the Lord encampeth round about them that fear him, and delivereth them.* And Psalm 91, he saith, *For he shall give his Angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy Ways. They shall bear thee up in their Hands; lest thou dash thy Foot against a Stone.* Besides these two excellent Places, many others may be had from Scripture to prove that Angels attended the Saints.

nion of the Church of *Rome*, but an old one of *Pythagoras* and *Plato* (b); there is no Heresy in it, and if not manifestly defin'd in Scripture, yet 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 Metaphysics 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 meer Existence and Things of Life, there is a large Disproportion of Nature; between Plants and Animals of 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

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(b) This appears by *Apuleius* a Platonist, in his Book concerning the God of Sociates, and eliewhere. See *Mede's Apostasy of the latter Times*, where out of this and other Authors, you shall see collected all the learning de *Geniis*.

* *David* has observed this in his 8th Psalm, *For thou hast made him a little lower than the Angels, and hast crowned him with Glory and Honour.*

their

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 compleat 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 specifical 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 specifical, 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 is a Faculty to move any though inform none ; ours upon restraint of Time, Place, and Distance, but that invisible Hand that convey'd *Habakkuk* to the Lions Den, or *Philip* to *Azotus*, 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

the Thoughts of one another, I cannot peremptorily deny but 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 throughly answer that Piece of Scripture, *At the Conversion of a Sinner the Angels in Heaven rejoice.* I cannot with those in that great Father securely interpret the Work of the first Day, *Let there be Light*, to the Creation of Angels (i), though I confess there is not any Creature that hath so near a Glimpse of their Nature, as Light in the

F Sun

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(i) This great Father is *S. Chrysost. Homil. in Genes.* but yet 'tis his Opinion, as also of *Athanasius* and *Theodoret*, that there is express mention of the Creation of Angels, so that they need not rest upon this Place, which they admit to be somewhat obscure. The Place which they take to be express, is that of the 130 *Psalms*, where *David* begins to speak of the Majesty of God, in this Manner: *Thou hast put on Majesty and Glory, and art clothed with Light as with a Garment.* Next he speaks of the Heavens, saying, *Thou hast stretched them out over us like a Tent.* Then he speaks of the Angels, *Who makest thy Angels Spirits.* Now if it shall be objected, that this Expression is only of the Time present, and without Relation to the Creation: Answer is given by Divines, that the *Hebrews* have but three Tenses in their Verbs, the Preterperfect, Present, and Future Tense, and have not the Use of the Preterimperfect, and Preterpluperfect, as the *Greeks* and the *Latins* have; whence it ariseth, that the Present Tense with the *Hebrews*, may as the Sentence will bear it, be translated by the Preterimperfect, as also by the Preterperfect and Preterpluperfect Tense; and this, they say, is practised in this very Passage, where

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Sun and Elements. We stile it a bare Accident, but where it subsists alone, 'tis a spiritual Substance, and may be an (*k*) Angel; in Brief, conceive Light invifible, and that is a Spirit.

§ 34. These are certainly the Magisterial and Master-pieces 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 Extreams, 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 Scripture; but to call ourselves a Microcosm, or little World, I thought it only a pleasant Trope of Rhetorick, till my near

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the Phrase, as it is in *Hebrew*, may be rendred as well *Who didst make, as who makes Angels*, &c. Vid. *Hieronym. in Ep. ad Titum*, & *Thom. Aqu. 1. p. qu. 61. art. 3.* The Latin Annotator saith, the Father meant by the Author, is *St. Aug.* and quotes him *l. 11. de Civ. Dei, cap. 9.* which Place I have perused, and find the Expression there used by *St. Aug.* is but hypothetical; for these are his Words: *For when he said, let there be Light and there was Light, if the Creation of Angels is rightly understood by this*, &c. Where you see 'tis but with an *if*, and therefore I conceive the Author intends not him, but *Chrysostom*.

(*k*) *Epicurus* was of this Opinion, and *St. Aug. in Enchirid. ad Laurentium*.

Judgment and second Thoughts told me there was a real Truth therein : For first, we are a rude Mass, 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 humane Reason endeavoured to make all go in a literal Meaning, yet those allegorical Interpretations are also probable, and perhaps the mystical Method of *Moses*

* It was a Rule among the *Jewish* Preceptors that their Disciples should not read the first Chapter of *Genesis* ; the *Canticles* of *Solomon* ; nor the latter Part of *Ezekiel*, till they were thirty Years old.

bred up in the Hieroglyphical Schools of the *Ægyptians* *.

§ 35. Now for that immaterial World, methinks we need not wander so far as beyond the first Moveable ; for even in this material Fabrick the Spirits walk as freely exempt from the Affection of Time, Place, and Motion, as beyond the extreamest 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 every where, 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 ministring Spirits 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

* The *Ægyptians* used to express their Thoughts of divine Things by Characters and Images, many of which still remain, but are difficult to be explained.

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 his 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 Pens of the Philosophers, but *Moses* decided that Question, and all is salved with the new Term of a Creation (*l*), 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

Aristotle
tolle
speaks
so

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(*l*) That is it which *Aristotle* could not understand; he had learned that *ex nihilo nihil fit*, and therefore when he found those that disputed that the World had a Beginning, did maintain that it was generated, and he could not understand any Generation, but out of Matter præ-existent in infinitum, therefore he took their Opinion to be absurd, and upon that Ground principally, concluded the World to be Eternal: Whereas, if he had understood that there may be such a Thing as Creation, he had not done it, for that solves his *processus in infinitum*. Take from *Plato* that the World had a Beginning, and from *Aristotle* that it was not generated, and you have the (true) Christian Opinion.

only is, all others have an Existence with Dependency, and are sometime but by a Distinction; and herein is Divinity conformant unto Philosophy, 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 *Omnity* informed *Nullity* into an Essence.

§ 36. 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 nothing: But in the Frame of Man (as the Text describes it) 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 has 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's* Mind, that boldly delivers a Receipt to make a Man without Conjunction; yet cannot

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 Transposition of Words of *Augustine*, *By creating it, it is infused, and by infusing it, it is created.* 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 pick'd 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 Copulation of a Man with a Beast; for if the Soul of Man be not transmitted, and transfused in the Seed of the Parents, why are not those Productions meerly Beasts, but have also an Impression and Tincture of Reason in as high a Measure, as it can evidence it self in those improper Organs? Nor truly can I peremptorily deny, that the Soul in this her sublunary Estate, is wholly, and in all Acceptions inorganical, but that for the Performance of her ordinary Actions, there is required not only a Symmetry and proper Dispositions 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 Corps 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 (*m*) Divinity; yet amongst all those rare Discourses, and curious Pieces I find in the Fabrick 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 any Thing 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 conceive 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 entred in us.

§ 37. 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 Fabrick that must fall to Ashes. *All Flesh is Grass*, is not only metaphorically, but literally true; for

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(*m*) So it did *Galen*, who considering the Order, Use, and Disposition of the Parts of the Body, brake forth into these Words: *Herein I praise our Creator, that he has been pleased to adorn his Works beyond the Power of Art.* Galen. 3. de usu partium.

* The *Glandula Pinealis*, in which the *Cartesians* placed the Seat of the Soul, is found in Beasts as well as Men.

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 Canibals, 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* did ever positively, and in a literal Sense affirm his *Metempsychosis* (n), or impossible Transmigration of

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(n) In this the Opinion of *Grotius* is contrary to the Author, who saith this Opinion was begotten by Occasion of the Opinion of other Philosophers, who in their Discourses of the Life that is to be after this, brought such Arguments, *That proceed no more from Men then Beasts.* And therefore, saith he, *It is no wonder that the Passing of Men's Souls into Beasts, and those of Beasts into Men, should be commented upon.* Lib. 2. de ver. Relig. Christ. (vide etiam Annotat. ejusd.) But yet there is a shrewd Objection against the Opinion of *Pythagoras*, if he did mean it literally, which is cast in by the Sectators of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, which *Lucretius* remembers in these Verses:

*Præterea si immortalis natura anima
Constat, & in corpus nascentibus insinuat,
Cur super ante ætatem ætatem meminisse nequimus?
Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?
Nam si tantoper est animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut ætarum excideret retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab læto jam longitèr errat.*

This Argument, 'tis true, Is for one Thing that is false against another that is the same, but yet holds as to Men so far, that

of the Souls of Men into Beasts: Of all Metamorphosis, or Transmigrations, I believe only one, that is of *Lot's Wife* *; for that of *Nebuchodonosor* † 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 unto Life; that the Souls of Men know neither Contrary nor Corruption; that they subsist beyond the Body, and out-live Death by the Privilege of their proper Natures, and without a Miracle; the Souls of the Faithful, as they leave the Earth, take Possession of Heaven; that those Apparitions and Ghosts of departed ¶ Persons

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that it is not likely (as the Author saith) but *Pythagoras* would observe an Absurdity in the Consequence of his Metempsychosis; and therefore did not mean it literally, but desired only to express the Soul to be Immortal, which he, and the other Philosophers that were of that Opinion, who had not heard of Creation, could not conceive, unless it must be taken for Truth, that the Soul were before the Body; so saith *Lactantius* of them: *They could not imagine it possible that the Soul should exist after the Body, than by supposing it existed before the Body.* De fals. Sap. c. 18.

* See *Genesis* 19. 26.

† See *Daniel* 4. 29.

¶ *Solomon*, *Eccles.* 9. 10. confirms this. *Whatsoever thy Hand findeth to do, do it with thy might; for there is no Work, Device, nor Knowledge, nor Wisdom in the Grave whither thou goest.*

them to die *, that is, to cease to breathe, to take a Farewel 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 intreat 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 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 Serjeant. 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

* I don't believe any People in the World die with more Resolution than those Women in the *Indies*, who throw themselves into the Fire after their dead Husbands.

this Dilemma, that he is too sensible of this Life, or hopeless of the Life to come.

§ 39. Some Divines count *Adam* thirty Years old at his Creation, 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 older 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 and Womb of our Mother, our Time is short, computed by the Moon ; yet longer than the Days of many Creatures that behold the Sun *, ourselves being not yet without Life, Sense, and Reason ; though for the Manifestations of its Actions, it awaits the Opportunity of Objects, and seems to live there but in its Root and Soul of Vegetation ; entring afterwards upon the Scene of the World, we arise up and become ano-

* *Ælianus* mentions an Animal, called *Ephemerus*, that lives but nine Days. The Life of Silk Worms and many Insects is very short.

ther 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 *Paul*, that proper Place of Spirits. The smattering I have of the Philosophers 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 a while 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.

§ 40. I am naturally bashful, nor hath Conversation, Age, or Travel, been able to affront, 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 Ignomi-

* Many Men have set their Heads to work, and spent immense Sums in Search of it; but they have not hitherto succeeded.

ny of our Natures, that in 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, unpity'd, without wondering Eyes, Tears of Pity, Lectures of Mortality, and none had said, *O how changed he is from what he was before!* Not that I am ashamed of the Anatomy of my Parts, or can accuse Nature for playing the Bungler in any Part of me, or my own vitious Life for contracting any shameful Disease upon me, whereby I might not call myself as wholesome a Morfel for the Worms as any.

§ 41. 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 be a meer 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 Memory of my Name to be found any where, 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.*

*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

* *Diogenes* desired he might be left unburied after his Death; but his Friends objected to this, that he would be devoured by wild Beasts. To which he answered, Then put a Stick into my Hand that I may drive them away. They replied, He would have neither Motion or Sight when he was dead. You mistake, says *Diogenes*, as I shall have neither Motion or Sight when I am dead, what care I where I am, or what consumes me. But, said his Friends, as you always live here alone, who will carry you out of your House? To which he answered, Those who want my House to use, will take care to carry me out. *Cic. lib. 1. Tusc. Quæst.*

† When the Patriarch *Jacob* was upon his Death-Bed, he spoke to *Joseph* and said, *If now I have found Grace in thy Sight, put, I pray thee, thy Hand under my Thigh, and deal kindly and truly with me, bury me not, I pray thee, in Ægypt. But I will lie with my Fathers, and thou shalt carry me out of Ægypt, and bury me in their Burying-place. Genes. 47. 29, 30.*

|| In *China* every one buys himself a Coffin, according as he is rich; and he that is old and happens to have none is very uneasy, because he that dies without, is burnt to Ashes, and his Ashes are buried. *Alvar. Relat. de la China.*
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the neatest Way unto Corruption. I do not envy the Temper of Crows and (o) 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 under Ground, all the Kings of *Europe*; have been Contemporary to three Emperors, four Grand Seigniors, 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 Age; the World to me is but a Dream or Mock-show, and we all therein but Pantalones and Anticks, to my severer Contemplations.

§ 42. It is not, I confess, an unlawful Prayer to desire to surpass the Days of our

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(o) As *Theophrastus* did, who dying, accused Nature for giving them, to whom it could not be of any concernment, so large a Life; and to Man, whom it much concern'd, so short a one. *Cic. Tusc. quæst. l. 3.* How long Daws live, see in *Not. ad Sect. 41.*

|| *Leviticus 25. 10.* you will find what the *Hebrews* meant by a Jubilee Year: *And ye shall hallow the fiftieth Year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the Land unto all the Inhabitants thereof: It shall be a Jubilee unto you.*

* *Saturn* makes his Revolution round the Sun in 29 Years and 194 Hours.

Saviour,

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 super-annuated from Sin, it were worthy our Knees to implore the Days of *Methuselah*. But Age does not rectify, but incurvate our Natures, turning bad Dispositions into worser 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 agrees in all other Circumstances, as at Forty, but swells and doubles from that Circumstance 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 oftner 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 Arithmetick,

* It is not certain to what Age Christ lived; but it is conjectured that he was above Thirty when he died.

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 (*p*), 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 (*q*).

§ 43. And

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(*p*) I suppose he alludes to an Expression in an Epistle of Cicero, written in his Exile, to his Wife and Children, where he hath these Words to his Wife: *All I have to say more, my dear Terentia, is, That you bear your Afflictions with Patience. We have lived honourably and have flourished, and are not in disgrace for our Crimes but our Virtue; there is no other Fault, but that we did not lose our Lives and Fortunes at the same time.* l. 24. Ep. 4.

(*q*) *Æson* was the Father of *Jason*, and, at his request, was by *Medea*, by the means of this Bath, restored to his Youth. Ingredients that went into it, and the Description of *Medea's* Performance, *Ovid* gives you l. 7. *Metam.*

*Interea calido positum medicamen abeno
Fervet & exultat, spumisq; tumentibus albet.
Illic Æmonia radices valle resectas,
Seminaq; & flores, & succos incoquit atros*

Adjicit

§ 43. 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

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*Adjicit extremo lapides Oriente petitos,
Et quas Oceani refluxum mare lavit arenas:
Addidit exceptas lunæ de nocte pruinas,
Et Strigis infames ipsis cum carnibus alas,
Inq; virum soliti vultus mutare ferinos,
Ambigui prosecta lupi, nec defuit illi
Squamea Cinyphei tenuis membrana Chelindri,
Vivacisq; jecur cervi; quibus insuper addit
Ora, caputq; novem cornicis secula passæ.
His & mille aliis, post quam sine nomine rebus,
Propositum instruxit mortali barbara munus
Arenti ramo jampridem mitis olivæ
Omnia confudit, summisq; immiscuit ima.
Ecce, vetus calido versatus stipes abeno
Fit viridis primo, nec longo tempore frondes
Induit, & subito gravidis oneratur Olivis.
At quacunq; cavo spumas ejecit abeno
Ignis, & in terram guttæ cecidere calentes,
Vernat humus floresq; & mollia pabula surgunt
Quæ simulac vidi, stricto Medea recludit.
Ense senis jugulum, veteremq; extare cruorem
Passa replet succis, quas postquam combibit Æson,
Aut ore acceptas, aut vulnere, barba comæq;
Lanitie posita, nigrum rapuere colorem.
Pulsa fugit macies; abeunt pallorq; situsq;
Adjectoq; cave supplentur corpore rugæ;
Membraq; luxuriant. Æson miratur, & olim
Ante quater denos hunc se reminiscitur annos
Dissimilemq; animum subiit ætate relicta.*

thereof.

thereof. They that found themselves on the Radical Balsom, or Vital Sulphur of the Parts, determine not why *Abel* lived not so long as *Adam*. There is therefore a secret Gloom 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, our Selves, 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 compleated 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.

