

BROWNE THOMAS

THE WORKS OF SIR
THOMAS BROWNE,
VOLUME 1

Thomas Browne
The Works of Sir Thomas
Browne, Volume 1

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The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Volume 1

PREFATORY NOTE

This edition is an endeavour to arrive at a more satisfactory text of the work of Sir Thomas Browne, and to reproduce the principal part of it, as faithfully as seems advisable, in the form in which it was presented to the public at the time of his death. For this purpose, in the first volume, the text of the *Religio Medici* follows more particularly the issue of 1682. The *Pseudodoxia Epidemica* here given is based upon the sixth edition of ten years earlier, with careful revision. In every case in which a spelling or punctuation was dubious, a comparison was made of nearly all the issues printed during the lifetime of the writer, and their merits weighed. By this means it is hoped that the true flavour of the period has been preserved.

The Annotations upon the *Religio Medici*, which were always reprinted with the text during the seventeenth century, are here restored. They will appeal to a certain class of readers which has a right to be considered. It is to be regretted that every quotation given in these pages has not been verified. Several have been

corrected; but to have worked through them all, in these busy days, would have been a labour of some years, which it is not possible to devote to the purpose. It has been thought best to leave these passages therefore, in the main, as they stand.¹

The portrait of Sir Thomas Browne here prefixed is reproduced from the engraving published in 1672 with the edition of the *Religio Medici* and *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*.

C.S.

August, 1903.

¹ The quotation, now corrected, from Montaigne, on p. xxii, is a typical example of the pitfall into which one is liable to stumble. The passage there cited is in chapter xl. of the French author's later arrangement: a clear indication of the edition of the *Essais* used by the author of the Annotations. What is one to make of the readings in Lucretius on p. xxv? No light is thrown upon these difficulties by the edition of Browne's works published in 1686. Wilkin did not reprint the Annotations, except in selection.

ANNOTATIONS UPON RELIGIO MEDICI

*Nec satis est vulgasse fidem.—
Pet. Arbit. fragment.*

THE ANNOTATOR TO THE READER

A. Gellius (noct. Attic. l. 20. cap. ult.) notes some Books that had strange Titles; Pliny (Prefat. Nat. Hist.) speaking of some such, could not pass them over without a jeer: So strange (saith he) are the Titles of some Books, Ut multos ad vadimonium deferendum compellant. And Seneca saith, some such there are, Qui patri obstetricem parturienti filiæ accersenti moram injicere possint. 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 Theologie 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 then 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 knew of (to verifie that Books have their Fate from the Capacity of the Reader) that has had the face to appear against it; that is Mr. Alexander² Rosse; 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 differ from the Authors 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 authentique. Since the time he Published his Observations upon it, one Mr. Jo. Merryweather, a Master of Arts of the University of 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 Authors 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 hath since fallen into the hands of a Gentleman of that Nation³ (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

² In his *Medicus Medicatus*.

³ That he was a German appears by his notes *page 35*, where he useth these words, *Dulcissima nostra Germania*, etc.

both of the Work and Author, this Stranger tells you⁴: Inter alios Auctores incidi in librariis cui Titulus Religio Medici, jam ante mihi innotuerat lectionem istius libri multos præclaros viros delectasse, imo occupasse. Non ignorabam librum in Anglia, Gallia, Italia, Belgio, Germania, cupidissime legi; coustabat mihi eum non solum in Anglia ac Batavia, sed et Purisiis cum præfatione, in qua Auctor magnis laudibus fertur, esse typis mandatum. Compertum mihi erat multos magnos atq; eruditos viros sensere Auctorem (quantum ex hoc scripto perspicitur) sanctitate vitæ ac pietate elucere, etc. But for the worth of the Book it is so well known to every English-man that is fit to read it, that this attestation of a Forrainer 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 antient as modern; as also his acquaintance with all manner of Authors, both sacred and profane, out of which he has ammas'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 untoucht, 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 were he free from all these, yet one great Fault there is he may be justly charg'd with, that is, that he cannot manum de

⁴ In Præfat. Annotat.

Tabula even in matters the most obvious: which is an affectation ill-becoming a Scholar; witness the most learned Annotator, Claud. Minos. Divion. in præfat. commentar. Alciat. Emblemat. præfix. Præstat (saith he) brevius omnia persequi, et leviter attingere quæ nemini esse ignota suspicari possint, quam quasi ῥαψωδεῖν, perq; locos communes identidem expatiari.

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 that these Notes were collected ten⁵ 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 Recueil meerly for mine own entertainment, and not with any intention to evulge it; Truth is my witness, the publication proceeds meerly from the importunity of the Book-seller (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 attex to it; 'tis he (not I) that divulgeth it, and whatever the success be, he alone is concern'd in it; I only say for my self what my Annotations bear in the Frontispiece—

⁵ Excepting two or three particulars in which reference is made to some Books that came over since that time.

Nec satis est vulgasse fidem—

That is, that it was not enough to all persons (though pretenders to Learning) that our Physitian had publish'd his Creed, because it wanted an exposition. I say further, that the German's is not full; and that (– Quicquid sum Ego quamvis infra Lucilli censum ingeniumq; –) my explications do in many things illustrate the Text of my Author.

24 Martii, 1654.

ANNOTATIONS UPON RELIGIO MEDICI

The Epistle to the *READER*

Certainly that man were greedy of life, who should desire to live when all the World were at an end;] This Mr. Merryweather hath rendred thus; *Cupidum esse vitæ oportet, qui universo jam expirante mundo vivere cuperet*; and well enough: but it is not amiss to remember, that we have this saying in *Seneca the Tragædian*, who gives it us thus, *Vitæ est avidus quisquis non vult mundo secum pereunte mori.*

There are many things delivered Rhetorically.] The Author herein imitates the ingenuity of St. *Austin*, who in his *Retract.* corrects himself for having delivered some things more like a young Rhetorician than a sound Divine; but though St. *Aug.* doth deservedly acknowledge it a fault in himself, in that he voluntarily published such things, yet cannot it be so in this Author, in that he intended no publication of it, as he professeth in this Epistle, and in that other to Sir *Kenelm Digby.*

THE FIRST PART

Sect. 1. Pag. 1.

The general scandal of my Profession.] Physitians (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 unlearn'd sort) *Ubi tres Medici, duo Athei*. The reasons why those of that Profession (I declare my self that I am none, but *Causarum Actor Mediocris*, to use *Horace* his Phrase) may be thought to deserve that censure, the Author rendreth *Sect. 19*.

The natural course of my studies.] The vulgar lay not the imputation of Atheism only upon Physitians, 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 laboured 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: *Hæc fermè communi quodam errore imperitorum Philosophis objectantur, ut partem eorum qui corporum causas meras et simplices rimantur, irreligiosos putant, eosque aiunt Deos abnuere, ut Anaxagoram, et Lucippum, et Democritum, et Epicurum, cæterosq; rerum naturæ Patronos.* *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 *Essayes* observeth; but our Author tells us there is

a true Philosophy, from which no man becomes an Atheist, *Sect.* 46.

The indifferency of my behaviour and Discourse in matters of Religion.] Bigots are so oversway'd by a preposterous Zeal, that they hate all moderation in discourse of Religion; they are the men forsooth — *qui solos credant habendos esse Deos quos ipsi colunt.* *Erasmus* upon this accompt makes a great complaint to *Sir Tho. 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 published him for such; and yet as *Erasmus* was reputed no very good Catholick, so for certain he was no Protestant.

Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font] as most do, taking up their Religion according to the way of their Ancestors; this is to be blamed among all persons: It was practised as well amongst Heathens as Christians.

Per caput hoc juro per quod Pater antè solebat, saith *Ascanius* in *Virgil*: and *Apuleius* notes it for an absurdity. *Utrum Philosopho, putas turpe scire ista, an nescire? negligere, an curare? nosse quanta sit etiam in istis providentiæ ratio, an de diis immortalibus Matri et Patri cedere?* saith he in *Apolog.* and so doth *Minutius*. *Unusquisq; vestrum non cogitat prius se debere deum nosse quam colere, dum inconsulte gestiuntur parentibus obedire, dum fieri malunt alieni erroris accessio, quam sibi credere.* *Minut. in Octav.*

But having in my ripers examined, etc.] according to the Apostolical Precept, *Omnia probate, quod bonum est tenete.*

Sect. 2. Pag. 8.

There being a Geography of Religion] *i. e.* of Christian Religion, which you may see described in Mr. *Brerewood's* Enquiries: he means not of the Protestant Religion; for though there be a difference in Discipline, yet the *Anglican, Scotie, Belgic, Gallican,* and *Helvetic* Churches differ not in any essential matter of the Doctrine, as by the *Harmony of Confessions* appears. 5. Epist. *Theod. Bezæ Edmundo Grindallo Ep. Londinens.*

Wherein I dislike nothing but the Name] that is *Lutheran, Calvinist, Zuinglian,* etc.

Now the accidental occasion wherein, etc.] 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* the Tenth, 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 Allyes, 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*, a Bishop to appoint Treasurers for these Indulgences. Now the custome 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* his 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 performed 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 xcv *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 controversie against him: and now *Luther* begins to be hot; and because his adversaries could not find the matter of Indulgences upon other Foundations than the *Popes* power and infallibility, that begets a disputation betwixt them concerning the *Popes* 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.

Sect. 3. Pag. 8.

Yet I have not so shaken hands with those, desperate Resolutions, (Resolvers it should be, without doubt) who had rather venture at large their decayed 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 a diameter and at swords point with them: we have reformed from them, not against them, etc.

] These words by Mr. Merryweather are thus rendred, *sc. Nec tamen in vecordem illum pertinacium hominum gregem memet adjungo, qui lubefactatum navigium malunt fortunæ committere quam in navale de integro resarciendum deducere, qui malunt omnia promiscuè retinere quam quicquam inde diminuere, et pertinaciter esse qui sunt quam qui olim fuerunt, ita ut iisdem ex diametro repugnent: ab illis, non contra illos, reformationem instituimus, etc.* And the Latine 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 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 *Latine 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 *Vecordem pertinacium hominum gregem*, which truly is a description well befitting them, though not intended to them in this place: howsoever, 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 mistake of the sense of the English Phrase *Shaken hands*, which he hath

rendered by these words, *Memet adjungo*, wherein he hath too much play'd the Scholar, and show'd himself to be more skilful in forraign and antient customs, then in the vernacular practise and usage of the language of his own Country; for although amongst the Latines protension of the Hand were a Symbole and sign of Peace and Concord (as *Alex. ab Alexandro; Manum verò protendere, pacem peti significabunt* (saith he) *Gen. Dier. lib. 4. cap. ult.* which also is confirmed by *Cicero pro Dejotaro;* and *Cæsar. l. 2. de Bellico Gallico*) and was used in their first meetings, as appears by the Phrase, *Jungere hospitio Dextras;* and by that of *Virgil,*

Oremus pacem, et Dextras tendamus inermes,

And many like passages that occur in the Poets, to which I believe the Translator had respect; yet in modern practise, 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 *Romanists*, as to stand at swords point with them: and then he gives his reasons at those words, *For omitting those impropertions*, etc. 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 repugnet*, it should be *repugnem*.