§ 44. 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

*Victurosque Dei celant ut vivere durent,
Felix esse Mori.*

*We're all deluded, vainly searching Ways
To make us happy by the Length of Days;
For cunningly to make's protract his Breath,
The Gods conceal the Happiness of Death.*

There be many excellent Strains in that Poet, wherewith his Stoical Genius hath liberally supplied him; and truly there are singular Pieces in the Philosophy of *Zeno*, and Doctrine of the Stoicks, which I perceive, delivered in a Pulpit, pass for current Divinity: Yet herein are they in Extreams, that can allow a Man to be his own *Assassine*, and so highly extol the End and Suicide of *Cato* (r); this is indeed not to fear Death, but yet to be afraid of Life. It is a brave Act of Valour to condemn 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*, *Scevola*, or *Codrus*, do not parallel or match that one

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(r) As doth *Seneca* in several places; but *Lactantius* saith, he cast away his Life, to get the Reputation of a *Platonick* Philosopher, and not for fear of *Cæsar*; and 'tis very probable he was in no great Fear of Death, when he slept so securely the Night before his Death, as the Story reports of him.

of *Job*; and sure there is no Torture to the Rack of a Disease, nor any Poniards in Death it self, 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 (s), I should be of his Desires, and wish rather to go off at one Blow, then 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 Fabrick 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 Villany 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

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(s) I doubt not but here is a Fault of the Press, and that instead of *Cæsar* it should be *Cicero*. I meet not with any such Saying imputed to *Cæsar*, nor any thing like it, but that he prefer'd a sudden Death, (in which he had his Option) to any other; but I meet with such a Saying in *Cicero*, quoted out of *Epicharmus*, *I don't seek Death, but don't care if I was dead*. Where *Cicero* sustaineth the Part of the *Epicure*, that there is no hurt in being dead, since there remaineth nothing after it. *Cic. 1. Tusc. qu. at the Beginning*.

beholden

beholden 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 Opticks 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 Stoick 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.

§ 45. Now besides the literal and positive Kind of Death, there are others whereof Divines make mention, and those, I think, not meerly 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 any thing, before I was my Saviour's, and inrolled in the Register

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 cast 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 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 *Sybil* or Oracle they stole the Prophecy of the World's Destruction by Fire, or whence *Lucan* learned to say,

*Communis mundo superest rogas, ossibus astra
Misturus (t).* —————

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(t) Why, *Lucan* was a Stoick, and 'twas an Opinion among them almost generally, that the World should perish by

* *Rhadamanthus*, according to *Apollodorus*, was the Son of *Jupiter* by *Europa*, who being a Man of extraordinary Justice and Equity, the Poets feigned that he was made a Judge in Hell, to try the Souls of the Dead. See *Virgil's Æneis*, lib. 6.

*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 nor decayed, nor shall ever perish upon the Ruins of its own Principles. As the Work of Creation was above Nature, so 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 described, 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

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by Fire; therefore without doubt from them he learned it. *The Heavens and all that is contained within the Heavens shall be destroyed by Fire, when the Waters of the Sea and the Springs shall fail.* It was a fixed Maxim among the Stoicks, that when the Moisture of the Earth was dried up, the Earth would take fire. *Minutius in Octav.* But Minutius should have excepted Boetius, Passidonius, Diogenes Babylonius, and Zeno Sidonius, who were Stoicks, and yet did not think the World should be destroyed by Fire; nor yet by any other Means.

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.

§ 46. 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's* 6000 Years (*u*), or imagine the Se-

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(*u*) *Lactantius* is very positive that the World should last but 6000 Years; but his Reason for it is somewhat strange; thus

† How this Affair will be at the Day of Judgment, which is partly described to us in the Holy Scripture, we know not till the Time shall come. I think it not necessary to lose Time by bringing many Opinions upon this Point. Be satisfied with what the Apostle St. *James* says in his Epistle, Chap. 5. Ver. 7, 8. *Be patient therefore, Brethren, unto the coming of the Lord, Behold the Husbandman waiteth for the precious Fruit of the Earth, and hath long Patience for it, until he receive the early and latter Rain. Be ye also patient; stablish your Hearts; for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.*

cret communicated to a Rabbi, * which God hath denied unto his Angels? It had been an excellent Quære 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 pronounced: There shall be Signs in the Moon and Stars; how comes he then like a Thief in the Night, when he gives an Item of his coming? That common Sign drawn from the Revelation of Anti-christ, is as obscure as any; in our common Compute

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thus it is, *Because God performed the Work of the Creation in six Days, therefore the World must of necessity endure six Ages, or 6000 Years.* De Divino præmio, cap. 14.

* Christ testifies that the Angels know not the Time, *Matt. 24. 36. But of that Day and Hour knoweth no Man, no, not the Angels of Heaven, but my Father only.*

† In those Days there shall come Liars and False Prophets.

he hath been come these many Years; but for my own Part to speak freely, I am half of Opinion that Anti-christ is the Philosophers 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 lingring Expostulation of the Saints under the Altar, *Quousque Domine?* * *How long, O Lord?* and groan in the Expectation of that great Jubilee.

§ 47. 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 compleat and make up the Catastrophe of this great Piece. This

* These Words are taken from the sixth Chapter of St. John's Revelation, ver. 9. *And when he had opened the fifth Seal, I saw under the Altar the Souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the Testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud Voice, saying, How long, O Lord?*

is the Day whose Memory hath only Power to make us Honest in the Dark, and to be Virtuous without a Witness. *Ipsa sui premium virtus sibi* (x), 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* (y), and in my retired and solitary Imaginations, to detain 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 there was nought 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 with-

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(x) It is a Stoical Principle. *For you seek what is not to be found, when you say, what shall I desire beyond Virtue? For there is nothing better than what carries its Reward with it.* Senec. de vit. beat. c. 9.

(y) What that Artifice was, is to be seen in *Senec. l. 1. Ep. 11.* *We should make choice of some good Man, and place him always before our Eyes, that we may both live and act as though he looked upon us.* And a little after he says, *Choose Cato, and if he appears too severe for you, choose Lælius, who is a Man not so rigid;* which though as the Author saith, it be an honest Artifice, yet cannot I but commend the Party, and prefer the Direction of him (whoever he were) who in the Margin of my *Seneca*, over against those Words, wrote these: *But rather choose God, who is really present, and sees all our Actions, and as a Witness is the avenger and punisher of Evil-doers.*

out a Thought of Heaven or Hell (z); 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 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 *Lucian*, *Euripides*, and *Julian*, are no Blasphemies, but subtle Verities, and Atheists have been the only Philosophers (a).

§ 48. How shall the Dead arise, is no Question of my Faith; to believe only Possibilities, is not Faith, but meer Philosophy. 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 indu-

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(z) *Seneca** brags he could do this in these Words: *If I knew that the Gods would pardon Crimes, and those who did not know the vileness of the Crime they committed, I should be ashamed to sin.*

(a) That is, if nothing remains after this Life. *St. Aug.* was of this Opinion. *I considered with myself that Epicurus would have carried the Prize, that the Soul remains after Death.* Aug. l. 6. conf. cap. 16.

* *Tho. Aquin. in com. Boet. de Consolat prope finem.*

cible 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 Pieces; 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 Relicks shall be scattered in the Wilderness of Forms, and seem to have forgot their proper Habits, God by a powerful Voice, shall command them back into their proper Shapes (b), and call them out by their single Individuals:

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(b) So *Minutus*. For who is so great a Fool or an Ass, as to deny that since God could make Man, it was out of his Power to renew him; or, that he is nothing after Death, and was nothing before he was born; and as he was made of nothing, so he may be made again out of nothing. Further, It is more difficult

Individuals : Then shall appear the Fertility of *Adam*, and the Magick 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, by 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

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difficult to make a Thing at first, than to renew that which was made before. Do you believe all is lost to God that we cannot discover with our dull Senses? All Bodies are reducea to Dust, or subtilized into a Vapour, whether the one or the other happens, they entirely disappear from us ; but God has the Power over them afterwards. In Octav. Vide Grot. de veritate Relig. Christian. ubi (lib. 2.) he solves the Objection that Bodies dissolved cannot be restored.

the Plant *, and from its Cinders recal 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 *Ezekiel*, but in an ocular and visible Object the Types of his Resurrection.

§ 49. 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* † : He was translated
out

* *John de Bruce* gives you an Instance of this in a Physician at *Cracow*, who gathered the Ashes of various Plants together, which he made to shoot out into Flowers, according to the Nature of the Plants ; and though there are a great many who cannot credit this, the same *de Brune* has the following Words : This Secret is pretty well known at present, for many expert Chymists give us daily Proofs of it.

† These were not *St. Paul's* Words, where he speaks of being raised unto the third Heaven. Our Author, and several

out of himself to behold it; but being returned into himself, could not express it. *St. John's* Description by Emeralds, Chrysolites, and precious Stones ||, 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 compleatly 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 it self, and the unsatiable Wishes of ours; wherever God will thus manifest himself, there is Heaven, though within the Circle of this sensible World. Thus the Soul of Man may be in Heaven any where, 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, 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

ral others, because it is made use of to magnify the Glory of Heaven, imagine that *St. Paul* said the same Thing of the Heaven to which he was raised. But *St. Paul* uses the same Expression, 1 *Cor.* 2. 9. *That he might manifest to them, what extraordinary heavenly Wisdom is contained in the Gospel, and the Annunciation of Christ.*

|| See *Revelat.* Chap. 21.

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 *Ægyptians*, committed a gross Absurdity in Philosophy, when with these Eyes of Flesh he desired to see God, and petitioned his Maker, that is Truth it self, to a Contradiction. Those that imagine Heaven and Hell Neighbours, and conceive a Vicinity between those two Extreams, upon Consequence of the Parable, where *Dives* discoursed with *Lazarus* in *Abraham's* Bosom, do too grossly conceive of those glorified Creatures, whose Eyes shall easily out-see the Sun, and behold without a Perspective the extreamest 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 Intellectual. I grant that two Bodies placed beyond the

* *Hobbes* in the 38th Chap. of his *Leviathan*, speaks in this Manner: The Place in which Men shall live, is in Heaven, that we ought to understand by this Heaven, the most remote Part of the World, situated beyond the Stars, or a higher Heaven, which is commonly called the empyreal Heaven, whereof no mention is made in Scripture, and which has not the least Foundation in Reason or be drawn from any Text of the Bible with the least Appearance of Truth.

tenth Sphere, or in a Vacuity, according to *Aristotle's* Philosophy, could 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 Opticks.

§ 50. 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 (c): Those Flames of Sulphur mentioned in the Scriptures, 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 specifical Fire with ours. This is hard to conceive, yet can I make

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(c) Upon this Ground *Pfellus lib. 1. Of the Power of Devils, c. 7.* holds, That Angels have Bodies, (though he grants them to be as pure, or more pure than Air is) otherwise he could not apprehend how they should be tormented in Hell; and it may be, upon this Ground it was, that the Author fell into the Error of the *Arabians*, mentioned by him Section 7.

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 powerfullest 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 calcin'd, or burnt the Golden Calf unto Powder: For that mystical Metal of Gold, whose Solary and celestial Nature I admire, exposed unto the Violence of Fire, grows only Hot and Liquifies, 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 Actions 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,

* *Moses* must certainly have understood Chymistry better than they do in our Days, and must have some Secret to reduce Gold to Ashes by burning it; for in this Age it is look'd upon as impossible. The Scripture ever seems to be against it; for it mentions only the Purification or Melting of Gold, as in *Malacby* 3. 2, 3. and in many other Places. But it is no where mentioned, that Gold can be reduced to Ashes, as in *Exodus* 32. 20. where *Moses* seems to be so expert a Chymist.

Earth, and Air ; but at that Time, spoiled of these Ingredients, it shall appear in a Substance more like it self, its Ashes. Philosophers that opinioned the World's Destruction by Fire, did never dream of Annihilation, which is beyond the Power of sublunary Causes ; for the last Action of that Element is but Vitrification, or a Reduction of a Body into Glass ; and therefore some of our Chymists facetiously affirm, that at the last Fire all shall be christallized 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 Work 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 may be to the Sense, are actually existent to the Understanding. Thus God beholds all Things,

* A worthy Friend of mine in *Holland* assured me, upon very good Reasons, that he knew what Colour the Leaves of a Tulip would be of, by the Heart of the Root.

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.

§ 51. 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 Purlue is about it: Men speak too popularly who place it in 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 Breast; *Legion* is revived in me: There are as many

* There are several Mountains in the World which continually throw out Fire, as Mount *Ætna* in *Sicily*, Mount *Hecla* in *Yslant*, Mount *Vesuvius*, which is within eight Leagues of *Naples*; and because these Mountains cast out Fire, there are People simple enough to believe, that these are the Mouths of Hell.

Hells, as *Anaxagoras* conceited (*d*) Worlds: There was more than one Hell in *Magdalene*, when there were seven Devils; 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.

§ 52. I thank God that 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

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(*d*) I assure myself, that this is false printed, and that instead of *Anaxagoras*, it should be *Anaxarchus*; for *Anaxagoras* is reckon'd amongst those Philosophers that maintain'd a Unity of the World, but *Anaxarchus* (according to the Opinion of *Epicurus*) held there were infinite Worlds. This is he that caus'd *Alexander* to weep, by telling him there were infinite Worlds, whereby *Alexander* it seems was brought out of Opinion of his Geography, who before that Time thought there remained nothing, or not much beyond his Conquests.

Hell,

Hell, and needs methinks no Addition to compleat 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 Methods of his Wisdom, which he useth but 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 scared into Heaven ; they go the fairest Way to Heaven, that would serve God without a Hell ; other Mercenaries, that crouch unto him in Fear of Hell, though they term themselves the Servants, are indeed but the Slaves of the Almighty.

§ 53. 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 Abyfs 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 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

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 miscall those noble Attributes: Yet it is likewise an honest Piece of Logick, so to dispute and argue the Proceedings of God, as to distinguish even his Judgments into Mercies. For God is merciful unto all, because better to the worst, than the best deserves; and to say he punisheth none in this World, though it be a Paradox, is no Absurdity. To one that hath committed Murther, if the Judge should only ordain a Fine, it were a Madnes 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 Frensy 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 Scepter 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

think to deserve, nor scarce in Modesty to expect. For those 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.

§ 54. 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 (e), whose worthy Lives do teach us Virtue on Earth: Methinks amongst those many subdivisions 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 De-

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(e) *Lactantius* is alike charitably disposed towards those. *I am not so unjust as to think they must be Conjurers who find out the Truth themselves (which I confess I could never do): But this I require, that they should make use of Reason in what they do.* *Lactant. de Orig. Error. cap. 3.* which is the very same with *K. Digby's* Expression in his Observations on this Place. I make no doubt at all (saith he) but if any follow'd in the whole Tenour of their Lives the Dictaments of right Reason, but that their Journey was secure to Heaven. *Erasmus* also so far esteemed the ancient Philosophers, that he almost adored them as Saints. For, says he, I can hardly forbear crying out, O Holy *Socrates!*

vils?

vils*? 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 thus?* it would prevent these arrogant Disputes of Reason, nor would 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

* The Pagans, as they had their *Rhadamanthus* who was Judge in Hell, so likewise they had their Furies who were to execute the Sentence pronounced against the Souls condemned, and punish them according to the Crimes they had committed against the Gods.

make it good, how the perfectest Actions of Earth have no Title or Claim unto Heaven.