Sect. 5. Pag. 11.

Henry the Eighth, who, though he rejected the Pope, refused not the faith of Rome.] So much *Buchanan* in his own life written by himself testifieth, who speaking of his coming into *England* about the latter end of that King's time, saith, *Sed ibi tum omnia adeo erant incerta, ut eodem die, ac eodem igne* (very strange!) *utriusque factionis homines cremarentur, Henrico 8, jam seniore suæ magnis securitati quam Religionis puritati intento.* And for the confirmation of this assertion of the Author, *vide Stat. 31. H. 8, cap. 14.*

And was conceived the state of Venice would have attempted in our dayes.] This expectation was in the time of Pope *Paul* the Fifth, who by excommunicating that Republicque, gave occasion to the Senate to banish all such of the Clergy as would not by reason of the Popes command administer the Sacraments; and upon that account the *Jesuits* were cast out, and never since receiv'd into that State.

Sect. 6. Pag. 12.

Or be angry with his judgement for not agreeing with me in that, from which perhaps within a few days I should dissent myself.] I cannot think but in this expression the Author had respect to that of that excellent French Writer *Monsieur Mountaign* (in whom I often trace him). *Combien diversement jugeons nous de choses? Combien de fois changeons nous nos fantasies? Ce que je tien aujourdhuy, ce que je croy, je le tien et le croy de toute ma Creance, mais ne m'est il pas advenu non une fois mais cent, mais mille et tous les jours d'avoir embrasse quelque autre chose?*

Mountaign lib. 2. *Des Essais*. Chap. 12.

Every man is not a proper Champion for truth, etc.] 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 *Carolostadius* his opinion in the point of the Sacrament 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: *Non satis habet humerorum*, saith he of *Carolostad*, alluding to that of *Horace*, *Sumite materiam vestris qui scribitis æquam Viribus, et versate diu quid ferre recusent Quid valeant humeri.* – So *Minutius Fælix*; *Plerumq; pro disserentium viribus, et eloquentiæ potestate, etiam perspicuæ veritatis conditio mutetur.* *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 *Ethniques*. *Lactant. de justitia*, cap. 1. I could wish that those that succeeded him had not as much cause of complaint against him: surely he is noted to have many errors *contra fidem*.

Pag. 13.

In Philosophy – there is no man more Paradoxical then my self, but in Divinity I love to keep the Road, etc.] Appositely to the mind of the Author, saith the Publisher of Mr. *Pembel's* Book *de origine formarum*, *Certe* (saith he) *in locis Theologicis ne quid detrimenti capiat vel Pax. vel Veritas Christi – à novarum*

opinionum pruritu prorsus abstinendum puto, usq; adeo ut ad certam regulam etiam loqui debeamus, quod pie et prudenter monet Augustinus (de Civ. Dei. 1. 10, cap. 23.) [ne verborum licentia impia vi gignat opinionem,] at in pulvere Scholastico ubi in nullius verba, juramus, et in utramvis partem sine dispendio vel pacis, vel salutis ire liceat, major conceditur cum sentiendi tum loquendi libertas, etc. Capel. in Ep. Dedicat. Pembel, de origin form. præfix.

Heresies perish not with their Authors, but like the River Arethusa, though they lose their Currents in one place, they rise again in another.] Who would not think that this expression were taken from Mr. Mountaigne, l. 2, des Ess. cap. 12. Where he hath these words, *Nature enserre dans les termes de son progress ordinaire comme toutes autres choses aussi les creances les judgements et opinions des hommes elles ont leur revolutions;* and that Mountaigne took his from Tully. *Non enim hominum interitu sententiæ quoque occidunt, Tull. de nat. deorum l. 1, etc.* Of the River Arethusa thus Seneca. *Videbis celebratissimum carminibus fontem Arethusam limpidissimi ac perludicissimi ad imum stagni gelidissimas aquas profundentem, sive illas primum nascentes invenit, sive flumen integrum subter tot maria, et à confusione pejoris undæ servatum reddidit. Senec. de consolat. ad Martiam.*

Sect. 7. Pag. 14.

Now the first of mine was that of the Arabians.] For this Heresie, the Author here sheweth what it was; they are called

Arabians from the place where it was fostered; and because the *Heresiarch* was not known, *Euseb. St. Aug.* and *Nicephorus* do all write of it: the reason of this Heresie was so specious, that it drew Pope *John 22.* 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 Heresie, for that no definition of the Church whereby 'twas made Heresie, 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 14 Age: but then I would ask another question, that is, If 'till that time there were 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 14 Age?

The second was that of Origen.] 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.*

These opinions though condemned by lawful Councils, were not Heresie in me, etc.] For to make an Heretique, there must be not only *Error in intellectu* but *pertinacia in voluntate*. So *St. Aug. Qui sententiam suam quamvis falsam atque perversam nulla*

pertinaci animositate defendunt, quærunt autem cauta sollicitudine veritatem, corrigi parati cum invenerint, nequaquam sunt inter Hæreticos deputandi. Aug. cont. Manich. 24, qu. 3.

Sect. 9 Pag. 16.

The deepest mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained by Syllogism and the Rule of Reason,] and since this Book was written, by Mr. White in his *Institutiones Sacræ*.

And when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the Miracle.

] Those that have seen it, have been better informed then 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 days journey along the shore; wherefore (saith he) I left that as too uncertain for any Observation. *In his Voyage into the Levant.*

Sect. 10. Pag. 18.

I had as lieve you tell me that Anima est Angelus hominis, est corpus Dei, as Entelechia; Lux est umbra Dei, as actus perspicui.] Great variety of opinion there hath been amongst the Ancient Philosophers touching the definition of the Soul. *Thales*, his 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 itself; after 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 *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 *Lux est actus perspicui*, than if you should tell him that it is *umbra Dei*. 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*; and that so vision is perform'd. Now as it is true that the Sectators of *Aristotle* are to blame, by fastening upon him by occasion of this passage, that he meant that those things that made this impress 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 beholding 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 donation 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.

For God hath not caused it to rain upon the Earth.] St. *Aug. de Genes. ad literam*, cap. 5, 6, salves that expression from any inconvenience; but the Author in *Pseudodox. Epidemic*. 1. 7, cap. 1, shews that we have no reason to be confident that this Fruit was an *Apple*.

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.] Yet the Author himself sheweth in *Pseudodox. Epidemic*. lib. 7, cap. 1, that the form or kind of the *Serpent* is not agreed on: yet *Comestor* affirm'd it was a *Dragon*, *Eugubinus* 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 this proper shape.

I find the tryal of Pucelage and the Virginity of Women which God ordained the Jews, is very fallible.] *Locus extat*, *Deut.* c. 22, the same is affirm'd by *Laurentius* in his *Anatom*.

Whole Nations have escaped the curse of Child-birth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole sex.] This is attested by M. Mountaigne. *Les douleurs de l'enfantiment par les mediciens, et par Dieu mesme estimees grandes, et que nous passons avec tant de Ceremonies, il y a des nations entieres qui ne'n fuit nul conte.* l. 1, des Ess. c. 14.

Sect 11. Pag. 19.

Who can speak of Eternity without a Solæcism, or think thereof without an Extasie? Time we may comprehend, etc.] 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 Authors Phrase) that it hath no distinction of Tenses, but is according to *Boetius* (*lib. 5, consol. pros. 6*), his definition, *interminabilis vitæ tota simul et perfecta possessio*. For me, *non nostrum est tantas componere lites*. 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* his 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 his *Anima mundi*: 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 Authors 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 *Nunc's*, or many instants, by the addition of one more it is still increased; and by that means *Infinity* or *Eternity* is not included, nor ought more than *Time*. For this, see Mr. *White*, *de dial. mundo*, *Dial. 3. Nod. 4.*

Indeed he only is, etc.] 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 signifie, *Ego sum qui sum, et qui est*, etc. but *Ero qui ero, et qui erit*, etc. *vid Gassend. in animad. Epicur. Physiolog. Sect. 12. Pag. 20.*

I wonder how Aristotle could conceive the World Eternal, or how he could make two Eternities:] (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 onely 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 *ex nihilo*, 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 *ab æterno*: for having propos'd this question [*Num aliquid à Deo ex Æternitate procreari potuit?*] they defend the affirmative, and assert that not onely incorporeal substances, as Angels; or permanent, as the celestial Bodies; or corruptible as Men, etc. might be produced and made *ab æterno*, and be conserved by an infinite time, *ex utraq; parte*; 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 produced *ab æterno*: 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*.

There is in us not three, but a Trinity of Souls.] The *Peripatetiques* held that men had three distinct Souls; whom the Heretiques, the *Anomæi*, and the *Jacobites*, followed. There arose a great dispute about this matter in *Oxford*, in the year 1276, and it was then determined against *Aristotle*, *Daneus Christ. Eth.* 1. 1. c. 4. and *Suarez* in his Treatise *de causa formali*, *Quest. An dentur*

plures formæ in uno composito, affirmeth there was a Synod that did *anathematize* all that held with *Aristotle* in this point.

Sect. 14. Pag. 23.

There is but one first, and four second causes in all things.

] In that he saith there is but one first cause, he speaketh in opposition to the *Manichees*, who held there were *Duo principia*; one from whom came all good, and the other from whom came all evil: the reason of *Protagoras* did it seems impose upon their understandings; he was wont to say, *Si Deus non est, unde igitur bona? Si autem est, unde mala?* 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*, sc. *Id ad quod respiciens artifex, id quod destinabat efficit*; according to whose mind *Boetius* speaks, *lib. 3. met. 9. de cons. Philosoph.*

O qui perpetua mundum ratione gubernas,
Terrarum Cœliq; 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. Augustine l. 83. quest. 46.* where (amongst other)

he hath these words, *Restat ergo ut omnia Ratione sint condita, nec eadem ratione homo qua equus; hoc enim absurdum est existimare: singula autem propriis sunt creata rationibus.* But these *ideæ* Plato's Scholar Aristotle 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 *Ramists* 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 it self, or something that is necessarily conjoynd 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 onely 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 it's converted to a new use and end. Divers other Arguments he hath to prove there is no such cause as the final cause. *Nat. Carpenter Philosoph. 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 hath 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.

*Illud in his rebus vitium vehementer et istum,
Effugere errorem vitareque premeditabor
Lumina ne facias oculorum clara creata
Prospicere ut possimus; et, ut proferre vias
Proceros passus, ideo fastigia posse
Surarum ac feminum pedibus fundata plicari:
Brachia tum porro validis ex apta lacertis
Esse, manusq; datas utraq; ex parte ministras,
Vt facere ad vitam possimus, quæ foret usus:
Cætera de genere hoc, inter quæcunq; precantur
Omnia perversa præpostera sunt ratione:*

*Nil ideo quoniam natum'st in corpore, ut uti
Possemus; sed quod natum'st, id procreat usum,
Nec fuit ante videre oculorum lumina nata,
Nec dictis orare prius, quam lingua creata'st,
Sed potius longe linguæ præcessit origo
Sermonem; multoq: creatæ sunt prius aures
Quam sonus est auditus, et omnia deniq; membra
Ante fuere, ut opinor, eorum quam foret usus:
Haud igitur potuere utendi crescere causa.*

Lucret. lib. 4. [822-841.]

Sect. 15. Pag. 24.

There are no Grotesques in nature, etc.] So Monsr. Montaign,
Il n'ya rien d'inutil en nature, non pas l'inutilité mesmes, Rien ne
s'est ingeré en cet Univers qui n'y tienne place opportun. Ess. 1.
3. c. 1.

Who admires not Regio-montanus his Fly beyond his Eagle?
] Of these Du Bartas.

Que diray je de l'aigle,
D'ont un doct Aleman honore nostre siecle
Aigle qui deslogeant de la maistresse main,
Aila loin au devant d'un Empereur Germain;
Et l'ayant recontré suddain d'une aisle accorte,
Se tournant le suit au seuil de la porte
Du fort Norembergois, que lis piliers dorez,
Les tapissez chemins, les arcs elabourez,
Les fourdroyans Canons, in la jeunesse isnelle,

In le chena Senat, n'honorroit tant come elle.
Vn jour, que cetominer plus des esbats, que de mets,
En privé fasteyoit ses seigneurs plus amees,
Vne mousche de fer, dans sa main recelee,
Prit sans ayde d'autroy, sa gallard evolee:
Fit une entiere Ronde, et puis d'un cerveau las
Come ayant jugement, se purcha sur son bras.

Thus Englished by *Silvester*

*Why should not I 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 Emperour:
And having met him, with her nimble Train,
And weary Wings turning about again,
Followed him close unto the Castle Gate
Of Noremberg; whom all the shews of state,
Streets hang'd with Arras, arches curious built,
Loud thundring Canons, Columns richly guilt,
Grey-headed Senate, and youth's gallantise,
Grac'd not so much as onely 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.*

Or wonder not more at the operation of two souls in those little bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar?] That is, the vegetative, which according to the common opinion, is supposed to be in *Trees*, though the *Epicures* and *Stoiques* would not allow any Soul 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 the flowers or fruit, as *St. Aug.* reports.

We carry with us the wonders we seek without us.] So *St. Aug.*
1. 10. de civ. c. 3. *Omni miraculo quod fit per hominem majus miraculum est homo.*

Sect. 16. Pag. 25.

Another of his servant Nature, that publique and universal Manuscript that lies expanded, etc.] So is the description of *Du Bartas* 7. jour de la sepm.

*Oyes ce Docteur muet estudie en ce livre Qui nuict et jour ouvert
t'apprendra de bien vivre.*

All things are artificial, for Nature is the Art of God.] So *Mr. Hobbes* in his *Leviathan* (*in initio*) Nature is the Art whereby God governs the world.

Sect. 17. Pag. 27.

Directing the operations of single and individual Essences,

etc.] 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 onely God. The Devils have no such knowledge, because whatsoever knows so, is either the cause or effect of the thing known; whereupon *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 of the *Devil*; for it appears he is not the effect of any of these inferiour things, much less is he the cause, for the power of Creation onely belongs to God.

All cannot be happy at once, because the Glory of one State depends upon the ruine of another.] This Theme is ingeniously handled by Mr. *Montaigne* *livr. 1. des Ess. cap. 22.* the title whereof is, *Le profit de l'un est dommage de l'autre.*

Sect. 18. Pag. 29.

'Tis the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind, to be destitute of those of Fortune.] So *Petron. Arbitr. Amor ingenii neminem unquam divitem fecit*, in *Satyric*. And *Apuleius* in *Apolog. Idem mihi etiam* (saith he) *paupertatem opprobravit acceptum Philosopho crimen et ultro profitendum*; and then a little afterwards, he sheweth that it was the common fate of those that had singular gifts of mind: *Eadem enim est paupertas apud Græcos in Aristide justa, in Phocylene benigna, in Epaminonde strenua, in Socrate sapiens, in Homero diserta.*

We need not labour with so many arguments to confute judicial Astrology.] 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 Divinat.* and *St. Aug. book 5. de Civ. dei.*

Sect. 19. Pag. 31.

There is in our soul a kind of Triumvirate – that distracts the peace of our Commonwealth, not less than did that other the State of Rome.] There were two *Triumvirates*, by which the peace of *Rome* was distracted; that of *Crassus, Cæsar* and *Pompey*, of which *Lucan, l. 1.*

– Tu causam aliorum—

Facta tribus Dominis communis Roma, nec unquam
In turbam missi feralia fœdera Regni.

And that other of *Augustus, Antonius* and *Lepidus*, by whom, saith *Florus, Respublica convulsa est lacerataque*, which comes somewhat near the Author's words, and therefore I take it that he means this last *Triumvirate*.

Sect. 19. Pag. 32.

Would dissuade my belief from the miracle of the brazen Serpent.] Vid. *Coqueum in, l. 10. Aug. de Civ. Dei, c. 8.*

And bid me mistrust a miracle in Elias, etc.] The History is 18. 1 *Reg.* It should be *Elijah*. The Author in 15. *cap. lib. 7. Pseudodox.* sheweth it was not perform'd naturally; he was (as he saith) a perfect miracle.

To think the combustion of Sodom might be natural.] Of that opinion was *Strabo*, whereupon he is reprehended by *Genebrard* in these words: *Strabo falsus est – dum eversionem addicit sulphuri et bitumini e terra erumpentibus, quæ erat assignanda Cælo, i.e. Deo irato.* *Tacitus* reports it according to the Bible, *fulminis ictu arsisse.*

Sect. 20. Pag. 33.

Those that held Religion was the difference of man from Beasts, etc.] *Lactantius* was one of those: *Religioni ergo serviendum est, quam qui non suspicit, ipse se prosternit in terram, et vitam pecudum secutus humanitate se abdicat.* *Lactant de fals. Sapientia*, cap. 10.

The Doctrine of Epicurus that denied the providence of God, was no Atheism, but, etc.] I doubt not but he means that delivered in his Epistle to *Menæceus*, and recorded by *Diogenes Laertius*, lib. 10. *Quod beatum æternumque est, id nec habet ipsum negotii quicquam, nec exhibit alteri, itaque neque ira, neque gratia tenetur, quod quæ talia sunt imbecillia sunt omnia;* which the *Epicurean* Poet hath delivered almost in the same words.

*Omnis enim per se divum natura necesse 'st
Immortali ævo summa cum pace fruatur,
Semota à nostris rebus sejunctaq; longè:
Nam privata dolore omni, privata periclis
Ipsa suis pollens opibus nihil indiga nostri
Nec bene pro meritis capitur, nec tangitur ira.*

Lucret. lib. 2.

That Villaine and Secretary of Hell, that composed that miscreant piece of the three Impostors.] It was *Ochinus* that composed this piece; but there was no less a man than the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, that was as lavish of his tongue as the other of his pen; *Cui sæpe in ore, Tres fuisse insignes Impostores, qui genus humanum seduxerunt: Moysem, Christum, Mahumetem. Lips. monit. et exempl. Politic. cap. 4.* And a greater than he, Pope *Leo* the Tenth, was as little favourable to our Saviour, when he us'd that speech which is reported of him, *Quantas nobis divitias comparavit ista de Christo fabula.*

Sect. 21. Pag. 34.

There are in Scripture, stories that do exceed the fables of Poets.] So the Author of *Relig. Laici. Certè mira admodum in S. S. plus quam in reliquis omnibus Historiis traduntur;* (and then he concludes with the Author) *sed quæ non retundunt intellectum, sed exercent.*

Yet raise no question who shall rise with that Rib at the Resurrection.] The Author *cap. 2 l. 7. Pseudodox.* sheweth that it appears in Anatomy, that the Ribs of Man and Woman are equal.

Whether the world were created in Autumn, Summer, or the Spring, etc.] In this matter there is a consent between two learned Poets, *Lucretius* and *Virgil*, that it begins in *Spring*.

*At novitas mundi nec frigora dura ciebat,
Nec nimios æstus, nec magnis viribus 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 varicæq; volucres
Ova relinquebant exclusæ tempore verno.*

Lucret.

Then for *Virgil*.

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

Virgil 2. Georgic.

But there is a great difference about it betwixt Church-Doctors; some agreeing with these Poets and others affirming the time to be in 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.*

Sect. 22. Pag. 35.

'Tis ridiculous to put off or down the general floud of Noah in that particular inundation of Deucalion,] as the Heathens

some of them sometimes did: *Confuderunt igitur sæpe Ethnici particularia illa diluvia, quæ longe post secuta sunt, cum illo universali quod præcessit, ut ex fabulis in Diluvio Deucalionæo sparsis colligere licet; non tamen semper nec ubique.* Author. *Observat. in Mytholog. Nat. Com.* Then amongst those that confound them, he reckons *Ovid* and *Plutarch*.

How all the kinds of Creatures, not onely in their own bulks, but with a competency of food and sustenance, might be preserved in one Ark, and within the extent of 30 °Cubits, to a reason that rightly examines it will appear very feasible.] 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, alleadge 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, quest. 5. de arca*, 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 others places, there would be great æquivocation 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

shall be meant 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 shall 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.

And put the honest Father to the Refuge of a Miracle.] 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, *Quod si homines eas captas secum adduxerunt, et eo modo ubi habitabant earum genera instituerunt, venandi studio fieri potuisse incredibile non est, quamvis jussu Dei sire permissu etiam opera Angelorum negandum non sit potuisse transferri;* but St. *Aug.* saith not that it could not be done without a miracle.