§ 55. 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 Ethicks (f):
The

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(f) And so they did all, as *Lactantius* hath observed at large. *Aristotle* is said to have been guilty of great Vanity in his Clothes, of Incontinency, of Unfaithfulness to his Master *Alexander*, &c. But 'tis to wonder in him, if our great *Seneca* be also guilty, whom truly notwithstanding St. *Jerome* would have him inserted in the Catalogue of Saints, yet I think he as little deserv'd it, as many of the Heathens who did not say so well as he did, for I do not think any of them lived worse: To trace him a little: In the Time of the Emperor *Claudius*, we find he was banish'd for suspicion of Incontinency with *Julia* the Daughter of *Germanicus*. If it be said that this proceeded meerly from the Spight of *Messalina*, (and that *Lipsius* did not complement with him in that kind *Apostrophe*, O thou Constellation of the Roman Name, and of Wisdom itself, this Crime cannot be imputed to thee. Not. in Tacit.) why then did she not cause him to be put to death, as well as she did the other, who was her Husband's Niece? This for certain, whatever his Life were, he had a lascivious Taste, as may appear by what he hath written, *de Speculorum usu*, l. 1. Nat. Qu. cap. 16. which (admitting it may in a Poet, yet) how it should be excus'd in a Philosopher I know not. To look upon him in his Exile, we find that then he wrote his Epistle *De Consolat.* to *Polybius*, *Claudius's* Creature (as honest a Man as *Pallas* or *Narcissus*) and therein he extols him and the Emperor to the Skies; in which he did grossly prevaricate, and lost much of his Reputation, by seeking a discharge of his Exile by so sordid a Means. Upon *Claudius's* Marriage with *Agrippina*, he was recall'd from Banishment by her Means, and made *Prætor*; then he forgets the Emperor, having no need of him, labours
all

The Stoicks that condemn Passion, and command a Man to laugh in *Phalaris's*

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all he can to depress him and the hopeful *Britannicus*, and procured his Pupil *Nero* to be adopted and design'd Successor, and the Emperor's own Son to be disinherited; and against the Emperor whom he so much praised when he had need of him, after his Death, he writes a scurrilous Libel. In *Nero's* Court, how ungratefully doth he behave himself towards *Agrippina!* who, although she were a wicked Woman, yet she deserv'd well of him, and of her Son too, who yet never was at rest till he had taken away her Life, and upon Suspicion cast in against her by this Man. Afterwards, not to mention that he made great Haste to grow Rich, which should not be the Business of a Philosopher; towards *Nero* himself, how well did it become his Philosophy to play the Traytor against him, and to become a Complice in the Conspiracy of *Piso*? And then as good a Tragedian as he was, methinks he doth *fail in the last Act*, when he must needs perswade *Paulina*, that excellent Lady his Wife, to die with him: What should move him to desire it? It could in his Opinion be no Advantage to her, for he believ'd nothing of the Immortality of the Soul: I am not satisfied with the Reason of *Tacitus*, *Lest he should leave her, whom only he loved, exposed to Hardships*, because he discredits it himself in almost the next Words, where he saith, *Nero* bore her no Ill-will at all (and would not suffer her to die) it must surely be then, because he thought he had not liv'd long enough (being not above 14 Years old, so much he was) and had not the Fortitude to die, unless he might receive some Confirmation in it by her Example. Now let any Man judge what a precious Legacy it is that he bequeaths by his nuncupative Will to his Friends in *Tacitus*. Then turning to his Friends, he said, *since I am deprived of rewarding you as you deserve, I have but one Thing to leave you worth your Acceptance, and that is the Pattern of my Life*. It cannot be denied of him, that he hath said very well; but yet it must as well be affirmed, that his Practice run counter to his Theory, to use the Author's Phrase.

Bull*, could not endure without a Groan a Fit of the Stone or Cholick. The *Scepticks* that affirmed they knew nothing (g), 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 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 (h), I will not argue of Pro-

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(g) The ancient Philosophers are divided into three Sorts, *Dogmatici*, *Academici*, *Sceptici*; the first were those that delivered their Opinions positively; the second left a liberty of disputing *for and against*; the third declared that there was no knowledge of any Thing, no not of this very Proposition, that there is no Knowledge, according to that, *If any Man thinks nothing can be known, he is likewise ignorant whether that can be known, since he owns he knows nothing.*

(h) The Duke and Senate yearly on *Ascension-day* use to go in their best Attire to the Haven at *Lio*, and there by throwing a Ring into the Water, do take the Sea as their Spouse. *Vid. Hist. Ital.* by *Will. Thomas*, *Cambro brit.* *Busbequius* reports, that there is a Custom among the *Turks*, which they took from the *Greek Priests*, not much unlike unto

* *Phalaris* was a Tyrant of *Agrirentium*, who contrived this Bull, and was accustomed to put Men alive into it, that their Cries might resemble the Noise of a Bull. *Plin. lib. 4. chap. 8.* also *Lucian* in his Treatise called *Phalaris*.
digality,

digality, 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 (*i*), 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 compleat 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 (*k*), that it is a Lesson to be good, and we are forced

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unto this: *As it was the Custom among the Græcians Priests to consecrate the Waters, and keep the Sea, as it were locked up at a certain Time in the Spring, before which Time they would trust themselves to the Mercy of the Waves: So the same Ceremony is observed in Turkey.* Busb. Ep. 3. legat. Turfic.

(*i*) This was *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who threw a great Quantity of Gold into the Sea with these Words, *I destroy my Riches, lest they should destroy me.* *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *Samos* cast the best Jewel he had into the Sea, that thereby he might learn to compose himself against the Vicissitude of Fortune.

(*k*) To make an Action to be good, all the Causes that concur must be good; but one bad amongst many good ones, is enough to make it vitious, according to the Rule, *Bonum ex causa integra, malum ex partiali.*

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 Rhetorick 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 are all 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 Salvation; that the Bridge is narrow, the Passage straight 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.

§ 56. The Vulgarity of those Judgments that wrap the Church of God in *Strabo's*

* Because *Ops*, *Saturn's* Wife, caught him busy with *Phylira*, he chang'd himself into a Horse; from which Mixture a Monster was produced half Man half Horse. See *Appollodorus*, lib. 1.

Cloak, and restrain it unto *Europe* (l), seem to me as bad Geographers as *Alexander*, who thought he had conquer'd all the World, when he had not subdued the half of any Part thereof. For we 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 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;

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(l) 'Tis *Strabonis Tunica* in the Translation, but *Chlamydi* would do better, which is the proper Expression of the Word that *Strabo* useth: It is not *Europe*, but the known Part of the World that *Strabo* resembleth to a Cloak, and that is it the Author here alludeth to; but we have no reason to think that the Resemblance of *Strabo* is very proper. *Vid. Sir Hen. Savil in Not. ad Tac. in vita Agricola.*

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 whilst 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.

§ 57. † 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 Mercy; and therefore to define either, is Folly in Man, and

* At an Auction of Books at *Leyden* a certain Gentleman came in, and not knowing what Article they were upon, asked the Question to one who stood by him. Sir, said he, at present they are selling *Flaccus Illiricus's Key to the Holy Scriptures*. He asked him farther, whether his Key was there who made the Lock? I can't say that, reply'd the other. Then, said he, I bid nothing.

† This puts me in Mind of what Christ said when he was asked whether many or few should be saved, *Luke* 13. 23. His Answer was, *Strive to enter in at the strait Gate: For many, I say unto you, will seek to enter in, and shall not be able.*

insolency even in the Devils: Those acute and subtil Spirits in all their Sagacity, can hardly divine who shall be saved; which if they could prognostick their Labour were at an End; nor need they compass the Earth seeking whom they may devour. Those who upon a rigid Application of the Law, sentence *Solomon* unto Damnation (*m*), condemn not only 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.

§ 58. 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*, 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

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(*m*) *St. Aug.* upon *Psal.* 126, and in many other Places, holds that *Solomon* is damned: Of the same Opinion is *Lyra*, in 2 *Reg.* c. 7. & *Bellarmin.* 1 *Tom.* lib. 1. *Controv.* c. 5.

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.

§ 59. Again, I am confident, and fully perswaded, 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 our 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.* 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,* 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 all Eternity. And in this Sense, I say, the World was before the Creation, and at an End before it had a Beginning;

ginning; 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 conceiv'd of *Cain*.

§ 60. 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 lapp'd 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-feed, is able to remove Mountains; surely that which we boast of is not any thing, or at the most, but a remove from nothing. This is the Tenor 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 favour them, than the learned and best Judgments shall authorize them.



RELIGIO MEDICI.

PART II.

SECTION I.



OW for that other Virtue of Charity, without which Faith is a meer Nation, and of no Existence, I have ever endeavoured to nourish the merciful Disposition and human 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 comforts and sympathizeth with all Things; I have no Antipathy, or rather Idio-syncrasy, in Diet, Humour, Air, or any Thing: I wonder not at the *French* for their Dishes of
Frogs,

Frogs, Snails, and Toadstools (*a*); nor at the Jews for Locusts and Graf-hoppers; 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 Sallad gathered in a Church-yard, 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* and *Dutch*; but where I find their Actions in Ballance with my Country-men's, I honour, love, and embrace them in some 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* every where, and under any Meridian. I have been shipwreck'd, 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;

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(*a*) Toad stool; are not peculiar to the *French*; they were a great Delicacy among the *Romans*, as appears every where in *Martial*. It was conceived the Emperor *Claudius* received his Death by Poison, which he took in a Mushroom. *Suet.* and *Tac.*

my Conscience would give me the Lie if I should absolutely detest or hate any Essence but the Devil ; or so at least abhor any thing, 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 Scripture, 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 Mechanicks, though their Fortunes do somewhat gild their Infirmities, and their Purfes compound for their Follies.. But as in Casting Account, three or four Men together come short in Account of one

* The Poets feigned that this Serpent had several Heads, and that when one was cut off another grew in its Place ; and this is a very monstrous Animal, having so many Heads, so the many different Opinions of the common People are not wrongly compared to it.

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 them 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 Preheminence of his good Parts: Though the Corruption of these Times, and the Byass of present Practice wheel another Way. Thus it was in the first and primitive Common-wealths, and is yet in the Integrity and Cradle of well-order'd Politics, '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 any Thing.

§ 2. This general and indifferent Temper of mine, doth more nearly dispose me to this noble Virtue. It is a Happiness to be born and framed unto Virtue, and to grow up from the Seeds of Nature, rather than the Inoculation and forced Grafts 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 Rhetorick 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 politick 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

wherein he that can read *A, B, C*, may read our Natures. I hold moreover that there is a 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 Names; and by this Alphabet *Adam* assigned to every Creature a Name peculiar to its Nature. Now there are besides these Characters in our Faces, certain mystical Figures in our Hands, which I dare not call meer Dashes, Strokes, *a 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 *Ægyptians*, who were nearer addicted to those abstruse and mystical Sciences, had a Knowledge therein; to which those vagabond and counterfeit *Ægyptians* did after pretend, and perhaps retained a few corrupted Principles, which sometimes might verify their Prognosticks.

It

It is the common Wonder of all Men, how among so many Millions of Faces, there should be none alike (*b*): 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 Fabrick 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 Portraict 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

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(*b*) It is reported there have been some so much alike, that they could not be distinguished; as King *Antiochus*, and one *Antemon*, a Plebeian of *Syria*, were so much alike, that *Laodice*, the King's Widow, by pretending this Man was the King, dissembled the Death of the King so long, till according to her own Mind a Successor was chosen. *Cn. Pompeius*, and one *Vibius* the Orator; *C. Plancus*, and *Rubrius* the Stage-player; *Cassius Severus* the Orator, and one *Mirmello*; *M. Messala Censorius*, and one *Menogenes* were so much alike, that unless it were by their Habit, they could not be distinguished: But this you must take upon the Faith of *Pliny*, (*lib. 7. c. 12.*) and *Solinus* (*cap. 6.*) who as this Author tells else-where, are Authors not very infallible.

beyond

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 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 any Thing 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.

§ 3. 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 Acts 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 condemn a Man for Ignorance, but behold him with as much Pity as I do *Lazarus*. It is no greater Charity to cloath his Body, than apparel the Nakedness of his Soul. It
is

is an honourable Object to see the Reasons of other Men wear our Liveries, and their borrowed Understandings 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 it self. 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 Knowledge ; 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 than 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 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 condemn 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

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 Skirmish is betwixt *S.* and *T.* in *Lucian* (c): How do Grammarians hack and slash for the Genitive Case in *Jupiter*? How do they break their own Pates, to salve that of *Priscian*? How would *Democritus* laugh if he was still alive? 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 *Aëtus's* Ra-

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(c) In his *Dialogue on the Judgment of the Vowels*, where there is a large Oration made to the Vowels, being Judges, by *Sigma* against *Tau*, complaining that *Tau* has bereav'd him of many Words which should begin with *Sigma*.

zor (*d*) ; 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 meer 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 (*e*), and a Fear of the revengeful Pen of succeeding Ages : For these

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(*d*) *Actus Navius* was chief Augur, who, as the Story saith, admonishing *Tarqu Priscus* that he should not undertake any Action of Moment, without first consulting the Augur, the King (shewing that he had little Faith in his Skill) demanded of him whether by the Rules of his Skill, what he had conceived in his Mind might be done : To whom when *Actius* had answered it might be done, he bid him take a Whetstone which he had in his Hand, and cut it in two with a Razor, which accordingly the Augur did, *Livy*. And therefore we must conceive it was very sharp. Here the Adage was cross'd, *ἔγχεος ἐς ἀκόνυν*, i. e. *novacula in cotem*. Vid. *Erasm. Chiliad*.

(*e*) There is a great Scholar, who took the Boldness to tell a Prince so much. There is a Sort of tacit and natural Friendship between good Princes and Men of Learning, that they may add a Lustre to each other ; so that while they agree it is to the Princes Glory, and to the Authority of the Learned. *Politian. Ep. Ludovic. Sfort. quæ extat, lib. 11. Ep. ep. 1.* And to this Opinion astipulates a Countryman of our own, whose Words are these : *Lucilius* had never been known, had it not been for *Seneca's* Epistles. *Virgil, Varus*, and *Lucan* added more to *Cæsar's* Praise than all his Treasure. The Prudence of *Ulysses*, nor the Valour of *Achilles* had been known, if *Homer* had not published them to the World. From whence it is apparent to me, that nothing is more necessary to a Prince who aims at Glory, than a familiar Conversation with Men of Learning. *Joan Sarisb.*

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 authentick Kind of Falshood, that with Authority belies our good Names to all Nations and Posterity.

§ 4. 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 Logick, from a Disposition in a few, conclude a Habit in all.

*Le mutin Anglois, & le bravache Escossois ;
Le bougre Italian, & le fol Francois ;
Le Poultron Romani, le larron de Gasnongne,
L' Espagnol superbe, & l' Aleman yurongne.*

St. Paul, that calls the *Cretians* Liars, doth it but indirectly, and upon Quotation of

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risb. Polycrat. l. 8. c. 14. And that Princes are as much beholding to the Poets Pens as their own Swords, *Horace* tells *Censorinus* with great Confidence, *Ode 8. l. 4. Non incisa notis, &c.*

their

their own Poet (f). It is as bloody a Thought in one Way, as *Nero's* was in another. For by a Word we wound a Thousand (g), and at one Blow assassine the Honour of a Nation. It is as compleat 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 Hypochondriack, 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 prophan'd unto the World,

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(f) That is, *Epimenides*; the Place is, *Tit. i. v. 12.* where *Paul* useth this Verse, taken out of *Epimenides*:

The Cretians are always Liars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies.

(g) I suppose he alludes to that Passage in *Sueton.* in the Life of *Nero*, where he relates that a certain Person upon a Time, spoke in his hearing these Words:

Ἐμὲ θανάσιος γαῖα μίχθῃτω πῦρ. i. e. When I am dead let Earth be mingled with Fire. Whereupon the Emperor uttered these Words, Ἐμὲ ζῶντος, i. e. *Yea whilst I live*: There by one Word, he expressed a cruel Thought, which I think is the Thing he meant; this is more cruel than the Wish of *Caligula*, that the People of *Rome* had but one Neck, that he might destroy them all at a Blow.

* It is said of *John Calvin*, that you may make a Dictionary of Surnames out of his Works from one End of the Alphabet to the other.

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 in 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 excellent; and being lost in some, multiplies its Goodness in others, which remain untouch'd, and persist intire in the general Inundation. I can therefore behold Vice without a Satyr, 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 protract 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;

* You must have both in the World, or neither one or the other. The Clergy addressed Prince *Maurice*, when he was in the Country, desiring that he would banish all Whores out of the Army. The Prince answered them, That he would do it with all his Heart, if you will teach me how I may keep my Soldiers together afterwards.

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 Humor which we
 fancy laudible in ourselves, and commend
 others but for that wherein they seem to qua-
 drate and consent with us. So that in Con-
 clusion, all is but that we all condemn, Self-
 love. 'Tis the general Complaint of these
 Times, and perhaps of those past, that Cha-
 rity grows cold ; which I perceive most ve-
 rified in those which most do manifest the
 Fires and Flames of Zeal ; for it is a Vir-
 tue 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 Ene-
 my , and as it were, his own Executioner.
Thou shalt not kill, is the Commandment of
 God, yet scarce observed by any Man ;
 for I perceive every Man is his own * *Atro-*

* One of the Destinies, who is feign'd by the Poets to
 cut the Thread of Life.

pos, and lends a Hand to cut the Thread of his own Days. *Cain* was not therefore the first Murtherer, 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 perswade him in the Theory of himself.

§ 5. There is, I think, no Man that apprehends his own Miseries less than myself, and no Man that so nearly apprehends others. 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 Impostors. 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 *Job*; 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

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 my own, I may the more easily discuss them; for in mine own Reason, and within myself, I can command that, which I cannot intreat without myself, and within the Circle of another. I have often thought those noble Pairs and Examples of Friendships, not so truly Histories of what had been, as Fictions of what should be; but I now perceive nothing in them but Possibilities; nor any thing in the heroick Examples of *Damon* and *Pythias*, *Achilles* and *Patroclus*, which methinks upon some Grounds I could not perform within the Compass of myself. That a Man should 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 my 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

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; two Natures in one Person; three Persons in one Nature; 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.