And 1500 years to people the World, as full a time, etc.]

Pag. 36.

That Methusalem was the longest liv'd of all the children of Adam, etc.] See both these Points cleared by the Author, in *Pseudodox. Epidemic.* the first *lib. 6. cap. 6.* the other *lib. 7. cap. 3.*

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.] These two places that seem to contradict one another are *Math. 27. 5.* and *Acts 1. 8.* The doubtful word he speaks of is in the place of *Matthew*; it is ἀπήγατο, which signifieth suffocation as well as hanging, (ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγατο, which may signifie literally, after he went out he was choak'd) but *Erasmus* translates it, *abiens laqueo se suspendit*: the words in the *Acts* are, *When he had thrown down himself headlong, he burst in the midst, 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. *Anastas. Sinaita, l. 7. Anagog. Contempl. Unus latro ingratus cum esset typus Diaboli, et Serpentis, et Judæ, qui se in ligno suffocavit. Gaudentius Brixiens. tract. 13. de natal. Dom. Mortem debitam laqueo sibimet intulit præparato, etc. Drogotoshen. de sacram. dominic. pass. Jamdiu erat quidem quod Christo recesserat, et avaritiæ laqueo se suspenderat, sed quod fecerat in occulto, palam omnibus innotuit. S. Martialis in Ep. ad Tholosanos. Non sustinuit pœnitentiam, donec laqueo mortis seipsum consumpsit. Ignat. ad Philippens. Diabolus laqueum ei ostendit, et suspendium docuit. Leo Serm. 3. de passion. – Ut quia facinus omnem mensuram ultionis excesserat, te haberet impietas tua judicem te pateretur sua pœna Carnificem. Theodoret. lib. 1. hæretic. fabul. Ille protinus strangulatus est, quæ fuit merces ejus proditiõnis. Chrysostom. Hom. 3. de proditore. Pependit Cælum Terramque intermedius vago funere suffocatus, et cum flagitio suo tumefacta, viscera*

crepuerunt, etc. Bernard. Serm. 8. in Psal. 9. Judas in Aere crepuit medius.

1. There are those that are so particular, that they acquaint us with the manner, as *that it was done with a Cord. Antiochus Laurensis, Spem omnem a se cum abjecisset, insiliente in eum inimico (sc. Diabolo) funiculo sibi præfocavit gulam. Oecumen. in Act. Fracto funiculo quo erat suffocatus decidit in terram præcipitio.* 2. *That it was done on a Fig-Tree, Beda. Portam David egredientibus fons occurrit in Austrum per vallem directus, ad cujus medietatem ab occasu Judas se suspendisse narratur: Nam et ficus magna ibi et vetustissima stat.*

Juven. lib. 4. Hist. Evangelic

Exorsusq; suas laqueo sibi sumere pœnas,
Informem rapuit ficus de vertice mortem.

3. Some acquaint us with the time when it was done, *viz. the next day after he had given the kiss.* So *Chrysostom. Homil. 1. de proditor. et Mysterio Cœn. Dominic. Guttur prophanum quod hodie Christo extendis ad osculum, crastino es illud extensurus ad laqueum.* 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: *Agnitus à quibusdam depositus est ne præfocaretur, denique postquam in secreto quodam loco modico vixisset tempore præceps factus sive præcipitatus, inflatus diruptus, ac diffisus est medius, et effusa sunt omnia viscera ejus; ut in Actis. Euthym. cap. 67. in Math. Judas suspendio è vita non decessit, sed supervixit, dejectus est enim prius quam præfocaretur, idque Apotolorum Acta indicant, quod pronus crepuit medius. Oecumen. in Act.* And this may serve to reconcile these two seemingly disagreeing Scriptures.

That our Fathers after the Flood erected the Tower of Babel.

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

Sect. 23. Pag. 37.

And cannot but commend the judgment of Ptolemy.]

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 *Eleazer* 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 Phalereus* 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 Hebrew 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 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 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.

The Alcoran of the Turks (I speak without prejudice) is an ill-composed piece, containing in it vain and ridiculous errors in Philosophy, etc.] It is now in every mans 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 mine own, but *Lipsius* his observations. He begins, *O nugas, O deliria! primum* (saith he) *commentus est, Deum unum solidumq;* (*ὁλόσφυρον Græci exprimunt*) *eundemq;* *incorporeum esse. Christum non Deum, sed magnum vatem et prophetam; se tamen majorem, et proxime à Deo missum, præmia qui ipsum audient Paradisum, qui post aliquot annorum millia reserabitur, ibi quatuor flumina lacte, vino, melle, aqua fluere, ibi palatia et ædificia gemmata atque aurata esse, carnes avium*

suavissimarum, fructus omne genus quos sparsi jacentesque sub umbra arborum edent: sed caput fœlicitatis, viros fœminasque, majores solito magnis Genitalibus assidua libidine, et ejus usu sine tædio aut fatigatione. These and some others that are in the Alcoran he reckons up. *Sed et Physica quoq; miranda* (saith he) *nam facit Solem et Lunam in equis vehi, illum autem in aquam calidam vespere mergi, et bene lotum ascendere atque oriri, Stellas in aere è catenis aureis pendere: terram in bovini cornus cuspidè stabilitum, et agitante se bove ac succutiente fieri terræ motum; hominem autem ex hirundine aut sanguisuga nasci, etc.* Just. Lips. *Monit. et exempl. Politic. cap. 3.*

Pag. 38.

I believe besides Zoroaster there were divers others that wrote before Moses.] Zoroaster was long before Moses, and of great name; he was the father of Ninus, *Justin. lib. 1. Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaveritis; ego ille sim Carinondas vel Damigeron, vel is Moses, vel Joannes, vel Apollonius, vel ipse Dardanus, vel quicumq; alius post Zoroastrem et Hostanem, inter Magos celebratus est.* Apuleius in *Apol.*

Sect. 24. Pag. 38.

Others with as many groans deplore the combustion of the Library at Alexandria.] This was that Library before spoken of, set up by *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*; in which 'tis reported by *Ammianus Marcellinus* there were 700,000 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* hath it in *Vita Cæsaris*: but notwithstanding we have no reason to believe it was quite consumed, because *Sueton.* in *Claudius*, tells us, that that Emperour 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 Emperour, as the same *Sueton.* and *Aurel. Victor.* do relate.

I would not omit a Copy of Enoch's Pillars, had they many nearer Authors than Josephus, etc.] 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 of the Floud, by reason that one of the Pillars (though the other perished) did remain after the Floud, and *Josephus* witnesseth, till his time, *lib. 1. Antiq. Judaic. cap. 3.*

Of those three great inventions of Germany, there are two which are not without their incommodities.] Those two he means are *Printing* and *Gunpowder*, which are commonly taken to be *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 *Hist. of China, lib. 3. cap.*

15, 16. The incommodities of these two inventions, are, well described by *Sam. Daniel*, lib. 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 received,
By means whereof curious mortality
Was of all former quiet quite bereaved.
To whom being come deckt 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 mindes, their mindes applyed
To have their bonds 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 edifie,*

*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, etc.
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 her self 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,
Enlarge this uninquisitive Belief:
Call up mens 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
Indent of teeth, for greater mutinies:
Bring new defended faith against faith known,
Weary the soul with contrarities,
Till all Religion become Retrograde,
And that fair lye 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 mens 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 overgrown,
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 wherewithalGuns
They may torment their self-wrought misery;
And scourge each other in so strange a wise,
As time or tyrants never could devise, etc.*

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

For the other Invention, the Latine Annotator doubts whether the Author means Church-Organs, or Clocks? I 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: *Testes majores minoresque bombardæ, multaque alia quæ ex nostris excogitata ipsi ad se avertunt; at libros tamen typis excuderent, horologia in publico haberent, nondum adduci potuerunt. 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.

To maintain the Trade and Mystery of Typographers.] Of this *Cunæus* in his *Satyre Sardi vænates. Qui bis in anno nomen suum ad Germanorum nundinas non transmittit, eruditionem suam in ordinem coactam credit, itaq; nunquam tot fungi una pluvia nascuntur, quot nunc libri uno die.*

Sect. 25. Pag. 40.

The Turk in the bulk that he now stands, is beyond all hope of conversion.] 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. La Race des Ottomans* (saith he) *quæ oste a Dieu la Religion qu'il a revelee, et aux hommes la liberte que le droit des Gens leur laisse a fait tant de progres depuis trois Cens et quelques annees qu'il semble qu'elle n'ait plus rien a craindre de dehorse, et que son empire ne puisse perir que par la corruption de dedans, et par la dissolution des parties qui composent un corps si vaste. Mr. de Silhon en son Minist. D'Estat. l. 1. c.*

None can more justly boast of persecutions, and glory in

the number and valour of martyrs.] Of the fortitude of the Christians in this particular, *Minutius Felix*, in the person of the Ethnique, hath these words, *Per mira stultitia et incredibili audacia spernunt tormenta præsentia, dum incerta metuunt et futura; et dum mori post mortem timent, interim mori non timent.* 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*: *Viros* (saith he) *cum Mutio vel cum Atilio Regulo comparo: pueri et mulierculæ nostræ cruces et Tormenta, feros et omnes suppliciorum terriculas inspirata patientia doloris illudunt.* Minut. in Octav. vide Aug. de Civit. Dei, lib. 1. c. 23, 24.

If we shall strictly examine the circumstances and requisites which Aristotle requires to true and perfect valour, we shall find the name onely in his Master Alexander, (that is, no more than the name) and as little in that Roman worthy Julius Cæsar.] *Aristot. 3. Ethic. cap. 6.* amongst other requisites, requires to valour, that it keep a mediocrity betwixt audacity and fear; that we thrust not our selves 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 *mors honesta*, an honest or honourable death: and thereupon he defines a valiant man to be, *Is qui morte honesta proposita, iisq; omnibus quæ cum sint repentina mortem adfuerunt metu vacat.* So that by the Author's saying, there was onely the

Name in *Alexander*, he means only that which is rendered 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*, who exposed 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. *Cettuy-cy semble rechercher et courir à force les dangers comme un impetueux torrent, qui choque et attaque sans discretion, et sans chois tout ce qu'il rencontre*, saith *Montaign*, 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 et indomitus quo spes quoq; ira vocasset
Ferre manum, etc.*

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 *Hellespont* with one single Vessel, he there meets *Lucius Cassius* with ten men of War, he makes up to him, summons him to render, and he does it. In the famous and furious siege of *Alexia*, where he had 80,000 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.