§ 6. There are Wonders in true Affection; it is a Body of *Enigma's*, 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 proceed without a Possibility of Satisfaction. Another Misery there is in Affection, that whom we truly love like our own, we forget their
I Looks,

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 mark'd for Virtue: He that can love his Friend with this noble Ardour, will in a competent Degree effect 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 Spirit: 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

ver 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* (b): Our bad Wishes and uncharitable Desires proceed no further than this Life; it is the Devil, and the uncharitable Votes of Hell, that desire our Misery in the World to come.

§ 7. 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 of an Injury; that to hate another, is to malign himself; that 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 any Thing like myself. I find there are many Pieces in this one Fabrick

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(b) It is reported that a certain *Italian* having met with one that had highly provoked him, put a Ponyard to his Breast, and unless he would blaspheme God, told him he would kill him; which the other doing to save his Life, the *Italian* presently kill'd him, to the Intent he might be damned, having no Time of Repentance.

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 domestick Enemies within, publick and more hostile Adversaries without. The Devil that did but buffet St. * *Paul*, plays methinks at sharp with me. Let me be nothing, if within the Compass of myself, I do not fight the Battail of *Lepanto*, Passion against Reason, Reason against Faith, Faith against the Devil, and my Conscience against all. There is another Man within me, that's angry with me, rebukes, commands, and daunts me. I have no Conscience of Marble, to resist the Hammer of more heavy Offences ; nor yet too soft and waxen as to take the Impression of each single Peccadillo or Scape of Infirmitie : I am of a strange Belief, that it is as easy to be forgiven some Sins, as to commit some other. 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 Madnes of my Youth. I thank the Goodness of God, I

* See 2. *Corinth.* 12. 7.

have no Sins that want a Name (*i*), 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 match'd 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 carnal'd with a Statue (*k*), and Constitution of Nero in his Spintrian Recreations (*l*). 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 Villany and Vices: Now the Dulness of my Reason, and the Vulgarity of my Disposition, never

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(*i*) The Author in *cap. ult. lib. ult. Pseudodox*, speaking of the Act of Carnality exercised by the *Ægyptian* Pollinctors with the dead Carcasses, saith we want a Name for this, wherein neither *Petronius* nor *Martial* can relieve us; therefore I conceive the Author here means a venereal Sin.

(*k*) The Latin Annotator upon this, hath these Words; *It is reported this was done at Rome by a certain Spaniard. But certainly the Author means the Statue of Venus Gnidia made by Praxiteles, of which a certain young Man became so enamoured, that Pliny relates, They report he was so deeply in Love with the Image, that he clung to it, and left the Marks of his Lust behind him. Lucian also has the Story in his Dialog. Amores.*

(*l*) The Author doth not mean the last Nero, but *Tiberius* the Emperor, whose Name was *Nero* too; of whom *Sueton.* saith, *He invented a Sort of Saddle like Machine for private Lust (at his Country Seat) where he had the most debauched Men and Women to act before him, that he might raise his own.*

prompted my Invention, nor sollicitated my Affections unto any of those ; 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 suite with this Action, nor my proper Constitution. It is no Breach of Charity to ourselves, to be at Variance with our Vices ; nor 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.

§ 8. 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

petty Acquisitions and reputed Perfections that advance and elevate the Conceits of other Men, add no Feathers unto mine. I have seen a Grammarian tour and plume himself over a single Line in *Horace* (m), 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 Critick. 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 perswade 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

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(m) I am disgusted at some young Grammarians, who when they understand the Etymology of two or three Words, shall so bounce and boast, that they fancy Philosophers are not to compare to them. Picus Mirand. in Ep. ad Hermol. Barb. quæ extat lib. onon Epist Politian. Young Men as soon as they have a Smattering of Learning, behave themselves as though they were Masters of the Sciences.

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 Simplified further 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 any Thing. I cannot think that *Homer* pin'd away upon the Riddle of the Fisherman (*n*), or that *Aristotle*, who understood the Uncertainty of Knowledge, and confessed so often the Reason of Man

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(*n*) The History out of *Plutarch* is thus: Sailing from *Thebes* to the Island *Ion*, being landed and set down upon the Shore, there happened certain Fishermen to pass by him, and he asking them what they had taken, they made him this enigmatical Answer, That what they had taken, they had left behind them; and what they had not taken, they had with them: Meaning, that because they could take no Fish, they went to louse themselves; and that all which they had taken they had killed, and left behind them; and all which they had not taken, they had with them in their Clothes: And that *Homer* being struck with a deep Sadness because he could not interpret this, pin'd away and at last died. *Pliny* alludes to this Riddle, in his *Ep.* to his Friend *Fuscus*, where giving an Account of spending his Time in the Country, he tells him, *I hunt sometimes, but not without Lice; that though I catch nothing I may bring something away.* *Plin. Ep. lib. 9. Ep. 36.*

too weak for the Works of Nature, did ever drown himself upon the Flux and Reflex of *Euripus* (o). We do but learn To-day, what our better advanced Judgments will unteach To-morrow : And *Aristotle* doth not instruct us, as *Plato* did him ; that is, to confute himself (p). I have run through all Sorts, yet find no rest in any : Though our first Studies and junior Endeavours may stile us Peripateticks, Stoicks, or Academicks, yet I perceive the wisest Heads prove at last, almost all Scepticks, and stand like *Janus* in the Field of Knowledge *. I have therefore one common and authentick Philosophy I learn'd 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 Knowledge, hath not only humbled my Conceits, but discouraged my Endeavours. There is yet another Conceit that hath sometimes made me shut my

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(o) *Laertius* reports that *Aristotle* died of a Disease at 63 Years of Age. For this and the last, see the Author in *Pseudodox*.

(p) In the Matter of *Idea's*, Eternity of the World, &c.

* This is that *Janus* who had two Faces, one before, and another behind ; to whom the Learned are not improperly compared ; for when they have studied long, they seem to look sometimes one Way, and sometimes another, not knowing where to find the Truth.

Books, which tells me it is a Vanity to waste our Days in the 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 Reasons, than buy the uncertain Knowledge of this Life, with Sweat and Vexation, which Death gives every Fool *Gratis*, and is an Accessary of our Glorification.

§ 9. I was never yet married once, and commend their Resolutions who never marry twice: Not that I disallow of second Marriage; as neither in all Cases of Poligamy, 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 is 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 (*q*) without Conjunction, or that there were any Way to perpetuate the World without this trivial and vulgar Way of

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(*q*) There was a Physician long before the Author, that was of the same Opinion, *Hippocrates*; for which *vide Agel. l. 19. Noët. Attic. c. 2.* And so of late Time was *Paracelsus*, who did undertake to prescribe a Way for the Generation of a Man without Coition. *Vide Campanel de sensu rerum, in Append. ad cap. 19. l. 4.*

of Coition ; it is the foolishhest Act a wise
Man commits in all his Life, nor is there
I 6 any

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Monfieur Montaigne's Words on this Subject are worth
reading, and are as follows:

*I find after all, that Love is the Appetite of Generation by
the Mediation of Beauty, and having often considered the ridi-
culous Titulation of this Pleasure, the absurd, hair-brain'd
and senseless Motions, with which it inspires Zeno and Cra-
tippas; the indiscreet Rage, and the Countenance enflamed
with Fury and Cruelty in the sweetest Effects of Love; and then
that sour, grave, severe and extatick one is so wanton an Action,
that our Delights, and our Excrements are promiscuously shuffled
together; and that the supream Pleasure carries along with it
fainting and complaining as well as Grief. I then believe it to
be true, that Plato says, that the Gods made Man for their
Sport, and that it is a Mockery that Nature has ordered the
most troublesome of Actions, to be the most Common, by
that to make us equal, and to parrallel Fools and Wise
men, Beasts and us. Even the most contemplative and
prudent Man, when I imagine him in this Posture, I
hold him an impudent Fellow, to pretend to be prudent
and contemplative; they are the Peacock's Feet that abate
his Pride. One may speak Truth without Offence, says Ho-
race. They who banish serious Imaginations from their Sports,
do, says one, like him who dares not adore the Statue of a Saint
if not covered with a Veil, we eat and drink indeed as Beasts
do; but those are not Actions that obstruct the Functions of the
Soul. In those we maintain our Advantage over them, but this
subjects all other Thoughts, and by its imperious Authority makes
an Ass of all Plato's Divinity and Philosophy too, and yet he
complains not of it. In every Thing else a Man may keep some
Decorum, all other Operations submit to the Rules of Decency;
this cannot so much as in Imagination appear other than vicious
and ridiculous: Examine if you can therein find one wise and
discreet Proceeding. Alexander said, that he chiefly knew him-
self to be mortal by this Act; and sleeping Sleep suffocates and
suppresses the Faculties of the Soul, the Familiarity with Wo-
men does likewise dissipate and exhaust them. Doubtless 'tis a*

Mark

any Thing that will more deject his cool'd 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 Musick even in the Beauty, and the silent Note which *Cupid* strikes, far sweeter than the Sound of an Instrument. For there is a Musick wherever there is a Harmony, Order or Proportion; and thus far we may maintain the Musick 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 a-

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Mark not only of our original Corruption, but also of our Vanity and Deformity; on the one Side Nature pushes us on to it, having fix'd the most noble utile and pleasant of all her Functions to this Desire, and on the other Side, leaves us to accuse and avoid it.

* Most of the Followers of *Plato* have been of this Opinion, and so was *Plato* himself. *Orpheus* and *Pythagoras* also imagined the Sun abating the Motion of the Stars, causes a very agreeable Harmony, for which *Dorylaus* called it the Organ of God.

gainst all Church-Musick. For myself, not only from my Obedience, but my particular Genius, I do embrace it: For even that vulgar and Tavern-Musick, 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 *Plato*, the Soul is an Harmony, but Harmonical, and hath its nearest Sympathy unto Musick: Thus some whose Temper of Body agrees, and humours the Constitution of their Souls, are born Poets, though indeed all are naturally inclined unto Rhyme. 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 Almanacks,

* Kings first governed *Rome*.

† Pro Archia Poeta.

‖ In qua me non inficior mediocriter esse.

in Expectation of malignant Aspects, fatal Conjunctions and Eclipses : I rejoyce not at unwholesome Springs, nor unseasonable Winters ; my Prayer goes with the Husbandman's ; I desire every Thing 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 Common-wealths do honour, are raised upon the Fall of *Adam*, and are not exempt from their Infirmities ; there are not only Diseases incurable in Physick, 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 Opinion of his Predecessors, because though agreeable to Reason, yet were
not

not consonant to his own Rules, and Logick of his proper Principles. Again, to speak nothing of the Sin against the Holy Ghost, 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 Physick, when they remain incurable by Divinity; and shall obey my Pills, when they condemn 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.

§ 10. 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. *Great Virtues, and great Vices*; it is the Posy of the best Natures, and may be inverted on the worst (*r*); there are in the most depraved
and

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(*r*) That is, that there are none so abandoned to Vice, but they have some sprinklings of Virtue. There are scarce any so vitious, but commend Virtue in those that are endued with it, and do some things laudable themselves,

and venemous Dispositions, certain Pieces that remain untouch'd, which by an *Antiperistasis*

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selves, as *Plin.* saith in *Panegyric.* *Machiavel* upon *Livy*, lib. 1. c. 27. sets down the ensuing Relation as a notable Confirmation of this Truth. *Pope Julius II.* in the Year 1505, marched with an Army into Bononia, to remove the Family of Bentivoglio from that City, which they had been in possession of for a hundred Years. And in the same Expedition he resolved to dethrone Pagolus the Tyrant of Perouze, and all those who held any Cities by force belonging to the Church. To which purpose, when he came there, though his Design was universally known, being too impatient to wait the coming of his Army, he went, as it were, unarmed into the City, whither Pagolus had drawn together a large Number of Forces to defend it. But Pagolus acted here with the same Madness he observed in the rest of his Affairs, and surrendered himself with a Soldier, who had the Care of his Person, into the Hands of the Pontif, who carried him away and left the other to govern the City for the Holy See. Many wise Men who accompanied the Pontif in this Expedition, wondered at his Rashness, and Pagolus's Baseness of Soul in this Affair: Neither could they understand the Reason why Pagolus did not take his Enemy Prisoner who was unarmed, and secure such rich Spoils, which he might have done to his immortal Glory; for when he entered the Town, he had only his Cardinals with him, who had brought their most valuable Treasures with them. Neither could it be thought that Pagolus acted thus from a Principle of Piety or Conscience; because such pious Affections could not seem to proceed from a Man who debauched his own Sister, and had destroyed his whole Family for the Sake of Ruling. As the wise Men therefore could not agree in their Opinions upon this Affair, they came at length to this Resolution, That it was done to prove that Men cannot be entirely wicked, or perfectly good. They cannot be entirely wicked, because where any such thing is a Crime, wherein there is somewhat great and generous, that they dare not commit. For as Pagolus could commit both Incest and Parricide, yet when he had the Opportunity of committing

peristasis become more excellent, or by the excellency of their Antipathies are able to preserve themselves from the Contagion of their Enemy Vices, and persist intire beyond the general Corruption. For it is also thus in Nature. The greatest Balsoms do lie enveloped in the Bodies of most powerful Corrosives; I say moreover, and I ground upon Experience, that Poisons contain within themselves their own Antidote (*s*), 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 me; 'tis I that do infect myself, the Man without a Navel yet lives in me (*t*); I feel that original Canker corrode and

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mitting a wicked Thing, and at the same time a memorable Action, he durst not attempt it, though he might have done it without Infamy, because the greatness of the Action would have covered his former Crimes, and have preserved him from danger. Upon which he was congratulated by many, as one who had submitted to the Pope's Authority, and valued less the Things of this Life than he did them.

(*s*) The Poison of a Scorpion is not Poison to itself, nor the Poison of a Toad is not Poison to itself; so that the Sucking out of Poison from Persons infected by Pysylls, (who are continually nourished with venemous Aliment) without any Prejudice to themselves, is the less to be wondred at.

(*t*) The *Latin* Annotator hath explained this by an *imperfect Man*, by which it seems he did not comprehend the Author's Meaning; for the Author means *Adam*, and by a *Meta-*

and devour me ; and therefore, *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 ; *Never less alone than when alone* ; though it be the Apothegm of a wise Man, is yet true in the Mouth of a Fool ; indeed, though in a Wilderness, a Man is never alone, 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 Motions which accompany our sequestred Imaginations. And to speak more narrowly, there is no such thing as Solitude, nor any Thing that can be said to be alone, and by it self, 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 its self, which is not truly one ; and such is only God : All others do

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Metonymie, original Sin ; for the Navel being only of Use to attract the Aliment *in his Mother's Womb*, and *Adam* having no Mother, he had no Use of a Navel, and therefore it is not to be conceived he had any ; and upon that Ground the Author calls him the Man without a Navel.

transcend

transcend an Unity, and so by consequence are many.

§ 11. 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 of my self; 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 Recreation. Men that look upon my Outside, perusing only my Condition and Fortunes, do err in my Altitude, for I am above * *Atlas's* 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 Ark 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

* The Mountain *Atlas* is in *Phrygia*, which *Herodotus* says is so high, that the Top of it is not to be seen either in Winter or Summer.

was before the Elements, and owes no Homage unto the Sun. Nature tells me I am the Image of God, as well as Scripture: 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; *If the Heavens fall, let thy Will be done*, salveth all; so that whatsoever happens, it is but what our daily Prayers desire. In Brief, I am content, and what shall Providence add more? Surely this is it we call Happiness, and this do I 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 any thing 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 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 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 meer Dreams to those of the next, as the Phantasms of the Night, to the Conceits of the Day. There
is

is an equal Delusion in both, and the one doth but seem to be the 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 Fancy 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 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 chuse for my Devotions: 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 (u). *Aristotle*, who hath written a singular

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(u) For the most Part it is so. In Regard of the Author's Expression of forgetting the Story, tho' otherwise it be not very pertinent to this Place, I shall set down a Relation given by an *English* Gentleman, of two Dreams that he had, wherein he did not forget the Story, but (what is more strange) found his Dreams verified. This it is:

Whilst

singular Tract of Sleep, hath not methinks
thoroughly defined it; nor yet *Galen*, though
he

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Whilst I lived at *Prague*, and one Night had sit up very late drinking at a Feast, early in the Morning the Sun Beams glancing on my Face, as I lay in my Bed, I dreamed, that a Shadow passing by told me, that my Father was dead; at which awaking all in a Sweat, and affected with this Dream, I rose and wrote the Day and Hour, and all Circumstances thereof in a Paper-Book, which Book, with many other Things, I put into a Barrel, and sent it from *Prague* to *Stode*, thence to be conveyed into *England*. And now being at *Nurenburch*, a Merchant of a noble Family well acquainted with me and my Friends, arrived there, who told me my Father dyed some two Months ago. I list not to write any Lies, but that which I write is as true as strange. When I returned into *England* some four Years after, I would not open the Barrel I sent from *Prague*, nor look into the Paper-Book in which I had written this Dream, 'till I had called my Sisters and some Friends to be Witnesses, where myself and they were astonished to see my written Dream answer the very Day of my Father's Death.