Sect. 26. Pag. 41.

The Council of Constance condemns John Husse for an Heretick, the Stories of his own Party style him a Martyr.] *John Husse* 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, etc. *Gordon. Hunt. l. contr. 3. de Sacr. Euch. cap. 17.* Yet was he condemned for maintaining certain Articles said by that Council to be heretical and seditious, and was burnt for Heresie. Now as I will not 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 recal, *i. e. Nullus est Dominus civilis, dum est in peccato mortali.* If that Doctrine should be believed, we shall have little obedience to Civil Magistrates; and without that, how miserable is humane condition? That which begat compassion towards *Husse* in those of his own Party was, that he had a safe conduct from the Emperour *Sigismund*; and therefore it was, say they, a violation of publick faith in the *Council* and *Emperour* in putting him to death.

That wise heathen Socrates that suffered on a fundamental

point of Religion, the Unity of God.] That *Socrates* suffered on this Point, divers Christian Writers do object to the *Ethniques*, as *Justin Martyr*, *Apol. 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 quidem multa de uno Deo locutus est, à quo ait constitutum esse mundum, sed nihil de Religione; somniaverat enim Deum, non cognoverat. Quod si justitiæ defensionem vel ipse vel quilibet alius implere voluisset, imprimis Deorum Religiones evertere debuit, quia contrariæ pietati. Quod quidem Socrates quia facere tentavit in carcerem conjectus est, ut jam tunc appareret quid esset futurum iis hominibus qui justitiam veram defendere Deoque singulari servire cœpissent.*

I have often pitied the miserable Bishop that suffered in the cause of Antipodes.] The suffering was, that he lost his Bishoprick for denying the *Antipodes*. Vid. *Aventin. in Hist. Boio.* Besides him, there were other Church-men of great note, that denied *Antipodes*, as *Lactantias, Augustin, and Bede.*

Sect. 27. Pag. 43.

I hold that God can do all things: How he should work contradictions, I do not understand, yet dare not therefore deny.] Who would not think the Author had taken this from *Mr. Montaign*, whose words are, *Il m'a tousjours semble qu'a un homme Christien, cette sorte de parler est plein d'indiscretion et d'irreverence [Dieu ne se peut disdire,] [Dieu ne peut faire cecy ou cela]. Je ne trouve pas bon d'enfermer ainsi la puissance divine sous les loix de nostre parole. Et l'apparence qui s'offre à nous en*

ses propositions, il la faudroit représenter plus reverement, et plus Religieusement. Liv. 2. des Ess. c. 12.

I cannot see why the Angel of God should question Esdras to recal 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.] 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 reduced back, and from thence letting it travel on again by the same motions, *etc.* 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 *Kenelme* is founded upon the opinion of *Aristot.* 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 mix of time, it doth not therefore follow that the mutation is necessary to the flux it self.

Sect. 28. Pag. 43.

I excuse not Constantine from a fall off his Horse, or a mischief from his enemies, upon the wearing those nails, etc.] Hac de re videatur P. Diac. hist. miscell.

Sect. 29. Pag. 44.

I wonder how the curiosity of wiser heads could pass that great and indisputable miracle, the cessation of Oracles.] There are three opinions touching the manner how the predictions of these Oracles were perform'd: Some say by vapour, 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:

Me puer Hebræus divos Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede jubet, tristemq; redire sub orcum.
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus discedito nostris.

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, insomuch that they were come into contempt: *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jamdiu jam ut nihil possit esse contemptius*. 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?

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 of their being, that they were for a time nourished by those exhalations; and when those ceased, and were exhausted, the Oracles famish'd and died for want of their accustom'd sustenance: this is the far-fetcht 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. De vino aut salsamento putes loqui* (saith he) *quæ evanescent vetustate*. 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 foretel

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 skilled in the motions of the Heavens, of later than in the 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 perform'd 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 to be given by those Oracles, were *de rebus singularibus*, or *individuis*; it is evident that these predictions were not perform'd 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 Priests, 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. Auctoritatem quasi præsentis numinis consequuntur dum inspirantur interim vatibus*. But in process of time, the people grew less credulous of their Priests, and so the Oracles became to be silent: *Cum jam* (saith he) *Apollo versus facere desisset, cujus tunc cautum illud et ambiguum deficit oraculum: Cum et politiores homines et minus creduli esse cæperunt*. 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 believ'd the Oracle, and believe all the rest to have been such; which indeed, is much easier to imagine than that it was perform'd by any of the three wayes 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 come, than they are able to discern the thoughts that are within us. *Aug. lib. de Scientia Dæmon.*

Till I laughed my self out of it with a piece of Justin, where he delivers that the Children of Israel for being scabbed were banished out of Egypt.] These words of *Justin* are, *Sed cum*

scabiem Ægyptii et pruriginem paterentur, responso moniti, eum (se. Moysen) cum ægris, ne pestis ad plures serperet, terminis Ægypti pellunt. l. 36. But he is not singular in this, for Tacitus tells us, Hist. lib. 5. Plurimi authores consentiunt orta per Ægyptum tabe quæ corpora fæduret, Regem (Ochirum) (he means Pharaoh) adito Hammonis oraculo remedium petentem purgare. Regnum et id genus hominum – alias in terras avertere jussum. Et paulo inferius, Quod ipsos scabies quondam turpaverat.

Sect. 30. Pag. 45.

I have ever believed, and do now know that there are Witches.]

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 *Lex Julia de veneficiis* was made, that is, those, *Qui noxio poculo aut impuris medicuminibus aliquem fuerint insectati. At. ab Alex. Gen. Dier. l. 5. c. 1.* But for the opinion that there are Witches which cooperate 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 their being from the story of Oracles, as may be seen from what hath been said on the precedent Section.

Nor have the power to be so much as Witches. *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 satisfie himself in that kind, though he got all the cunning men

he could from the East, for that purpose. *Plin.* 1. 3. *Nat. Hist.* c. 1.
Pag. 46.

By conjunction with the Devil.] Though, as the Author saith, it be without a possibility of Generation, yet there are great men that hold, that such carnality is performed; as *August, in Levit. Aquin.* 1. 2. *de qu.* 73. *art. ad 2.* and *Justin Martyr, Apol.* 1. *Sect.* 33. *Pag.* 48.

It is no new opinion of the Church of Rome, but an old one of Pythagoras and Plato.] This appears by *Apuleius* a Platonist, in his Book *de Deo Socratis*, and elsewhere. See *Mede's Apostasie of the latter times*, where out of this and other Authors, you shall see collected all the learning *de Geniis*.

Pag. 50.

I cannot with those in that great Father securely interpret the work of the first day, Fiat lux, to the creation of Angels.] 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: *Confessionem sive majestatem et decorem induisti, amictus lumine sicut vestimento:* Next he speaks of the Heavens, saying, *Thou hast stretched them out over us like a Tent.* Then he speaks of the Angels, *Qui facis Angelos tuos spiritus.* Now if it shall be objected, that this expression is onely 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 *Latines* 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 the Phrase, as it is in Hebrew, may be rendered as well *qui faciebas*, as *qui facis Angelos*, etc. Vid. *Hieronym. in Ep. ad Titum, et Thom. Aqu. 1. p. qu. 61. art. 3.* The Latine Annotator saith, the Father meant by the Author, is *St. Aug.* and quotes him, *l. II. 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: *Cum enim dixit Fiat lux, et facta est lux, si rectè in fine luce creatio intelligitur Angelorum*, etc. Where you see 'tis but with a *Si*, and therefore I conceive the Author intends not him, but *Chrysostom.*

Where it subsists alone, 'tis a Spiritual Substance, and may be an Angel.] *Epicurus* was of this opinion, and *St. Aug. in Euchirid. ad Laurentium.*

Sect. 35. Pag. 52.

Moses decided that Question, and all is salved with the new term of Creation.] 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 *Aristot.* that it was not generated, and you have the (true) Christian opinion.

Sect. 36. Pag. 54.

In our study of Anatomy, there is a mass of mysterious Philosophy, and such as reduced the very Heathens to Divinity.] So it did *Galen*, who considering the order, use, and disposition of the parts of the body, brake forth into these words: *Compono hic profecto Canticam in creatoris nostri laudem, quod ultra res suas ornare voluit melius quam ulla arte possent.* *Galen, 3. de usu partium.*

Sect. 37. Pag. 55.

I cannot believe the wisdom of Pythagoras did ever positively, and in a literal sense, affirm his Metempsychosis.] 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, *Quæ non magis de homine quam de bestiis procedunt.* And therefore, saith he, *mirandum non est, si transitum animarum de hominibus in bestias, de bestiis in homines alii commenti sunt.* *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 animai
Constat, et in corpus nascentibus insinuat,
Cur super anteaetam ætatem meminisse nequimus?
Nec vestigia gestarum rerum ulla tenemus?
Namsi tantopere 'st animi mutata potestas,
Omnis ut actarum excideret retinentia rerum,
Non ut opinor ea ab læto jam longiter errat.*

[*Lib. 3.*]

This Argument, 'tis true, is *pro falso contra falsum*, but yet holds *ad hominem* so far, 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. *Non putaverunt aliter fieri posse ut supersint animæ post corpora, nisi videntur fuisse ante corpora. De fals. Sap. c. 18.*

Sect. 41. Pag. 59.

I do not envy the temper of Crows or Daws.] 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.*

Sect. 42. Pag. 61.

Not upon Cicero's ground, because I have liv'd them well.]

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: *Quod reliquum est, te sustenta mea Terentia ut potes, honestissime viximus, floruimus. Non vitium nostrum sed virtus nos afflixit, peccatum est nullum nisi quod non unà animum cum ornamentis amisimus,* l. 24, Ep. 4.

And stand in need of Eson's bath before threescore.] *Eson* 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 ahenò
Fervet et exultat, spumisq; tumentibus albet.
Illic Æmonia radices valle resectas,
Seminaq; et flores, et succos incoquit atros
Adjicet 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 Cinyphæ tenuis membrana Chelidri,
Vivacisq; jecur cervi; quibus insuper addit
Ora caputq; novem cornicis secula passæ.
His et mille aliis, postquam sine nomine rebus
Propositum instruxit mortali barbara munus
Arenti ramo jampridem mitis olivæ
Omnia confudit, summisq; immiscuit ima.
Ecce vetus calido versatus stipes ahenò
Fit viridis primo, nec longo tempore frondes
Induit, et subito gravidis oneratur olivis.
At quacunq; cavo spumas ejecit ahenò
Ignis, et in terram guttæ cecidere calentes,
Vernat humus, floresq; et mollia pabula surgunt.
Quæ simulac vidit, stricto Medea recludit
Ense senis jugulum, veteremq; extare cruorem
Passa replet succis, quos postquam combibit Æson,
Aut ore acceptas, aut vulnere, barba comæq;
Cunitie posita, nigrum rapuere colorem.
Pulsa fugit macies: abeunt pallorq; situsque:
Adjectoq; cavæ suppleantur corpore rugæ;
Membraq; luxuriant. Æson miratur, et olim
Ante quater denos hunc se reminiscitur annos,
Dissimilemq; animum subiit, ætate relicta.*

[262-293.]

Sect. 44. Pag. 62.

Extol the Suicide of Cato.] 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.

Pag. 63.

Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum, nihil curo. Were I of Cæsar's Religion.] 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 preferr'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* [*Emori nolo, sed me esse mortuum nihili æstimo.*] Where *Cicero* sustaineth the part of the *Epicure* that there is no hurt in being dead, since there remaineth nothing after it. *Cic. 1. Thusc. qu. non procul ab initio.*

Sect. 45. Pag. 64.

Or whence Lucan learn'd to say, Communis mundo superest rogas, etc.] Why, *Lucan* was a Stoique, and 'twas an opinion among them almost generally, that the world should perish by fire; therefore without doubt from them he learned it. *Cælum quoque cum omnibus quæ in cælo continentur, ita ut cœpisset desinere, fontium dulci aqua marisve nutriri, in vim ignis abiturum. Stoicis constans opinio est, quod consumpto humore mundus hic omnis ignescat. Minutius in Octav.* But *Minutius* should have excepted *Boetius*, *Possidonius*, *Diogenes Babylonius*, and *Zeno Sidonius*, who were *Stoiques*, and yet did not think the world should be destroyed by fire, nor yet by any other means.

Sect. 46. Pag. 65.

How shall we interpret Elias 6000 years, etc.?] Lactant. is very positive that the world should last but 6000 years; but his reason for it is somewhat strange; thus it is, *Quoniam sex diebus cuncta Dei opera perfecta sunt, per secula sex, i.e. annorum sex millia manere in hoc statu mundum necesse est. De Divino præmio, cap. 14.*

Sect. 47. Pag. 67.

Ipsa sui pretium virtus sibi, is but a cold principle.] It is a Stoical principle. *Quæris enim aliquid supra summum, interrogas quid petam extra virtutem ipsam. Nihil enim habet melius. Pretium sui est. Senec. de vit. beat. c. 19.*

That honest artifice of Seneca.] What that article was, is to be seen in *Senec. l. 1. ep. 11. Aliquis vir bonus nobis eligendus est, et semper ante oculos habendus, ut sic tanquam illo spectante vivamus, et omnia tanquam illo vidente faciamus. Et paulo post; Elige itaq; Catonem; si hic videtur tibi nimis rigidus, elige remissioris animi virum Lælium, etc.* 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: *Quin Deo potius qui semper omnibus omnia agentibus non tanquam sed reipsa adest, et videt; ac etiam ut Testis, vindex et punitor est male agentis.*

I have tried, if I could reach that great Resolution of his (that is of Seneca) to be honest without a thought of Heaven or

Hell.] *Seneca*⁶ brags he could do this, in these words: *Si scirem deos peccata ignoscituros, et homines ignoraturos, adhuc propter vilitatem peccati peccare erubescerem. Credat Judæus Appella: non ego.* —

And Atheists have been the onely Philosopher.] That is, if nothing remain after this life. *St. Aug.* was of this opinion. *Disputabam – Epicurum accepturum fuisse palmam in animo meo, nisi ego credidissem post mortem restare animæ vitam,* etc. *Aug. l. 6. conf. cap. 16.*

Sect. 48. Pag. 68.

God by a powerful voice shall command them back into their proper shapes.] So *Minutius*. *Cæterum quis tam stultus est aut brutus, ut audeat repugnare hominem à Deo ut primum potuit fingi, ita posse denuo reformari, nihil esse post obitum, et ante ortum nihil fuisse; sicut de nihilo nasci licuit, ita de nihilo licere reparari. Porro difficilium est id quod sit incipere, quod quam id quod fuerit iterare. Tu perire Deo credis, si quid nostris oculis hebetibus subtrahitur. Corpus omne sive arescit in pulverem sive in humorem solvitur, vel in cinerem comprimitur vel in nidorem tenuatur, subducitur nobis, sed Deo elementorum custodi inseruntur. In Octav. Vide Grot. de veritate Relig. Christian. ubi (lib. 2.) solvit objectionem, quod dissoluta corpora resititui nequeunt.*

Sect. 50. Pag. 71.

Or conceive a flame that can either prey upon, or purifie the

⁶ *Tho. Aquin. in com. in Boet. de Consolat. prope finem.*

substance of a soul.] Upon this ground *Psellus lib 1. de Energia Dæmonum*, 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, *Sect. 7.*

Sect. 51. Pag. 73.

There are as many Hells as Anaxagoras conceited worlds.]

I assure my self 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. That is he that caus'd *Alexander* to weep by telling him that 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.

Sect. 54. Pag. 75.

It is hard to place those souls in Hell.] *Lactantius* is alike charitably disposed towards those. *Non sum equidem tam iniquus ut eos putem divinare debuisse, ut veritatem per seipsos invenirent (quod fieri ego non posse confiteor) sed hoc ab eis exigo, quod ratione ipse præstare potuerunt.* *Lactant. de orig. error. c. 3.* which is the very same with Sir *K. Digbie'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 dictamens

of right reason, but that their journey was secure to Heaven.

Sect. 55. Pag. 77.

Aristotle transgress'd the rule of his own Ethicks.] And so they did all, as *Lactantius* hath observed at large. *Aristot.* is said to have been guilty of great vanity in his Clothes, of Incontinency, of Unfaithfulness to his Master *Alexander*, etc. But 'tis no 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 liv'd worse: to trace him a little. In the time of the Emperour *Claudius* we find he was banish'd for suspition 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*, *Non expetit in te hæc culpa, O Romani nominis et Sapientiæ magne. Sol. 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 Husbands Niece? This for certain, whatever his life were, he had *paginam lascivam*, 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* his creature (as honest a man as *Pallas* or *Narcissus*) and therein he extols him and the Emperour to the Skies; in which he did grosly prevaricate, and

lost much of his reputation, by seeking a discharge of his exile by so sordid a means. Upon *Claudius* his marriage with *Agrippina*, he was recall'd from Banishment by her means, and made *Prætor*, then he forgets the Emperour, having no need of him, labours all he can to depress him and the hopeful *Brittanicus*, and procured his Pupil *Nero* to be adopted and design'd Successor, and the Emperours own Son to be disinherited; and against the Emperour 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 suspition 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 Traitor against him, and to become a complice in the conspiracy of *Piso*? And then as good a Tragedian as he was, me thinks he doth in *extremo actu deficere*, 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*, *Ne sibi unice dilectam ad injurius relinqueret*, 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 114 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. Conversus ad amicos* (saith he) *quando meritis eorum referre gratiam prohiberetur, quod unum jam tamen et pulcherrimum habebat, imaginem vitæ suæ relinquere testatur*. It cannot be denyed of him, that he hath said very well; but yet it must as well be affirmed, that his Practice hath run counter to his Theory, to use the Author's phrase.

The Scepticks that affirmed they knew nothing.] 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 *pro et contra*; 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,

– Nihil sciri siquis putat, id quoq; nescit
An sciri possit, quod se nil scire fatetur.

The Duke of Venice that weds himself to the Sea by a Ring of Gold, etc.] The Duke and Senate yearly on *Ascension-day* use to go in their best attire to the Haven of *Lido*, and there by throwing a Ring into the water, do take the Sea as their spouse.

Vid. Hist. Ital. by Will Thomas Cambrobrit. *Busbequius* reports that there is a custom amongst the Turks, which they took from the Greek Priests, not much unlike unto this. *Cum Græcorum sacerdotibus mos sit certo veris tempore aquas consecrando mare clausum veluti reserare, ante quod tempus non facile se committunt fluctibus; ab ea Ceremonia nec Turcæ absunt.* Busb. Ep. 3. legat. Tursic.

But the Philosopher that threw his money into the Sea, to avoid avarice, etc.] This was *Apollonius Thyaneus*, who threw a great quantity of Gold into the Sea with these words, *Pessundo divitias, ne pessundarem ab illis.* *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.

There go so many circumstances to piece up one good action.] 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.*

Sect. 56. Pag. 78.

The vulgarity of those judgements that wrap the Church of God in Strabo's Cloak, and restrain it unto Europe.] 'Tis *Strabonis tunica* in the translation, but *Chalmydi* 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 Agricolæ.

Sect. 57. Pag. 79.

Those who upon a rigid Application of the Law, sentence Solomon unto damnation, etc.] 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. and *Bellarm.* 1 *Tom. lib. 1. Controv.* c. 5.

THE SECOND PART

Sect. 1. Pag. 83.

I wonder not at the French for their Frogs, Snails and Toad-stools.] Toad-stools 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 Poyson, which he took in Mushroom. *Suet.* and *Tac.*

Sect. 2. Pag. 87.

How among so many millions of faces, there should be none alike.] 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 Kings 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 elsewhere, are Authors not very infallible.

Sect. 3. Pag. 89.

What a βατροχομουμαχία and hot skirmish is betwixt S. and T. in Lucian.] In his *Dialog. judicium vocalium*, where there is a large Oration made to the Vowels, being Judges, by *Sigma* against *Tau*, complaining that *Tau* has bereaved him of many words, which should begin with *Sigma*.

Their Tongues are sharper than Actius his razor.] *Actius 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, ξυρὸς εἰς ἀκόνην, i.e. *novacula in cotem*. *Vid. Erasm. Chiliad.*

Pag. 90.

It is not meer Zeal to Learning, or devotion to the Muses, that wiser Princes Patronize the Arts, etc. but a desire to have their names eterniz'd by the memory of their Writings.] There is a

great Scholar, who took the boldness to tell a Prince so much. *Est enim bonorum principum cum viris eruditis tacita quædam naturalisque Societas, ut alteri ab alteris illustrentur, ac dum sibi mutuo suffragantur, et gloria principibus, et doctis autoritas concilietur.* Politian. *Ep. Ludovic. Sfort. quæ extat, lib. 11. Ep. ep. 1.* And to this Opinion astipulates a Country man of our own, whose words are these: *Ignotus esset Lucilius, nisi eum Epistolæ Senecæ illustrarent. Laudibus Cæsareis plus Virgilius et Varus Lucanusq; adjecerunt, quam immensum illud ærarium quo urbem et orbem spoliavit. Nemo prudentiam Ithaci aut Pelidæ vires agnosceret, nisi eas Homerus divino publicasset ingenio: unde nihil mihi videtur consultius viro ad gloriam properanti fidelium favore scriptorum.* Joan. Sarisb. *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. *Od. 8. l. 4. Non incisa notis, etc.*

Sect. 4. Pag. 90.