I may lawfully swear that which my Kinsman hath heard witnessed by my Brother *Henry* whilst he lived, that in my Youth at *Cambridge*, I had the like Dream of my Mother's Death, where my Brother *Henry* living with me, early in the Morning I dreamed, that my Mother passed by with a sad Countenance, and told me, that she could not come to my Commencement: I being within five Months to proceed Master of Arts, and she having promised at that Time to come to *Cambridge*. And when I related this Dream to my Brother, both of us awaking together in a Sweat, he protested to me that he had dreamed the very same: And when we had not the least Knowledge of our Mother's Sicknefs, neither in our youthful Affections were any Whit affected with the Strangeness of this Dream, yet the next Carrier brought us Word of our Mother's Death. Mr. *Fiennes Morison* in his Itinerary. I am not over-credulous of such Relations, but methinks the Circumstance of
publishing

he seem to have corrected it: For those 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 ecstasick Souls who do walk about in their own Corps, as Spirits with the Bodies they assume; wherein they seem to hear 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.

§ 12. 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

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publishing it at such a Time, when there were those living that might have disprov'd it, if it had been false, is a great Argument of the Truth of it.

* *Morpheus* is feign'd by the Poets to be the Son and one of the Servants of *Somnus*, who brought Sleep to the Eyes of Mankind; but our Author uses *Morpheus* here for Sleep itself, when he says, that there is something in us not in the Jurisdiction of *Morpheus*.

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 (x). It is that Death by which we may be literally said to die daily; 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 an half Adieu unto the World, and take my Farewel 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 Centry 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.*

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(x) For they had both Power from *Nero* to chuse their Deaths.

While

*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.
 Howe'er I rest, great God, let me
 Awake again at least with thee.
 And thus assur'd, behold I lie
 Securely, or to wake 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 ever.*

This is the Dormitive 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.

§ 13. The Method I should use in distribu-
 tive Justice, I often observe in commutative ;
 and keep a geometrical Proportion in both ;
 whereby becoming equable to others, I be-
 come 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 Free-
 dom

dom 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 Urinals, or be perswaded that we are dead, is not so ridiculous (y), nor so many Degrees beyond the Power of *Hellebore*, as this. The Opinion 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, to that subterraneous Idol, and God of the Earth. I do confess I am an Atheist; I cannot perswade my self 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 mine own Soul, and have methinks two Arms too few to embrace myself. *Aristotle* is too severe, that will not

ANNOTATIONS.

(y) Galen and Avicen make mention of some People who have fancied themselves earthen Pots, and therefore have carefully avoided being touched for fear they should be broken. Pontan. in Attic. bellar. (Hist. 22.) Which proceeds from Extremity of Melancholly.

allow

allow us to be truly liberal without (z) 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 Mite 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 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 make Advantage of ourselves, and so to husband the Acts of Virtue, that where they were 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;* there is more Rhetorick in that one Sentence, than in a Library of Sermons; and indeed if those Sentences were understood by the

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(z) *Aristot. l. 1. Ethic. c. 8.*

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 untouch'd Part of us both; there is under these *Cantoës* and miserable Outsides, these Mutilate and Semi-bodies, a Soul of the same Alloy with our own, whose Genealogy is God's as well as ours, and is in as fair a Way to Salvation as ourselves. Statists that labour to contrive a Common-wealth without our Poverty, take away the Object of Charity, not understanding only the Common-wealth of a Christian, but forgetting the Prophecy of Christ.

§ 14. 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 is 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:

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, 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.

§ 15. 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 Burthen of all the Wisdom of *Solomon*, *All is Vanity and Vexation of Spirit*. There is no Felicity in that the World adores: *Aristotle* whilst he

labours to refute the Idea's of *Plato*, falls upon one himself: For his *summum bonum* is a *Chimæra*, 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 *Malizspini*; 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 myself, and my dearest 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 of Providence; dispose of me according to the Wisdom of thy Pleasure. *Thy will be done*, though in my own undoing (a).

A N N O T A T I O N S.

(a) This should be the Wish of every Man, and is of the most Wise and Knowing. *The most humble, prudent, and most grateful Christian, refers the Choice of ordering what's proper for him to the Will of his Creator, he supplicates nothing more of him, but that his Will be done.* Montaigne.



OBSERVATIONS
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.

B Y

Sir KENELM DIGBY, *Knight.*



K 4

THE

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

RELIGIOUS MEDICINE

BY

DR. KENNETH DICKINSON, Knight

LONDON

1784



OBSERVATIONS
UPON
RELIGIO MEDICI.

To the Right Honourable *Edward*
Earl of *Dorset*, Baron of *Buck-*
hurst, &c.

My Lord,



Received Yesternight, your
Lordship's of the Nineteenth
Current, wherein you are
pleased to oblige me, not only
by extream gallant Expressions
of Favour and Kindness, but likewise by
taking so far into your Care the Expending
of my Time, during the Tedioufness of my
Restraint, as to recommend to my reading a
Book, that had received the Honour and
Safeguard of your Approbation; for both

which I most humbly thank your Lordship. And since I cannot in the Way of gratefulness express unto your Lordship as I would, those hearty Sentiments I have of your Goodness to me; I will at the least endeavour, in the Way of *Duty* and *Observance*, to let you see how the little Needle of my Soul is thoroughly touched at the great Loadstone of yours, and followeth suddenly and strongly, which way soever you beckon it. In this Occasion, the magnetick Motion was impatient to have the Book in my Hands, that your Lordship gave so advantageous a Character of; whereupon I sent presently (as late as it was) to *Paul's Church-yard* for this Favourite of yours, *Religio Medici*: Which after a while found me in a Condition fit to receive a Blessing by a Visit from any of such Master-pieces, as you look upon with gracious Eyes; for I was newly gotten into my Bed. This good-natured Creature I could easily perswade to be my Bed-fellow, and to wake with me, as long as I had any Edge to entertain myself with the Delights I sucked from so noble a Conversation. And truly (my Lord) I closed not my Eyes, 'till I had enrich'd myself with, or at least exactly surveyed all the Treasures that are lapped up in the Folds of those few Sheets. To return only a general Commendation of this curious Piece, or at large to admire the Author's Spirit and Smartness, were too perfunctory an Account, and too slight an one, to so discerning

cerning and steady an Eye as yours, after so particular and encharged a Summons to read heedfully this Discourse. I will therefore presume to blot a Sheet or two of Paper with my Reflections upon fundry Passages through the whole Context of it, as they shall occur to my Remembrance. Which now your Lordship knoweth, this Packet is not so happy as to carry with it any one Expression of my Obsequiousness to you. It will be but reasonable, you should even here give over your further Trouble of Reading, what my Respect ingageth me to the Writing of.

Whose first Step is Ingenuity and a well natured Evenness of *Judgment*, shall be sure of Applause and fair Hopes in all Men for the rest of his *Journey*. And indeed (my Lord) I think this Gentleman setteth out excellently poised with that happy Temper; and sheweth a great deal of *judicious Piety* in making a right Use of the blind Zeal that *Bigots* lose themselves in. Yet I cannot satisfy my Doubts thoroughly, how he maketh good his professing to follow the great Wheel of the Church in Matters of *Divinity*; which surely is the solid *Basis* of true Religion: For to do so without jarring against the Conduct of the first Mover by eccentric and irregular Motions, obligeth one to yield a very dutiful Obedience to the Determinations of it, without arrogating to one's self a controlling Ability in liking or misliking

liking the Faith, Doctrine and Constitutions of that *Church* which one looketh upon as their *North-star*: *Whereas*, if I mistake not, this Author approveth the Church of *England*, not absolutely, but comparatively with other reformed Churches.

My next Reflection is, concerning what he hath sprinkled (most wittily) in several Places concerning the Nature and Immortality of a human Soul, and the Condition and State it is in, after the Dissolution of the Body. And here give me Leave to observe what our Country-man *Roger Bacon* did long ago; *That those Students, who busy themselves much with such Notions, as reside wholly to the Fantasy, do hardly ever become Idoneous for abstracted metaphysical Speculations; the one having bulky Foundation of Matter, or of the Accidents of it, to settle upon, (at the least with one Foot:)* The other flying continually, even to a lessening Pitch in the subtil Air. And accordingly, it hath been generally noted, that the exactest Mathematicians, who converse altogether with Lines, Figures, and other Differences of Quantity, have seldom proved eminent in Metaphysicks, or speculative Divinity. Nor again, the Professors of these Sciences in the other Arts. Much less can it be expected that an excellent Physician, whose Fancy is always fraught with the material Drugs that he prescribeth his Apothecary to compound his Medicines of, and whose Hands are inured to the cutting up, and Eyes
to

to the Inspection of anatomized Bodies, should easily and with Success, flie his Thoughts at so towering a Game, as a pure Intellect, a separated and unbodied Soul. Surely this acute Author's sharp Wit, had he orderly applied his Studies that Way, would have been able to fatisfy himself with less Labour, and others with more Plenitude, than it hath been the Lot of so dull a Brain as mine, concerning the *Immortality of the Soul*. And yet, I assure you (my Lord) the little *Philosophy* that is allowed me for my Share, demonstrateth this Proposition to me, as well as Faith delivereth it ; which our *Physician* will not admit in his.

To make good this Assertion here were very unreasonable ; since that to do it exactly (and without exactness it were not Demonstration) requireth a total Survey of the whole Science of *Bodies*, and of all the Operations that we are conversant with, of a rational Creature ; which I having done with all the succinctness I have been able to explicate so knotty a Subject with, hath taken me up in the first Draught near two hundred Sheets of Paper. I shall therefore take Leave of this Point, with only this Note, That I take the *Immortality of the Soul* (under his Favour) to be of that Nature, that to them only that are not versed in the Ways of proving it by Reason, it is an Article of Faith ; to others, it is an evident Conclusion of demonstrative Science.

And

And with a like short Note, I shall observe, how if he had traced the Nature of the *Soul* from its first Principles, he could not have suspected it should sleep in the Grave 'till the *Resurrection* of the Body. Nor would he have permitted his compassionate Nature to imagine it belonged to God's Mercy (as the *Chilias*ts did) to change its Condition in those that are damned, from Pain to Happiness. For where God should have done that, he must have made that anguished Soul another Creature than what it was, as to make Fire cease from being hot, requireth to have it become another Thing than the *Element* of Fire; since that to be in such a Condition, as maketh us understand damned Souls miserable, is a necessary Effect of the Temper it is in, when it goeth out of the *Body*, and must necessarily (out of its Nature) remain in, unvariably for all Eternity; *Though*, for the Conceptions of the vulgar Part of Mankind (who are not capable of such abstruse Notions) it be stiled (and truly too) the Sentence and Punishment of a severe Judge.

I am extreamly pleased with him, when he saith, There are not Impossibilities enough in *Religion* for an active Faith: And no whit less, when in *Philosophy* he will not be satisfied with such naked Terms, as in *Schools* use to be obtruded, upon easy Minds, when the Master's Fingers are not strong enough to untie the Knots proposed unto them. I
confess,

confess, when I enquire what Light (to use our Author's Example) is, I should be as well contented with his Silence, as with his telling me it is *Actus perspicui*; unless he explicate clearly to me what those Words mean, which I find very few go about to do. Such Meat they swallow whole, and eject it as entire. But were such Things Scientifically and Methodically declared, they would be of extream Satisfaction and Delight. And that Work taketh up the greatest Part of my formerly-mentioned Treatise. For I endeavour to shew by a continued Progress, and not by Leaps, all the Motions of Nature; and unto them to fit intelligibly the Terms used by her best Secretaries; whereby all wild fantastick Qualities and Moods (introduced for Refuges of Ignorance) are banished from Commerce.

In the next Place (my Lord) I shall suspect that our Author hath not penetrated into the Bottom of those Conceptions that deep Scholars have taught us of *Eternity*: Methinks he taketh it for an infinite Extension of Time, and a never ending Revolution of continual Succession, which is no more like *Eternity*, than a gross Body is like a pure *Spirit*. Nay, such an Infinity of Revolutions is demonstrable to be a Contradiction, and impossible. In the State of *Eternity* there is no Succession, no Change, no Variety. *Souls* or *Angels* in that Condition, do not so much as change a Thought.

All

All Things, Notions and Actions, that ever were, are, or shall be in any Creature, are actually present to such an Intellect. And this (my *Lord*) I aver, not as deriving it from *Theology*, and having recourse to beatifick Vision to make good my Tenet, (for so, only glorified Creatures should enjoy such immense Knowledge) but out of the Principles of *Nature* and *Reason*, and from thence shall demonstrate it to belong to the lowest *Soul* of the ignorantest Wretch whilst he lived in this World, since damned in *Hell*. A bold Undertaking you will say, but I confidently engage myself to it. Upon this Occasion occurreth also a great deal to be said of the Nature of *Predestination* (which by the short Touches our Author giveth of it, I doubt he quite mistakes) and how it is an unalterable *Series* and *Chain of Causes*, producing *infallible* (and in respect of them, necessary) Effects: But that is too large a *Theme* to unfold here, too vast an *Ocean* to describe in the scant Map of a Letter; and therefore I will refer that to a fitter Opportunity, fearing I have already too much trespassed upon your Lordship's Patience; but that indeed, I hope, you have not had enough to read thus far.

I am sure, my *Lord*, that you (who never forgot any thing which deserved a Room in your Memory) do remember how we are told, *That one Abyss produceth another*; so here our Author, from the Abyss of *Pre-*
destination,

destination, falleth into that of the *Trinity of Persons*, consistent with the Indivisibility of the Divine Nature; and out of that (if I be not exceedingly deceived) into a third of mistaking, when he goeth about to illustrate this admirable Mystery by a wild Discourse of a *Trinity* in our *Souls*. The Dint of Wit is not forcible enough to dissect such tough Matter; wherein all the obscure Glimmering we gain of that inaccessible Light, cometh to us cloathed in the dark Weeds of Negations, and therefore little can we hope to meet with any positive Examples to parallel it withal.

I doubt, he also mistaketh, and imposeth upon the severall *Schools*, when he intimateth, that they gainsay this visible World's being but a Picture or Shadow of the Invisible and Intellectual: Which Manner of *Philosophizing* he attributeth to *Hermes Trismegistus*, but is every where to be met with in *Plato*: And is raised since to a greater Height in the *Christian Schools*.

But I am sure he learned in no good School, nor sucked from any good *Philosophy* to give an actual Subsistence and Being to first Matter without a Form. He that will allow that a *Real Existence* in Nature is as superficially tinged in *Metaphysicks*, as another would be in *Mathematicks*, that should allow the like to a Point, a Line, or a Superficies in Figures: These, in their strict Notions, are but Negations of further Extention, or but exact Terminations

minations of that Quantity, which falleth under the Consideration of the Understanding in the present Purpose, no real Entities in themselves: So likewise, the Notions of Matter, Form, Act, Power, Existence, and the like, that are with Truth, considered by the Understanding, and have there each of them a distinct Entity, are nevertheless nowhere by themselves in Nature. They are Terms which we must use in the Negotiations of our Thoughts, if we will discourse consequently, and conclude knowingly. But then again, we must be very wary of attributing to Things in their own Natures such Entities as we create in our Understandings, when we make Pictures of them there; for there every different Consideration, arising out of the different Impression which the same Thing maketh upon us, hath a distinct Being by itself; whereas in the Thing there is but one single *Unity*, that sheweth (as it were in a Glass, at several Positions) those various Faces in our Understanding. In a Word, all these Words are but artificial Terms, not real Things; and the not right understanding of them is the most dangerous Rock that Scholars suffer Shipwreck against.

I go on with our Physician's Contemplations. Upon every Occasion he shews strong Parts, and a vigorous Brain. His Wishes and Aims, and what he pointeth at, speak him Owner of a noble and generous Heart. He hath Reason to wish that *Aristotle* had
been

been as accurate in examining the Causes, Nature, and Affections of the great Universe he busied himself about, as his Patriarch *Galen* hath been in the like Considerations upon this little *World*, Man's Body, in that admirable Work of his *De Usu Partium*. But no great humane Thing was ever born and perfected at once. It may satisfy us, if one in our Age, buildeth that magnificent Structure upon the other's Foundations; and especially, if where he findeth any of them unsound, he eradicateth those, and fixes new unquestionable ones in their room: But so, as they still, in gross, keep a Proportion, and bear a *Harmony* with the other great Work. This hath now (even now) our learned Countryman done, the knowing Mr. *White*, (whose Name I believe your Lordship has met withal) in his excellent Book *De Mundo*, newly printed at *Paris*, where he now resideth, and is admired by the World of letter'd Men there, as the *Prodigy* of these latter Times. Indeed his three *Dialogues* upon that Subject (if I am able to judge any Thing) are full of the profoundest Learning I ever yet met withal. And I believe, who hath well read and digested them, will persuade himself there is no Truth so abstruse, nor hitherto conceiv'd out of our Reach, but Man's Wit may raise Engines to scale and conquer. I assure myself, when our Author hath studied him thoroughly, he will not lament so loud for *Aristotle's* mutilated

mutilated and defective *Philosophy*, as in *Boccaline Cæsar Caporali* doth for the Loss of *Livy's* shipwreck'd *Decads*.