St. Paul that calls the Cretians Lyars, doth it but indirectly, and upon quotation of one of their own Poets.] That is, *Epimenides*; the place is *Tit. 1. v. 12.* where *Paul* useth this verse, taken out of *Epimenides*.

Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί

It is as bloody a thought in one way, as Nero's was in another. For by a word we wound a thousand.] 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, *i. e.* When I am dead let Earth be mingled with Fire. Whereupon the Emperour uttered these words, Ἐμοῦ ζῶντος, *i. e.* *Yea whilst I live:* there by one word, he express'd 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.

Ἐμοῦ θανόντος γαία μιχθήτω πυρί

Sect. 6. Pag. 95.

I cannot believe the story of the Italian, etc.] 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.

Sect. 7. Pag. 97.

I have no sins that want a Name.] The Author in *cap. ult. lib. ult. Pseudodox.* speaking of the Act of carnality exercised by the *Egyptian* 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.

This was the Temper of that Leacher that carnal'd with a Statua.] The Latine Annotator upon this hath these words: *Romæ*

refertur de Hispano quodam. 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, *Ferunt amore captum cum delituisset nocta simulachro cohæsisse, ejusq; cupiditas esse indicem masculum.* *Lucian* also has the story in his *Dialog.* [*Amores.*]

And the constitution of Nero in his Spintrian recreations.

] The Author doth not mean the last *Nero*, but *Tiberius* the Emperour, whose name was *Nero* too; of whom *Sueton.* *Secessu vero Capreensi etiam sellariam excogitavit sedem arcanarum libidinum, in quam undique conquisti puellarum et exoletorum greges monstrosiq; concubitus repertores, quos spintrias apellabat, triplici serie connexi invicem incestarent se coram ipso, ut adspectu deficientes libidines excitaret.* *Suet. in Tib. 43.*

Sect. 8 Pag. 98.

I have seen a Grammarian toure and plume himself over a single line in Horace, and shew more pride, etc.]
Movent mihi stomachum Grammatistæ quidam, qui cum duas tenuerint vocabularum origenes ita se ostentant, ita venditant, ita circumferunt jactabundi, ut præ ipsis pro nihilo habendos Philosophos arbitrentur. *Picus Mirand. in Ep. ad Hermol. Barb. quæ extat lib. nono Epist. Politian.*

Garsio quisq; duas postquam scit jungere partes,
Sic stat, sic loquitur, velut omnes noverit artes.

Pag. 99.

I cannot think that Homer pin'd away upon the Riddle of the Fishermen.] The History out of *Plutarch* is thus: Sailing from *Thebes* to the Island *Ion*, being landed and set down upon the shore, there happen'd 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 loose 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 dyed. *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, *Venor aliquando, sed non sine pugilluribus, ut quamvis nihil ceperim, non nihil referam.* *Plin. Ep. lib. 9, Ep. 36.*

Or that Aristot. – did ever drown himself upon the flux or reflux of Euripus.] *Laertius* reports that *Aristotle* dyed of a disease at 63 years of age. For this and the last, see the Author in *Pseudodox*.

Aristotle doth but instruct us as Plato did him, to confute himself.] In the matter of *Idea's*, Eternity of the world, etc.

Sec. 9. Pag. 100.

I could be content that we might procreate like trees without conjunction, or that there were any way to perpetuate the world

without this trivial and vulgar way of Coition: It is the foolishhest act a wise man commits in all his life.] There was a Physitian long before the Author, that was of the same opinion, *Hippocrates*; for which *vide A. Gel. l. 19. Noct. 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.* Monsieur *Montaignes* words on this subject, are worth the reading; these they are: *Je trouve apres tout, que l'amour n'est autre chose que la fame de cette jouyssance, et considerant maintes fois la ridicule titillation de ce plaiser par on il nous tient, les absurdes mouvements escervelez et estourdis dequoy il agite Zenon et Cratippus, ceste rage indiscrete, ce visage inflamme de fureur et de cruaute au plus doux effect de l'amour, et puis cette morgue grare severe et extatique en une action si folle, et que la supreme volupte aye du trainsy et du plaintiff commer la douleur, je croye qu'on se joue de nous, et que c'est par industrie que nature nous a laisse la plus trouble de nos actions les plus communes pour nous esgaller par la et apparier les fols et les sayes, et nous et les bestes. Le plus contemplatif et prudent homme quand je l'imagin en cette assiette je le tien pour un affronteur, de faire le prudent et le contemplatif: et sont les pieds du paon qui abbatent son orgueil. Nous mangeons bien et beuvons comme les bestes, mais ce ne sont pas actions, qui empeschent les operations de nostre ame, en celles-la nous gardons nostre avantage sur elles: cettcey met tout autre pensee sous le joug, abrutist et abesiit par son imperieuse autorite toute la Theology*

et Philosophy, qui est en Platon et si il ne s'en plaint pas. Par tout ailleurs vous pouvez garder quelque decence; toutes autres operations souffrent des Regles d'honestete: cettcey ne se peut sculement imaginer que vitieuse ou ridicule; trouvez y pour voir un proceder sage et discret. Alexander disoit qu'il se cognoissoit principalement mortel par cette action et par le dormir: le sommeil suffoque et supprime les facultez de nostre ame, la besoigne les absorbe et dissipe de mesme. Certes c'est une marque non seulement de nostre corruption originelle, mais aussi de nostre vanite et disformite. D'un coste nature nous y pousse ayant attaché à ce desire la plan noble, utile et plaisante de toutes ses operations, et la nous laisse d'autre part accuser et fuyr comme insolent et dishoneste, en rougir et recommander l'abstinence, etc. Montaign liv. 3. chapit. 5.

Sect. 10. Pag. 103.

And may be inverted on the worst.] That is, that there are none so abandoned to vice, but they have some sprinklings of vertue. There are scarce any so vitious, but commend vertue in those that are endued with it, and do some things laudable themselves, as *Plin.* saith in *Panegyric.* *Machiavel* upon *Livy*, *lib. 1. cap. 27.* sets down the ensuing relation as a notable confirmation of this truth. *Julius Pontifex ejus nominis secundus, anno salutis 1505. Bononiam exercitus duxit, ut Bentivolorum familiam, quæ ejus urbis imperium centum jam annos tenuerat, loco moveret. Eudemque in expeditione etiam Johannem Pagolum, Bagloneum tyrannum Perusinum sua sede expellere decreverat, ut cæteros*

item, qui urbes Ecclesiae per vim tenerent. Ejus rei causa cum ad Perusinam urbem accessisset, et notum jam omnibus esset quid in animo haberet: tamen impatiens morae, noluit exercitus expectare, sed inermis quasi urbem ingressus est, in quant Johannes Pagolus defendendi sui causa, non exiguas copias contraxerat. Is autem eodem furore, quo res suas administrare solebat, una cum milite, cui custodiam sui corporis demandarat, sese in pontificis potestatem dedit; à quo abductus est relictusque alius, qui Ecclesiae nomine urbem gubernaret. Hac ipsu in re magnopere admirati sunt viri sapientes, qui Pontificem comitabantur, cum Pontificis ipsius temeritatem, cum abjectum vilemq; Johannis Pagoli animum: nec causam intelligebant, ob quam permotus idem Pagolus, hostem suum inermem (quod illi cum perpetua nominis sui memoria facere licebat) non subito oppresserit, et tam pretiosa spolia diripuerit; cum Pontifex urbem ingressus fuisset, Cardinalibus tantum suis stipatus, qui pretiosissimas quasq; suarum rerum secum habebant. Neque enim credebatur Pagolus a tanto facinore vel sua bonitate, vel animi conscientia abstinuisse: quod in hominem sceleratum, qui et propria sorore utebatur, et consobrinos nepotesque dominandi causa e medio sustulerat hujusmodi pii affectus cadere non viderentur. Cum igitur hac de re variae essent sapientum virorum sententiae; concluderunt tandem id ei accidisse, quod ita comparatum sit, ut homines neque plane pravi esse queant, neque perfecte boni. Pravi perfecte esse nequeant, propterea quod, ubi tale quoddam scelus est, in quo aliquid magnifici ac generosi insit, id patrare non andeant.

Nam cum Pagolus neq; incestam prius horraisset, neque patricidio abstinnisset: tamen cum oblata esset occasio, pravi quidem sed memorabilis, atque æternæ memoriæ facinoris patrandi, id attentare non ausus fuit, cum id sine infamia prestare licuisset, quod rei magnitudo omnia priora scelera obtegere potuisset, et a periculo conservare. Quibus accedit, quod illi gratulati fuissent etiam quam plurimi, si primus ausus esset Pontificibus monstrare rationem dominandi; totiusque humanæ vitæ usum ab illis nimis parei pendi.

Poysons contain within themselves their own Antidote.] The Poyson of a Scorpion is not Poyson to it self, nor the Poyson of a Toad is not Poyson to it self; so that the sucking out of Poyson from persons infected by Psylls, (who are continually nourished with venomous aliment) without any prejudice to themselves, is the less to be wondred at.

The man without a Navil yet lives in me.] The Latine Annotator hath explicated this by *Homo non perfectus*, by which it seems he did not comprehend the Author's meaning; for the Author means *Adam*, and by a Metonymie original sin; for the Navil being onely of use to attract the aliment *in utero materno*, and *Adam* having no mother, he had no use of a Navil, and therefore it is not to be conceived he had any; and upon that ground the Author calls him the man without a Navil.

Sect. 11. Pag. 106.

Our grosser memories have then so little hold of our abstracted understandings, that they forget the story, and can onely relate to

our awaked senses a confused and broken tale of that that hath pass'd.] For the most part it is so. In regard of the Author's expression of forgetting the story, though 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 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 *Nurenburgh*, 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 lyes, 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 my self 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 sickness, 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 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.

Sect. 12. Pag. 107.

I wonder the fancy of Lucan and Seneca did not discover it.]

For they had both power from *Nero* to chuse their deaths.

Sect. 13. Pag. 108.