That *Logick* which he quarrelleth at, for calling a *Toad* or *Serpent* ugly, will in the End agree with his; for no Body ever took them to be so, in Respect of the *Universe*, (in which Regard he defendeth their Regularity and Symetry) but only as they have Relation to us.

But I cannot so easily agree with him, where he affirmeth, that *Devils* or other *Spirits* in the Intellectual World, have no exact *Ephemerides*, wherein they may read beforehand the Stories of fortuite Accidents. For I believe, that all Causes are so immediately chain'd to their Effects, as if a perfect knowing Nature get hold but of one Link, it will drive the entire *Series*, or Pedigree of the whole to its utmost End, (as I think I have proved in my fore-named Treatise) so that in Truth there is no Fortuitness or Contingency of Things, in Respect of themselves, but only in Respect of us, that are ignorant of their certain and necessary Causes.

Now a little *Series* or Chain and Complex of all outward Circumstances (whose highest Link *Poets* say prettily is fasten'd to *Jupiter's* Chair, and the lowest is riveted to every Individual on Earth) steer'd and levell'd by *God Almighty* at the first setting out of the first Mover, I conceive to be that *Divine Providence*

Providence and *Mercy*, which (to use our Author's own Example) giveth a thriving *Genius* to the *Hollanders*, and the like ; and not any secret, invisible, mystical, Blessing, that falleth not under the Search or Cognizance of a prudent Indagation.

I must needs approve our Author's *Æquanimity*, and I may as justly say his *Magnanimity*, in being contented so chearfully (as he saith) to shake Hands with the fading *Goods* of *Fortune*, and be depriv'd of the Joys of her most precious Blessings ; so that he may in Recompence possess in ample Measure the true ones of the Mind ; like *Epictetus*, that Master of moral Wisdom and Piety, who taxeth them of high Injustice that repine at God's Distribution of his Blessings, when he putteth not into their Share of Goods such Things as they use no Industry or Means to purchase. For why should that Man, who above all Things esteemeth his own Freedom, and who to enjoy that, sequestreth himself from Commerce with the Vulgar of Mankind ; take it ill of his *Stars*, if such Preferments, Honours, and Applauses meet not him, as are painfully gain'd, after long and tedious Services of *Princes*, and brittle Dependances of humorous Favourites, and supple Compliances with all Sorts of Natures ? As for what he saith of *Astrology*, I do not conceive that wise Men reject it so much for being repugnant to *Divinity* (which he reconcileth well enough) as for having no
solid

solid Rules or Ground in Nature. To rely too far upon that vain Art, I judge to be rather Folly than Impiety, unless in our Censure we look to the first *Origine* of it, which favoureth of the Idolatry of those *Heathens*, that worshipping the *Stars* and heavenly Bodies for *Deities*, did in a superstitious Devotion attribute unto them the Casualty of all Effects beneath them: And for ought I know, the Belief of solid *Orbs* in the Heavens, and their regularly-irregular Motions, sprung from the same Root. And a like Inanity I should suspect in *Chiromancy*, as well as *Astrology*, (especially in particular contingent Effects) however, our Author, and no less a Man than *Aristotle*, seem to attribute somewhat more to that conjectural Art of *Lines*.

I should much doubt (tho' our Author sheweth himself of another Mind) that *Bernardinus Ocbinus* * grew at the last to be a mere *Atheist*; when after having been first the Institutor and *Patriarch* of the *Capuchin Order* (so violent was his Zeal then, as no former religious Institution, tho' never so rigorous, was strict enough for him) he from thence fell to be first an *Heretick*, then a *Jew*, and after a while became a *Turk*; and at the last wrote a furious Invective against those whom he call'd the three *Grand Im-*

* This Story I have but upon Relation, yet of a very good Hand.

postors of the *World*, among whom he rank'd our Saviour *Christ*, as well as *Moses* and *Mahomet*.

I doubt he mistakes in his *Chronology*, or the Printer in the Name, when he maketh *Ptolemy* condemn the *Alcoran*.

He needeth not be so scrupulous, as he seemeth to be in averring down-rightly, That God cannot do contradictory Things (tho' peradventure it is not amiss to sweeten the Manner of the Expression, and the Sound of the Words) for who understands the Nature of Contradiction, will find *Non-Entity* in one of the Terms, which of God were Impiety not to deny peremptorily. For he being in his proper Nature *Self-Entity*, all *Being* must immediately flow from him, and all *Not-Being* be totally excluded from that Efflux. Now for the recalling of *Time* past, which the *Angels* posed *Esdra*s withal, there is no Contradiction in that, as is evident to them that know the Essence of Time. For it is but putting again all Things that had Motion, into the same State they were in at that Moment unto which Time was to be reduc'd back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the same Motion, and upon the same Wheels it roll'd upon before. And therefore God could do this admirable Work, tho' neither *Esdra*s, nor all the Power of Creatures together could do it; and consequently it cannot in this Question be said, that

that he posed Mortality with what himself was not able to perform.

I acknowledge ingenuously, our *Physician's* Experience hath the Advantage of my *Philosophy*, in knowing there are Witches. Yet I am sure, I have no Temptation to doubt of the *Deity*, nor have any Unsatifaction in believing there are *Spirits*. I do not see such a necessary Conjunction between them, as that the Supposition of the one must needs infer the other. Neither do I deny there are Witches; I only reserve my Assent, till I meet with stronger Motives to carry it: And I confess I doubt as much of the Efficacy of those Magical Rules he speaks of, as also of the finding out of Mysteries by the courteous *Revelation of Spirits*.

I doubt his Discourse of an *Universal Spirit* is but a wild Fancy; and that in the marshalling of it he mistakes the *Hermetical Philosophers*. And surely it is a weak Argument, from a common Nature, that subsisteth only in our Understanding (out of which it hath no Being at all) to infer by Parity, an actual Subsistence, or the like, in reality of Nature (of which Kind of Miscarriage in Men's Discoursings I have spoken before.) And upon this Occasion I do not see how seasonably he falleth of a sudden from natural Speculations to a moral Contemplation of *God's Spirit* working in us. In which
also

also I would enquire (especially upon his sudden poetical Rapture) whether the Solidity of the *Judgment* be not out-weighed by the Airiness of the Fancy. Assuredly one cannot err in taking this *Author* for a very fine ingenious Gentleman: But for how deep a Scholar, I leave unto them to judge, that are abler than I am.

If he had applied himself with earnest Study, and upon right Grounds, to search out the Nature of pure Intellects; I doubt not but his great Parts would have argued more efficaciously, than he doth against those, that between *Men* and *Angels*, put only *Porphyrie* Difference of *Mortality* and *Immortality*. And he would have dived further into the Tenour of their Intellectual Operations; in which there is no Succession, nor ratiocinative Discourse; for in the very first instant of their Creation, they actually knew all they were capable of knowing, and they are acquainted even with all free Thoughts, past, present, and to come; for they see them in their Causes, and they see them altogether at one Instant; as I have in my fore-mentioned Treatise proved at large: And I think I have already touched thus much once before in this *Letter*.

I am tempted here to say a great deal concerning *Light*, by his taking it to be a bare Quality. For in *Physicks*, no Speculation is more useful, or reacheth further. But to set down such *Phænomena's* of it, as I have observed, and from whence I evidently collect

the Nature of it, were too large a *Theme* for this place: When your Lordship pleaseth, I shall shew you another more orderly Discourse upon that Subject; wherein I have sufficiently proved it to be a solid Substance and Body.

In his proceeding to correct an Intellectual World, and in his Discourfing upon the Place and Habitation of *Angels*; as also in his consideration of the activity of glorified Eyes, which shall be in the State of Rest, whereas Motion is required to Seeing; and in his subtil Speculation upon two Bodies, placed in the Vacuity, beyond the utmost all-enclöfing Superficie of *Heaven* (which implieth a Contradiction in Nature) methinks I hear *Apelles* cry out, *Shoemaker, don't go beyond your Last*: Or rather it putteth me in mind of one of the Titles in *Pantagruel's* Library, (which he expreffeth himself converfant in) namely, *Quæstio subtilissima, utrum Chimæra in vacuo bombinans possit comedere Secundas intentiones*; with which short Note I will leave these Considerations; in which (if Time, and other Circumstances allowed it) Matter would spring up of excellent *Learning*.

When our Author shall have read Mr. *White's* Dialogue of the *World*, he will no longer be of the Opinion, that the Unity of the World is a Conclusion of Faith: For it is there demonstrated by *Reason*.

Here the Thread of the Discourse inviteth me to say a great deal of the Production or
Creation

Creation of *Man's Soul*. But it is too tedious, and too knotty a Piece for a *Letter*. Now it shall suffice to note, that it is not *Ex tra-duce*, and yet hath a strange Kind of near Dependance of the Body, which is, as it were, God's Instrument to create it by. This, thus said, or rather tumbled out, may seem harsh. But had your Lordship Leisure to peruse what I have written at full upon this Point, I doubt not but it would appear plausible enough to you.

I cannot agree with him, when he seemeth to impute Inconvenience to *long Life*, and that length of Time doth rather impair, than improve us: For surely, if we will follow the course of Nature, and of Reason, it is a mighty great Blessing; were it but in this Regard, that it giveth time leave to vent and boil away the unquietnesses and turbulencies that follow our Passions, and to wean ourselves gently from carnal Affections, and at the last to drop with Ease and Willingness, like ripe fruit from the *Tree*; as I remember *Plotinus* finely discourseth in one of his *Eneads*. For when before the Season, it is plucked off by violent Hands, or shaken down by rude and boisterous Winds, it carrieth along with it an indigested raw Taste of the Wood, and hath an unpleasant Eagerness in its Juice, that maketh it unfit for Use, till long Time hath mellowed it: And peradventure it may be so backward, as instead of ripening, it may grow rotten in the very *Center*.

In like manner, *Souls* that go out of their *Bodies* with Affection to those Objects they leave behind them, (which usually is as long as they can relish them) do retain still even in their Separation a Byas, and a Languishing towards them: Which is the *Reason* why such terrene Souls appear ofteneft in *Cæmeteries* and *Charnel-Houses*, and not that moral one, which our Author giveth. For Life which is Union with the Body, being that which carnal Souls have straightest affection to, and that they are loatheft to be separated from; their unquiet *Spirit*, which can never (naturally) lose the Impressions it had wrought in it at the time of its driving out, lingereth perpetually after that dear Consort of his. The impossibility cannot cure them of their impotent Desires; they would fain be alive again,

— *Iterumque ad tarda reverti*

Corpora. Quæ lucis miseris tam dira cupido.

And to this Cause peradventure may be reduced the strange Effect, which is frequently seen in *England*, when at the approach of the *Murderer*, the slain Body suddenly bleedeth afresh. For certainly the Souls of them that are treacherously murdered by surprize, use to leave their Bodies with extream unwillingness, and with vehement indignation against them, that force them to so unprovided and abhorred a Passage. That Soul then, to wreak its evil Talent against the hated Murderer, and to draw

draw a just and desired Revenge upon his Head, would do all it can to manifest the Author of the Fact. To speak, it cannot, for in it self it wanteth *Organs* of Voice; And those it is parted from, are now grown too heavy, and are too benumbed for it to give Motion unto. Yet some change it desireth to make in the Body, which it hath so vehement Inclinations to, and therefore is the aptest for it to work upon: It must then endeavour to cause a Motion in the subtilest and most fluid Parts (and consequently, the most moveable ones) of it. This can be nothing but the Blood, which then being violently moved, must needs gush out, at those Places where it findeth Issues.

Our Author cannot believe, that the World will perish upon the Ruins of its own Principles. But Mr. *White* hath demonstrated the End of it upon natural Reason. And though the precise time for that general Destruction be inscrutable; yet he learnedly sheweth an ingenious Rule, whereby to measure in some sort the Duration of it, without being branded (as our Author threatneth) with convincible and *Statute*-madness, or with Impiety. And whereas he will have the Work of this last great Day (the Summer up of all past Days) to imply Annihilation, and thereupon interesteth God only in it: I must beg leave to contradict him, namely in this Point; and to affirm, that the letting loose then of the activest Element, to

destroy this face of the World, will but beget a change in it ; and that no Annihilation can proceed from God Almighty : For his Essence being (as I said before) self existence, it is more impossible that Not-being should flow from him, than that Cold should flow immediately from Fire, or Darknes from the actual presence of Light.

I must need acknowldge, that where he ballanceth Life and Death against one another, and considereth that the latter is to be a kind of nothing for a Moment, to become a pure *Spirit* within one Instant, and what followeth of this strong Thought, is extream handsomely said, and argueth very gallant and generous Resolutions in him.

To exemplify the *Immortality of the Soul*, he needeth not have recourse to the *Philosophers-stone*. His own Store furnisheth him with a most pregnant one of reviving a Plant (the same numerical Plant) out of his own Ashes. But under his Favour, I believe his Experiment will fail, if under the notion of the same he comprehendeth all the Accidents that first accompanied that Plant ; for since in the Ashes there remaineth only the fixed Salt, I am very confident, that all the Colour, and much of the Odour and Taste of it, is flown away with the Volatile Salt.

What should I say of his making so particular a Narration of personal Things, and private Thoughts of his own ; the knowledge whereof cannot much conduce to any Man's Betterment ?

Betterment? (which I make account is the chief End of his writing this Discourse.) As where he speaketh of the soundness of his Body, of the course of his Diet, of the coolness of his Blood at the Summer-Solstice of his age, of his neglect of an *Epitaph*; how long he hath lived, or may live; what *Popes*, *Emperors*, *Kings*, *Grand-Seigniors*, he hath been Contemporary unto, and the like: Would it not be thought that he hath a special good Opinion of himself, (and indeed he hath reason) when he maketh such great Princes the Landmarks in the Chronology of himself? Surely, if he were to write by retail the Particulars of his own Story and Life, it would be a notable *Romance*, since he telleth us in one total Sum, it is a continued Miracle of thirty Years. Though he creepeth gently upon us at the first, yet he groweth a *Giant*, an *Atlas* (to use his own Expression) at the last. But I will not censure him, as he that made Notes upon *Balsac's* Letters, and was angry with him for vexing his Readers with Stories of his *Cholicks*, and voiding of Gravel. I leave this kind of Expressions, without looking further into them.

In the next Place (my *Lord*) I shall take Occasion from our Author's setting so main a Difference between moral Honesty and Virtue, or being Virtuous (to use his own Phrase) out of an inbred Loyalty to Virtue; and on the other side, being Virtuous for a Re-

ward's sake ; to discourse a little concerning *Virtue* in this Life, and the Effects of it afterwards. Truly (my *Lord*) however he seemeth to prefer this latter, I cannot but value the other much before it, if we regard the nobleness and heroickness of the Nature and Mind from whence they both proceed : And if we consider the Journey's end, to which each of them carrieth us, I am confident the first yieldeth nothing to the second, but indeed both meet in the Period of *Beatitude*. To clear this Point (which is very well worth the wisest Man's serious Thought) we must consider, what it is that bringeth us to this excellent State, to be happy in the other World of *Eternity* and *Immutability*. It is agreed on all hands to be God's Grace and Favour to us : But all do not agree by what steps his Grace produceth this effect. Herein I shall not trouble your Lordship with a long Discourse, how that Grace worketh in us, (which yet I will in a Word touch anon, that you may conceive what I understand Grace to be) but will suppose it to have wrought its effect in us in this Life, and from thence examine what hinges they are that turn us over to *Beatitude* and *Glory* in the next : Some consider God as a Judge, that rewardeth or punisheth Men, according as they co-operated with, or repugned to, the Grace he gave. That according as their Actions please or displease him, he is well affected towards them, or angry with them ;
and

and accordingly maketh them to the purpose, and very home, feel the effects of his Kindness or Indignation. Others that fly a higher Pitch, and are so happy, *that they can find out the causes of things*, do conceive that Beatitude and Misery in the other Life, are effects that necessarily and orderly flow out of the Nature of those Causes that begot them in this Life, without engaging God Almighty to give a Sentence, and act the part of a Judge, according to the state of our Cause, as it shall appear upon the Accusations and Pleadings at his great *Bar*. Much of which manner of Expression, is Metaphorical; and rather adapted to contain vulgar Minds in their Duties (that are awed with the thought of a severe Judge, sitting every minute Action of theirs) than such as we must conceive every Circumstance to pass so in reality, as the literal sound of the Words seems to infer in ordinary Construction: And yet all that is true too, in its genuine sense.) But, my *Lord*, these more penetrating Men, and that, I conceive, are virtuous upon higher and stronger Motives (for they truly and solidly know, why they are so) do consider that what Impressions are once made in the spiritual Substance of a Soul, and what Affections it hath once contracted, do ever remain in it, till a contrary and diametrically contradicting Judgment and Affection, do obliterate it, and expel it thence. This is the Reason why *Contrition*,

Sorrow, and *Hatred* for *Sins* past, is encharged us. If then the *Soul* do go out of the *Body* with Impressions and Affections to the Objects and Pleasures of this *Life*, it continually lingreth after them ; and as *Virgil* (learnedly, as well as wittily) saith,

——— *Quæ gratia currum,
 Armorumque fuit vivis, quæ cura nitentes
 Pascere equos, eadem sequitur tellure repostos.*

But that being a State wherein those Objects neither are, nor can be enjoyed, it must needs follow that such a *Soul* must be in exceeding Anguish, Sorrow and Affliction, for being deprived of them ; and for want of that it so much prizeth, will neglect all other Contentments it might have, as not having a Relish or Taste moulded and prepared to the favouring of them ; but like fevourish Tongues, that when they are even scorched with Heat, take no delight in the pleasingest Liquors, but the sweetest Drinks seem bitter to them, by reason of their overflowing Gall : So they even hate whatsoever good is in their Power, and thus pine away a long Eternity. In which the sharpness and activity of their Pain, Anguish, and sad Condition, is to be measured by the sensibleness of their Natures : Which being then Spiritual, is in a manner infinitely more than any Torment that in this *Life* can be inflicted upon a dull gross *Body*. To this add, the Vexation it must be to them, to see how inestimable and
 infinite

infinite a Good they have lost; and lost meerly by their own Fault, and for momentary Trifles and Children's Play; and that it was so easy for them to have gained it, had they remained but in their right Senses, and governed themselves according to *Reason*. And then judge in what a tortur'd Condition they must be, of remorse and execrating themselves for their most resupine and senseless Madness. But if on the other side, a Soul be released out of this *Prison* of Clay and Flesh, with Affections settled upon intellectual Goods, as *Truth*, *Knowledge*, and the like; and that it be grown to an irksome dislike of the flat Pleasures of this World; and look upon carnal and sensual Objects with a disdainful Eye, as discerning the contemptible Inanity in them, that is set off only by their painted Outside; and above all, that it hath a longing Desire to be in the Society of that super-eminent Cause of Causes, in which they know are heaped up the *Treasurers* of all *Beauty*, *Knowledge*, *Truth*, *Delight*, and Good whatsoever; and therefore are impatient at the *Delay*, and reckon all their Absence from him as a tedious Banishment; and in that regard hate their Life and Body, as Cause of this Divorce: Such a Soul, I say, must necessarily, by reason of the Temper it is wrought into, enjoy immediately at the Instant of the Body's Dissolution, and its Liberty, more Contentment, more Joy, more true Happiness, than it is possible for a Heart

of Flesh to have scarce any scantling of, much less to comprehend.

For immense Knowledge is natural to it, as I have touched before. *Truth*, which is the adequated and satisfying Object of the Understanding; is there displayed in her own Colours, or rather without any.

And that which is the *Crown* of all, and in respect of which all the rest is nothing; that infinite Entity, which above all things this Soul thirsteth to be united unto, cannot for his own Goodness sake, deny his Embraces to so affectionate a *Creature*, and to such an enflamed Love. If he should, then were that Soul, for being the best, and for loving him most, condemned to be the unhappiest. For what Joy could she have in any thing, were she barred from what she so infinitely loveth? But since the Nature of superior and excellent things is to shower down their propitious Influences, wheresoever there is a Capacity of receiving them, and no Obstacle to keep them out (like the Sun that illuminateth the whole Air, if no Cloud, or solid opacous Body, intervene) it followeth clearly, that this infinite Sun of Justice, this immense Ocean of Goodness, cannot chuse but environ with his Beams, and replenish even beyond satiety with his delightful Waters, a Soul so prepared and tempered to receive them.

Now (my *Lord*) to make use of this Discourse, and apply it to what begot it; be pleased

pleased to determine, which way will deliver us evenest and smoothest to this happy end of our *Journey*: To be Virtuous for hope of a Reward, and thro' fear of Punishment; or to be so out of a natural and inward affection to *Virtue*, for *Virtue's* and *Reason's* sake? Surely one in this latter Condition, not only doth those things which will bring him to *Beatitude*; but he is so secur'd, in a manner, under an Armour of *Proof*, that he is almost Invulnerable; he can scarce miscarry, he hath not so much as an Inclination to work contrarily; the Alluring Baits of this *World* tempt him not; he disliketh, he hateth, even his necessary Commerce with them whilst he liveth. On the other Side, the Hireling that steereth his Course by his Reward and Punishment, doth well, I confess; but he doth it with Reluctance; he carrieth the *Ark*, God's Image, his Soul, safely Home, it is true, but he loweth pitifully after his Calves, that he leaveth behind him among the *Philistines*. In a Word, he is *Virtuous*; but if he might safely, he would do *vicious* things (And hence be the ground in Nature, if so I might say, of our *Purgatory*.) Methinks two such Minds may not unfitly be compared to two Maids, whereof one hath a little sprinkling of the Green Sicknefs, and hath more mind to *Ashes*, *Chalk* or *Leather*, than Meats of solid and good Nourishment, but forbeareth them, knowing the languishing condition of *Health* it will bring her to:

But

But the other having a ruddy, vigorous and perfect Constitution, and enjoying a compleat, entire *Encrasie*, delights in no Food but of good Nouriture, and loaths the other Delights. *Her Health* is discovered in her Looks, and she is secure from any danger of that Malady, whereas the other for all her good Diet, beareth in her Complexion some sickly Testimony of her depraved Appetite; and if she be not very *wary*, she is in danger of a Relapse.

It falleth fit in this Place to examine our Author's apprehension of the End of such honest *Worthies* and *Philosophers* (as he calleth them) that died before *Christ's* Incarnation, Whether any of them could be saved, or no? Truly my *Lord* I make no doubt at all, but if any followed in the whole *Tenor* of their Lives, the Dictaments of right *Reason*, but that their Journey was secure to *Heaven*. Out of the former Discourse appeareth what temper of Mind is necessary to get thither. And that *Reason* would dictate such a Temper to a perfectly judicious Man, (though but in the state of *Nature*) as the best and most rational for him, I make no doubt at all. But it is most true, they are exceeding few (if any) in whom *Reason* worketh clearly, and is not overswayed by *Passion* and terrene *Affections*; they are few that can discern what is reasonable to be done in every Circumstance.

— *Pauci, quos æquus amavit
Jupiter, aut ardens evexit ad æthera virtus,
Diis geniti, potuere.* —

And fewer, that knowing what is best, can win of themselves to do accordingly; *I know better but do worse*, being most Men's Cases, so that after all that can be expected at the hands of Nature and Reason in their best Habit, since the lapse of them, we may conclude it would have been a most difficult thing for any Man, and a most impossible one for Mankind, to attain unto *Beatitude*, if *Christ* had not come to teach, and by his Example to shew us the way.

And this was the *Reason* of his Incarnation, teaching Life and Death: For being God, we could not doubt his Veracity, when he told us News of the other World; having all Things in his Power, and yet enjoying none of the Delights of this Life, no man should stick at foregoing them, since his Example sheweth all Men, that such a Course is best; whereas few are capable of the *Reason* of it: And for his last Act, dying in such an afflicted manner; he taught us how the securest way to step immediately into perfect Happiness, is to be crucified to all the Desires, Delights and Contentments of this *World*.

But to come back to our *Physician*: Truly (my *Lord*) I must needs pay him, as a
Due,

Due, the acknowledging his pious Discourses to be Excellent and Pathetical ones, containing worthy Motives, to incite one to Virtue, and to deter one from Vice ; thereby to gain *Heaven*, and to avoid *Hell*. Affuredly he is owner of a solid Head, and of a strong and generous Heart. Where he employeth his Thoughts upon such Things, as resort to no higher, or more abstruse *Principles*, than such as occur in ordinary Conversation with the World, or in the common Tract of Study and Learning ; I know no Man would say better. But when he meeteth with such Difficulties as his next, concerning the *Resurrection of the Body*, (wherein after deep Meditation, upon the most abstracted Principles and Speculations of the *Metaphysicks*, one hath much ado to solve the appearing Contradictions in *Nature*) *There*, I do not at all wonder, he should tread a little awry, and go astray in the Dark : For I conceive his course of Life hath not permitted him to allow much time unto the unwinding of such entangled and abstracted Subtilties. But if it had, I believe his Natural Parts are such, as he might have kept the Chair from most Men I know : For even where he roveh widest, it is with so much Wit and Sharpness, as putteth me in mind of a great Man's Censure upon *Joseph Scaliger's Cyclometrica*, (a Matter he was not well versed in) That he had rather err so ingeniously as he did, than hit upon

Truth

Truth in that heavy manner, as the *Jesuit* his *Antagonist* stuffeth his *Books*. Most assuredly his *Wit* and *Smartness* in this *Discourse*, is of the finest *Standard*, and his *Insight* into severer *Learning*, will appear as piercing unto such as use not the *Touchstone* and the *Test*, to examine every *Piece* of the glittering *Coin*, he payeth his *Reader* with. But to come to the *Resurrection*. Methinks it is but a gross *Conception*, to think that every *Atom* of the present individual *Matter* of a *Body*; every *Grain* of *Ashes* of a burned *Cadaver*, scattered by the *Wind* throughout the *World*, and after numerous *Variations*, changed peradventure into the *Body* of another *Man*, should at the sounding of the last *Trumpet* be raked together again from all the *Corners* of the *Earth*, and be made up anew into the same *Body* it was before of the first *Man*. Yet if we will be *Christians*, and rely upon *God's Promises*, we must believe that we shall rise again with the same *Body* that walked about, did eat, drink, and live here on *Earth*; and that we shall see our *Saviour* and *Redemer*, with the same, the very same *Eyes*, wherewith we now look upon the fading *Glories* of this contemptible *World*.

How shall these seeming *Contrarieties* be reconciled? If the latter be true, why should not the former be admitted? To explicate this *Riddle* the better, give me leave to ask your *Lordship*, if you now see the *Cannons*,
the

the *Ensigns*, the *Arms*, and other Martial Preparations at *Oxford*, with the same Eyes, wherewith many Years ago you looked upon *Porphirie's* and *Aristotle's* Leases there? I doubt not but you will answer me, Assuredly with the very same. Is that *Noble* and *Graceful Person* of yours, that begetteth both *Delight* and *Reverence* in every one that looketh upon it? Is that *Body* of yours, that now is grown to such comely and full Dimensions, as *Nature* can give her none more advantagious; the same Person, the same Body, which your virtuous and excellent Mother bore nine Months in her chaste and honoured Womb, and that your Nurse gave suck unto? Most certainly it is the same. And yet if you consider it well, it cannot be doubted, but that sublunary Matter, being in a perpetual Flux, and in Bodies which have internal Principles of *Heat* and *Motion*, much continually transpiring out to make room for the supply of new Aliment; at the length, in long process of Time, all is so changed, as that *Ship* at *Athens* may as well be called the same Ship that was there two hundred Years before, and whereof by (reason of the continual Reparations) not one Foot of the *Timber* is remaining in her that builded her at the first, as this *Body* now can be called the same it was forty Years ago, unless some higher Consideration keep up the *Identity* of it. Now what that is, let us examine, and whether

whether or no it will reach to our Difficulty of the *Resurrection*. Let us consider then, how that which giveth the Numerical Individuation to a *Body*, is the Substantial Form. As long as that remaineth the same, though the Matter be in a continual Flux and Motion, yet the Thing is still the same. There is not one Drop of the same Water in the *Thames*, that ran down by *White-Hall* Yesternight; yet no Man will deny, but that is the same River that was in *Queen Elizabeth's* Time, as long as it is supplied from the same common Stock, the *Sea*. Though this Example reacheth not home, it illustrateth the Thing. If then the Form remain absolutely the same after separation from the Matter, that it was in the Matter, (which can happen only to Forms that subsist by themselves, as human *Souls*) it followeth then, That whensoever it is united to Matter again, (all Matter coming out of the same common Magazine) it maketh again the same Man, with the same Eyes, and all the same Limbs that were formerly. Nay, he is composed of the same Individual Matter; for it hath the same Distinguisher and Individuator, to wit, the same Form or *Soul*. Matter considered singly by it self, hath no Distinction: All Matter is in it self the same; we must fancy it, as we do the indigested *Chaos*; it is a uniformly wide *Ocean*. Particularize a few Drops of the *Sea*, by filling a Glass-full of them, then that Glass-full is distinguished from

from all the rest of the watery *Bulk*: But return back those few Drops to from whence they were taken, and the Glafs-full that even now had an Individuation by it self, loseth that, and groweth one and the same with the other main Stock: Yet if you fill your Glafs again, wheresoever you take it up, so it be of the same uniform *Bulk* of Water you had before, it is the same Glafs-full of Water that you had. But as I said before, this Example fitteth entirely no more than the other did. In such abstracted Speculations, where we must consider Matter without Form (which hath no actual Being) we must not expect adequated Examples in Nature. But enough is said to make a Speculative Man see, that if *God* should joyn the *Soul* of a lately dead Man, (even whilst his dead Corpse should lie entire in his Winding-sheet here) unto a *Body* made of Earth, taken from some Mountain in *America*; it were most true and certain, that the Body he should then lie by, were the same Identical Body he lived with before his *Death* and late *Resurrection*. It is evident, that *Sameness*, *Thisness*, and *Thatness*, belongeth not to Matter by it self, (for a general Indifference runneth through it all) but only as it is distinguished and individuated by the Form: Which, in our Case, whensoever the same *Soul* doth, it must be understood always to be the same Matter and Body.

This Point thus passed over, I may piece to it what our *Author* saith of a *Magazine* of Subsistent Forms, residing first in the *Chaos*, and hereafter (when the World shall have been destroyed by Fire) in the general Heap of *Ashes*, out of which God's Voice did, and shall draw them out, and cloath them with Matter. This Language were handsome for a *Poet*, or *Rhetorician* to speak; but in a *Philosopher*, that should ratiocinate strictly and rigorously, I cannot admit it. For certainly, there are no Subsistent Forms of *Corporeal* Things (excepting the *Soul* of Man, which besides being an Informing Form, hath another particular Consideration belonging to it, too long to speak of here.) But whensoever that Compound is destroyed, the Form perisheth with the whole. And for the natural Production of *Corporeal* Things, I conceive it to be wrought out by the Action and Passion of the *Elements* among themselves; which introducing new Tempers and Dispositions, into the Bodies where these Conflicts pass; new Forms succeed old ones, when the Dispositions are raised to such a Height as can no longer consist with the preceding Form, and are in the immediate Degree to fit the succeeding one, which they usher in. The Mystery of all, which I have at large unfolded in my above-mentioned Treatise of the *Immortality of the Soul*.

I shall

I shall say no more to the first Part of our *Physician's* Discourse after I have observed, how his Consequence is no good one; where he inferreth, That if the *Devils* fore-knew who would be damned or saved, it would save them the *Labour*, and end their Work of tempting Mankind to Mischief and Evil. For whatsoever their moral Design and Success be in it, their Nature impelleth them to be always doing it. For on the one Side, it is active in the highest Degree, (as being pure *Acts*, that is, *Spirits*) so on the other Side, they are Malign in as great an Excess: By the one they must be always working, wheresoever they may work, (like Water in a Vessel full of Holes, that will run out of every one of them which is not stopped :) By the other, their whole Work must be malicious and mischievous. Joining then both these Qualities together, it is evident, they will always be tempting Mankind, tho' they know they shall be frustrate of their moral End.

But were it not Time that I made an End? Yes, it is more than Time. And therefore having once passed the Limit that confined what was becoming, the next Step carried me into the *Ocean* of *Error*; which being Infinite, and therefore more or less bearing no Proportion in it; I will proceed a little further, to take a short Survey of his *Second Part*, and hope for as easy *Pardon* after this Addition,

Addition, to my sudden and indigested Remarks, as if I had inclosed them up now.

Metbinks, he beginneth with somewhat an affected Discourse, to prove his natural Inclination to *Charity*; which *Virtue* is the intended *Theme* of all the Remainder of his Discourse. And I doubt he mistaketh the lowest *Orb* or *Lembe* of that high *Seraphick Virtue*, for the Top and Perfection of it; and maketh a Kind of human Compassion to be *Divine Charity*. He will have it to be a general Way of doing good: It is true, he addeth then, *for God's Sake*; but he allayeth that again, with saying, he will have that Good done, as by Obedience, and to accomplish God's Will; and looketh at the Effects it worketh upon our Souls, but in a narrow Compass; like one in the vulgar Throng, that considereth God as a Judge, and as a Rewarder or Punisher. *Whereas* perfect *Charity*, is that vehement Love of God for his own Sake, for his Goodness, for his Beauty, for his Excellency, that carrieth all the Motions of our Soul directly and violently to him; and maketh a Man disdain, or rather hate all Obstacles that may retard his Journey to him. And that Face of it that looketh toward Mankind with whom we live, and warmeth us to do others Good, is but like the Overflowing of the main Stream, that swelling above its Banks, runneth over in a Multitude of little Channels.

I am not satisfied, that in the Likeness which he putteth between *God* and *Man*, he maketh the Difference between them, to be but such as between two Creatures that resemble one another. For between these, there is some Proportion; but between the others, none at all. In the examining of which Discourse, wherein the *Author* observeth, that no two Faces are ever seen to be perfectly alike; nay, no two *Pictures* of the same Face, were exactly made so; I could take Occasion to insert a subtil and delightful Demonstration of Mr. *White's*, wherein he sheweth, how it is impossible that two Bodies (for Example two *Bowls*) should ever be made exactly like one another; nay, not rigorously equal in any one Accident, as namely, in Weight, but that still there will be some little Difference and Inequality between them (the *Reason* of which Observation, our *Author* meddled not with) were it not that I have been so long already, as Digressions were now very unseasonable.

Shall I commend or censure our *Author* for believing so well of his acquired Knowledge, as to be dejected at the Thought of not being able to leave it a Legacy among his Friends; Or shall I examine, whether it be not a high Injury to wise and gallant *Princes*, who out of the Generousness and Nobleness of their *Nature*, do patronize Arts and learned Men, to impute their so doing to Vanity of desiring Praise, or to Fear of Reproach?

But

But let these pass: I will not engage any that may be-friend him, in a Quarrel against him. But I may safely produce *Epictetus* to contradict him, when he letteth his Kindness engulph him in deep Afflictions for a Friend: For he will not allow his wise Man to have an inward Relenting, a troubled Feeling, or Compassion of another's Misfortunes. That disordereth the one, without any Good to the other. Let him afford all the Assistances and Relievings in his Power, but without intermingling himself in others *Woe*; as *Angels*, that do us good, but have no Passion for us. But this Gentleman's Kindness goeth yet further: He compareth his Love of a *Friend* to his Love of *God*; the Union of Friends Souls by Affection, to the Union of the three Persons in the *Trinity*, and to the *Hypostatical Union* of two Natures in one *Christ*, by the Words *Incarnation*. Most certainly he expresseth himself to be a right Good-natur'd Man. But if *St. Augustine* retracted so severely his pathological Expressions for the Death of his Friend, saying, *They savoured more of the Rhetorical Declamations of a young Orator, than of the grave Confession of a devout Christian*, (or somewhat to that Purpose) What Censure upon himself may we expect of our *Physician*, if ever he make any Retraction of this Discourse concerning his *Religion*?

It is no small Misfortune to him, that after so much Time spent, and so many Places

M

visited

visited in a curious Search, by travelling after the Acquisition of so many Languages, after the wading so deep in Sciences, as appeareth by the ample Inventory, and Particular he maketh of himself: The Result of all this should be, to profess ingenuously he had studied enough, only to become a *Sceptick*; and that having run thro' all Sorts of *Learning*, he could find Rest and Satisfaction in none. This, I confess, is the unlucky Fate of those that light upon wrong *Principles*. But Mr. *White* teacheth us, how the *Theorems* and *Demonstrations* of *Physicks* may be linked and chained together as strongly and as continuedly as they are in the *Mathematicks*, if Men would but apply themselves to a right Method of Study. And I do not find that *Solomon* complained of Ignorance in the Height of Knowledge, (as this *Gentleman* saith) but only, that after he hath rather acknowledged himself ignorant of nothing, but that he understood the Natures of all Plants, from the *Cedar* to the *Hyssop*, and was acquainted with all the Ways and Paths of Wisdom and Knowledge; he exclaimeth, that all this is but *Toil and Vexation of Spirit*; and therefore adviseth Men, to change Human Studies into Divine Contemplations and Affections.

I cannot agree to his Resolution of shutting his *Books*, and giving over the Search of Knowledge, and resigning himself up to Ignorance, upon the Reason that moveth him;

as

as tho' it were extream *Vanity* to waste our Days in the Pursuit of that, which by attending but a little longer ('till Death hath closed the Eyes of our *Body*, to open those of our *Soul*) we shall gain with Ease, we shall enjoy by Infusion, and is an Accessory of our Glorification. It is true, as soon as *Death* hath played the Midwife to our second Birth, our Soul shall then see all Truths more freely, than our Corporal Eyes at our first Birth see all Bodies and Colours, by the natural Power of it, as I have touched already, and not only upon the Grounds our *Author* giveth. Yet far be it from us, to think that Time lost, which in the mean Season we shall laboriously employ, to warm ourselves with blowing a few little *Sparks* of that glorious Fire, which we shall afterwards in one Instant leap into the Middle of, without Danger of Scorching. And that for two important *Reasons*; besides several others, (too long to mention here) the one, for the great Advantage we have by Learning in this Life; the other for the huge Contentment that the Acquisition of it here (which applyeth a strong Affection to it) will be unto us in the next Life. The Want of Knowledge in our first Mother (which exposed her to be easily deceived by the *Serpent's* Cunning) was the Root of all our ensuing *Misery* and *Woe*. It is true (which we are taught by irrefragable Authority) That *Omnis peccans ignorat*: And the Well-head of all the Calamities

mities and Mischiefs in all the World, consisteth of the troubled and bitter Waters of Ignorance, Folly, and Rashness; to cure which, the only Remedy and Antidote, is the Salt of true *Learning*, the bitter *Wood* of *Study*, painful *Meditation*, and orderly *Consideration*. I do not mean such *Study* as armeth wrangling *Champions* for clamorous *Schools*, where the Ability of subtil Disputing to and fro, is more prized than the Retrieving of Truth: But such as filleth the Mind with solid and useful Notions, and doth not endanger the Swelling it up with windy Vanities. Besides, the sweetest Companion and Entertainment of a well-tempered Mind, is to converse familiarly with the naked and bewitching Beauties of those Mistresses, those Verities and Sciences, which by fair Courting of them, they gain and enjoy; and every Day bring new fresh ones to their *Seraglio*, where the Ancientest never grow old or stale. Is there any Thing so pleasing or so profitable as this?

— Nil dulcius est, bene quam munita tenere
 Edita doctrina sapientum templa serena;
 Despicere unde queas alios, passimque videre
 Errare, atque viam palanteis quærere vitæ.

But now if we consider the Advantage we shall have in the other Life by our Affection to *Sciences*, and Conversation with them in this, it is wonderful great. Indeed that Affection

fection is so necessary, as without it we shall enjoy little Contentment in all the Knowledge we shall then be replenished with: For every one's Pleasure in the Possession of a Good, is to be measured by his precedent *Desire* of that Good, and by the Equality of the Taste and Relish of him that feedeth upon it. We should therefore prepare and make our Taste before-hand by Assuefaction unto, and by often relishing what we shall then be nourished with. That *Englishman* that can drink nothing but *Beer* or *Ale*, would be ill bestead were he to go into *Spain* or *Italy*, where nothing but *Wine* groweth: Whereas a well-experienced *Goinfre*, that can criticise upon the several Tastes of *Liquors*, would think his *Palate* in *Paradise*, among those delicious *Nectars* (to use *Aretines* Phrase upon his eating of a *Lamprey*.) Who was ever delighted with *Tobacco* the first Time he took it? And who could willingly be without it, after he was a while habituated to the Use of it? How many Examples are there daily of Young Men, that marrying upon their Father's Command, not thro' precedent Affections of their own, have little Comfort in worthy and handsome Wives, that others would passionately affect? *Archimedes* lost his Life, for being so ravished with the Delight of a Mathematical Demonstration, that he could not of a Sudden recal his extasied *Spirits* to attend the rude Soldiers Summons: But instead of him, whose Mind hath been

always fed with such subtil *Diet*, how many plain *Country Gentlemen* doth your Lordship and I know, that rate the Knowledge of their Husbandry at a much higher Pitch; and are extreamly delighted by conversing with that; whereas the other would be most tedious and importune to them? We may then safely conclude, That if we will joy in the *Knowledge* we shall have after *Death*, we must in our Life-time raise within ourselves earnest Affections to it, and Desires of it, which cannot be barren ones; but will press upon us to gain some Knowledge by Way of Advance here; and the more we attain unto, the more we shall be in *Love* with what remaineth behind. To this Reason then adding the other, How Knowledge is the surest Prop, and Guide of our present Life; and how it perfecteth a Man in that which constituteth a Man, his *Reason*; and how it enableth him to tread boldly, steadily, constantly, and knowingly in all his Ways: And I am confident, all Men that shall hear the Case thus debated, will join with me in making it a Suit to our *Physician*, that he will keep his *Books* open, and continue that *Progress* he hath so happily begun.

But I believe your Lordship will scarcely join with him in his Wish, that we might procreate and beget Children without the Help of Women, or without any Conjunction or Commerce with that sweet and bewitching Sex. *Plato* taxeth his Fellow *Philosopher* (though otherwise

otherwise a learned and brave Man) for not sacrificing to the *Graces*, those gentle Female *Goddeesses*. What thinketh your Lordship of our *Physician's* bitter Censure of that Action which *Mahomet* maketh the Essence of his *Paradise*? Indeed, besides those his Unkindnesses, or rather Frowardnesses, at that tender-hearted Sex (which must needs take it ill at his Hands) methinketh he setteth Marriage at too low a Rate, which is assuredly the highest and divinest Link of human Society. And where he speaketh of *Cupid*, and of *Beauty*, it is in such a Phrase, as putteth me in mind of the learned *Greek Reader* in *Cambridge*, his courting of his *Mistress* out of *Stephens's Thesaurus*.

My next Observation upon his Discourse, draweth me to a *Logical* Consideration of the Nature of an exact *Syllogism*; which kind of Reflection, though it use to open the Door in the Course of Learning and Study; yet it will near shut it in my Discourse, which my following the Thread that my Author spin-
neth assigneth to this Place. If he had well and thoroughly considered all that is required to that strict way of managing our *Reason*, he would not have censured *Aristotle* for condemning the fourth Figure, out of no other Motive, but because it was not consonant to his own Principle; that it would not fit with the Foundations himself had laid; though it do with Reason (saith he) and be conso-

nant to that, which indeed it doth not, at all Times, and at all Circumstances. In a perfect *Syllogism*, the Predicate must be identified with the Subject, and each Extream with the middle Term, and so consequently, all three with one another. But in *Galen's* fourth Figure, the Case may so fall out, as these Rules will not be current there.

As for the Good and Excellency that he considereth in the worst Things, and how far from Solitude any Man is in the Wilderness; *These* are (in his Discourse) but *equivocal Considerations of Good*, and of *Lowliness*: Nor are they any ways pertinent to the Morality of that Part where he treateth of them.

I have much ado to believe, what he speaketh confidently, That he is more beholding to *Morpheus*, for learned and rational, as well as pleasing *Dreams*, than to *Mercury* for smart and facetious Conceptions; whom *Saturn* (it seemeth by his Relation) hath looked asquint upon in his Geniture.

In his concluding *Prayer*, wherein he summeth up all he wisheth, methinks his Arrow is not winged with that Fire which I should have expected from him upon this Occasion: For it is not the Peace of *Conscience*, nor the Bridling up of one's Affections, that expresseth the highest Delightfulness and happiest State of a perfect *Christian*. It is Love only that can give us *Heaven* upon Earth, as well

as in Heaven ; and bringeth us thither too :
So that the *Thuscan Virgil* had Reason to
say,

—— *In alte dolcezze*

Non si puo gioio, se non amando.

And this Love must be employed upon
the noblest and highest Object, not termi-
nated in our Friends. But of this transcendent
and divine Part of *Charity*, that looketh
directly and immediately upon God himself ;
and that is the intrinsical Form, the utmost
Perfection, the Scope and final Period of true
Religion, (this Gentleman's intended *Theme*,
as I conceive) I have no Occasion to speak
any thing, since my *Author* doth but transi-
ently mention it ; and that too, in such a
Phrase as ordinary *Catechisms* speak of to
vulgar Capacities.

Thus, my Lord, having run through the
Book (God knows how slightly, upon so
great a Sudden) which your Lordship com-
manded me to give you an Account of,
there remaineth yet a weightier Task upon
me to perform, which is to excuse myself of
Presumption, for daring to consider any
Moles in that Face, which you had marked
for a Beauty. But who shall well consider
my Manner of proceeding in these Remarks,
will free me from that Censure. I offer not
at *Judging* the Prudence and Wisdom of this
Discourse : These are fit Inquiries for your

Lordship's Court of highest Appeal: In my inferior one, I meddle only with little knotty Pieces of particular Sciences (*Matinæ apis instar, operosa parvus carmina fingit*). In which it were peradventure a Fault for your Lordship to be too well versed; your Employments are of a higher and nobler Strain, and that concerns the Welfare of millions of Men:

Tu regere Imperio Populos (Sackville) memento
(Hæ tibi erunt Artes) pacisque imponere morem.

Such little Studies as these, belong only to those Persons that are low in the Rank they hold in the Common-wealth; low in their Conceptions, and low in a languishing and rusting Leisure, such an one as *Virgil* calleth *Ignobile otium*, and such an one as I am now dulled withal. If *Alexander* or *Cæsar* should have commended a Tract of Land, as fit for to fight a Battel in for the Empire of the World, or to build a City upon, to be the *Magazine* and Staple of all the adjacent Countries; no Body could justly condemn that Husbandman, who according to his own narrow Art and Rules, should censure the Plains of *Arbela*, or *Pharsalia*, for being in some Places sterile; or the Meadows about *Alexandria*, for being sometimes subject to be overflowed; or could tax ought he

he should say in that kind for a Contradiction unto the others Commendations of those Places which are built upon higher and larger Principles.

So (my Lord) I am confident I shall not be reproached of unmannerlinefs for putting in a Demurrer unto a few little Particularities in that noble Discourse, which your Lordship gave a general Applause unto; and by doing so, I have given your Lordship the best Account I can of myself, as well as of your Commands. You hereby see what my Entertainments are, and how I play away my Time.


— — *Dorset dum magnus ad altum
Fulminat Oxonium bello, victorq; volentes
Per populos dat jura; viamq; affectat
Olympo,*

May your Counsels there be happy and successful ones, to bring about that *Peace*, which if we be not quickly blessed withal, a general Ruin threatneth the whole *Kingdom*. From *Winchester-House* the 22 (I think I may say the 23, for I am sure it is Morning, and I think it is Day) of *December*.

Your Lordship's most humble

and obedient Servant,

KENELM DIGBY.



POSTSCRIPT.

My Lord,

Looking over these loose Papers to point them, I perceive I have forgotten what I promised in the eighth Sheet, to touch in a Word concerning Grace: I do not conceive it to be a Quality infused by God Almighty into a Soul.

Such Kind of Discoursing satisfieth me no more in Divinity, than in Philosophy. I take it to be the whole Complex of such real *Motives* (as a solid Account may be given of them) that incline a Man to Virtue and Piety; and are set on Foot by God's particular Grace and Favour, to bring that Work to pass. As for Example: To a Man plunged in Sensuality, some great Misfortune happeneth, that mouldeth his Heart to a Tenderness, and inclineth him to much Thoughtfulness: In this Temper, he meeteth with a Book or Preacher, that representeth lively to him the Danger of his own Condition; and giveth him Hopes of greater Contentment in other Objects, after he shall have taken Leave of his former beloved Sins. This begetteth further Conversation with prudent and pious Men, and experienced Physicians, in curing the Soul's Maladies; where-
by

by he is at last perfectly converted, and settled in a Course of solid Virtue and Piety.

Now these Accidents of his Misfortune, the Gentleness and Softness of his Nature, his falling upon a good Book, his encountering with a pathetick Preacher, the impremeditated Chance that brought him to hear his Sermon, his meeting with other worthy Men, and the whole Concatenation of all the intervening Accidents, to work this good Effect in him; and that were ranged and disposed from all Eternity, by God's particular Goodness and Providence for his Salvation; and without which he had inevitably been damned: This Chain of Causes, ordered by God to produce this Effect, I understand to be Grace.





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