To conceive our selves Urinals is not so ridiculous.] *Reperti*

sunt Galeno et Avicenna testibus qui se vasa fictilia crederent, et ideirco hominum attactum ne confringerentur solicite fugerent. Pontan. in *Attic. bellar.* (*Hist. 22.*) Which proceeds from extremity of Melancholy.

Pag. 109.

Aristot. is too severe, that will not allow us to be truly liberal without wealth.] Aristot. l. 1. Ethic. c. 8.

Sect. 15. Pag. 112.

Thy will be done though in mine own undoing.] This should be the wish of every man, and is of the most wise and knowing, *Le Christien plus humble et plus sage et mieux reconnoissant que c'est que de luy se rapporte a son createur de choisir et ordonner ce qu'il luy faut. Il ne le supplie dautre chose que sa volunte soit faite.* Montaign.

*A Letter sent upon the information
of Animadversions to come forth,
upon the imperfect and surreptitious
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, intituled (as I am informed) *Animadversions* upon a Treatise lately printed under the name of *Religio Medici*; hereof, I am advertised, you have descended to be the Author. Worthy Sir, permit your Servant to affirm there is contain'd therein nothing that can deserve the Reason of your Contradictions, much less the Candor of your *Animadversions*: and to certifie 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 my self, rather than Exercitation for any other, having past from my hand under a broken and imperfect Copy, by frequent transcription it still run forward into corruption, and after the

addition of some things, omission of others, & 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 when ever 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 my self, 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.

Your Servant.

T. B.

Norwich, *March 3, 1642.*

TO THE READER

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

This, I confess, about seven years past, with some others of affinity thereto, for my private exercise and satisfaction, I had at leisurable hours composed; which being communicated unto one, it became common unto many, and was by Transcription successively corrupted, untill it arrived in a most depraved Copy at the Press. He that shall peruse that Work, and shall take notice of sundry particularities and personal expressions therein, will easily discern the intention was not publick: and being a private Exercise directed to my self, what is delivered therein, was rather a memorial unto me, than an Example or Rule unto any other: and therefore if there be any singularity therein correspondent unto the private conceptions of any man, it doth not advantage them: or if dissentaneous thereunto, it no way overthrows them. It was penned in such a place, and with such disadvantage, that (I protest) from the first setting of pen unto paper, I had not the assistance of any good Book, whereby to promote my invention, or relieve my memory; and therefore there might be many real lapses therein, which others might take notice of, and more than I suspected my self. It was set down many years past, and was the sense of my conception at that time, not an immutable Law unto my advancing judgement at all times; and therefore there might be many things therein plausible unto my passed apprehension, which are not agreeable until 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 shall authorize them: under favour of which considerations I have made its secrecy publick, and committed the truth thereof to every Ingenuous Reader.

THO. BROWNE.

RELIGIO MEDICI

SECT. 1

For my Religion, though there be several Circumstances that might perswade the World I have none at all, as the general scandal of my Profession, the natural course of my Studies, the indifferency of my Behaviour and Discourse in matters of Religion, neither violently Defending one, nor with that common ardour and contention Opposing another; yet, in despite hereof, I dare, without usurpation, assume the honourable Stile of a Christian. Not that I meerly owe this Title to the Font, my Education, or Clime wherein I was born, as being bred 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, seen and examined all, I find my self obliged by the Principles of Grace, and the Law of mine own Reason, to embrace no other name but this: Neither doth herein my zeal so far make me forget the general Charity I owe unto Humanity, as rather to hate than pity *Turks, Infidels*, and (what is worse) *Jews*; rather contenting my self to enjoy that happy Stile, than maligning those who refuse so glorious a Title.

SECT. 2

But because the Name of a Christian is become too general to express our Faith, there being a Geography of Religion as

well as Lands, and every Clime distinguished not only by their Laws and Limits, but circumscribed by their Doctrines and Rules of Faith; to be particular, I am of that *Reformed* new-cast Religion, wherein I dislike nothing but the Name; of the same belief our Saviour taught, the Apostles disseminated, the Fathers authorized, and the Martyrs confirmed, but by the sinister ends of Princes, the ambition and avarice of Prelates, and the fatal corruption of times, so decayed, impaired, and fallen from its native Beauty, that it required the careful and charitable hands of these times to restore it to its primitive Integrity. Now the accidental occasion whereupon, the slender means whereby the low and abject condition of the Person by whom so good a work was set on foot, which in our Adversaries beget contempt and scorn, fills me with wonder, and is the very same Objection the insolent Pagans first cast at Christ and his Disciples.

SECT.3

Yet have I not so shaken hands with those desperate Resolutions, who had rather venture at large their decayed bottom, than bring her in to be new 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 Swords point with them: We have reformed from them, not against them; for omitting those Improperations and Terms of Scurrility betwixt us, which only difference our Affections, and not our Cause, there is between us one common Name and Appellation, one Faith and necessary

body of Principles common to us both; and therefore I am not scrupulous to converse and live with them, to enter their Churches in defect of ours, and either pray with them, or for them. I could never perceive any rational Consequence from those many Texts which prohibit the Children of *Israel* to pollute themselves with the Temples of the Heathens; we being all Christians, and not divided by such detested impieties as might profane our Prayers, or the place wherein we make them; or that a resolved Conscience may not adore her Creator any where, especially in places devoted to his Service; where, if their Devotions offend him, mine may please him; if theirs profane it, mine may hallow it. Holy-water and Crucifix (dangerous to the common people) deceive not my judgment, nor abuse my devotion at all: I am, I confess, naturally inclined to that which misguided Zeal terms Superstition: my common conversation I do acknowledge austere, my behaviour full of rigour, sometimes not without morosity; yet at my Devotion I love to use the civility of my knee, my hat, and hand, with all those outward and sensible 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 journeys of Pilgrims, or contemn the miserable condition of Fryars; for though misplaced in Circumstances there is something in it of Devotion. I could never hear the *Ave-*

*Mary Bell*⁷ without an elevation, or think it a sufficient warrant, because they erred in one circumstance, for me to err in all, that is, in silence and dumb contempt; whilst therefore they directed their Devotions to Her, I offered mine to God, and rectifie the Errors of their Prayers by rightly ordering mine own: At a solemn Procession I have wept abundantly, while my consorts blind with opposition and prejudice, have fallen into an excess of scorn and laughter: There are questionless both in *Greek, Roman, and African Churches*, Solemnities and Ceremonies, whereof the wiser Zeals do make a Christian use, and stand condemned by us, not as evil in themselves, but as allurements and baits of superstition to those vulgar heads that look asquint on the face of Truth, and those unstable Judgments that cannot resist in the narrow point and centre of Virtue without a reel or stagger to the Circumference.

SECT.4

As there were many Reformers, so likewise many Reformations; every Country proceeding in a particular way and method, according as their national Interest, together with their Constitution and Clime, inclined them; some angrily, and with extremity; others calmly, and with mediocrity; not rending, but easily dividing the community, and leaving an honest possibility of a reconciliation; which though peaceable Spirits do desire,

⁷ *A Church Bell that tolls every day at six and twelve of the clock; at the hearing whereof, everyone in what place soever, either of House or Street, betakes himself to his prayer, which is commonly directed to the Virgin.*

and may conceive that revolution of time and the mercies of God may effect, yet that judgment that shall continue the present antipathies between the two extreams, their contrarieties in condition, affection, and opinion, may with the same hopes expect an union in the Poles of Heaven.

SECT.5

But to difference my self 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 joynt 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*, and effected

no more than what his own Predecessors desired and assayed in Ages past, and was conceived the State of *Venice* would have attempted in our days. It is as uncharitable a point in us to fall upon those popular scurrilities and opprobrious scoffs of the Bishop of *Rome*, to whom as a temporal Prince, we owe the duty of good language: I confess there is cause of passion between us; by his sentence I stand excommunicated, 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 pardon'd by passion, but can sustain it self upon a temperate dispute.

SECT.6

I could never divide my self from any man upon the difference of an opinion, or be angry with his judgment for not agreeing with me in that from which perhaps within a few days I should dissent my self. 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 our selves; but to confirm and establish our opinions, 'tis best to argue with judgments below our own, that the frequent spoils and Victories over their reasons

may settle in ourselves an esteem and confirmed Opinion of our own. Every man is not a proper Champion for Truth, nor fit to take up the Gauntlet in the cause of Verity: Many, from the ignorance of these Maximes, and an inconsiderate Zeal unto Truth, have too rashly charged the Troops of Error, and remain as Trophies unto the enemies of Truth: A man may be in as just possession of Truth as of a City, and yet be forced to surrender; 'tis therefore far better to enjoy her with peace, than to hazzard 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 judgement and more manly reason be able to resolve them; for I perceive every man's own reason is his best *Ædipus*, and will upon a reasonable truce, find a way to loose those bonds wherewith the subtleties of error have enchained our more flexible and tender judgements. In Philosophy, where Truth seems double-fac'd, there is no man more Paradoxical than my self: but in Divinity I love to keep the Road; and, though not in an implicate, yet an humble faith, follow the great wheel of the Church, by which I move, not reserving any proper Poles or motion from the Epicycle of my own brain; by this means I leave no gap for Heresie, Schismes, or Errors, of which at present I hope I shall not injure Truth to say I have no taint or tincture: I must confess my greener studies have been polluted with two or three, not any begotten in the latter Centuries, but old and obsolete, such as could never have been revived, but by such extravagant and irregular heads as mine: for indeed Heresies perish not with

their Authors, but, like the river *Arethusa*, though they lose their currents in one place, they rise up again in another: One General Council is not able to extirpate one single Heresie; 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 a *Metempsychosis*, and the soul of one man passed into another; Opinions do find, after certain Revolutions, men and minds like those that first begat them. To see ourselves again, we need not look for Plato's year:⁸ every man is not only himself; 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 is, as it were, his revived self.

SECT. 7

Now the first of mine was that of the *Arabians*, That the Souls of men perished with their Bodies, but should yet be raised again at the last day: not that I did absolutely conceive a mortality of the Soul; but if that were, which Faith, not Philosophy hath yet throughly disproved, and that both entred the grave together, yet I held the same conceit thereof that we all do of the body, that it should rise again. Surely it is but the merits of our unworthy Natures, if we sleep in darkness until the last Alarm. A serious reflex upon my own unworthiness did make me backward from

⁸ 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.

challenging this prerogative of my Soul; so that I might enjoy my Saviour at the last, I could with patience be nothing almost unto Eternity. The second was that of *Origen*, That God would not persist in his vengeance for ever, but after a definite time of his wrath, he would release the damned Souls from torture. which error I fell into upon a serious contemplation of the great Attribute of God, his Mercy; and did a little cherish it in my self, 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 wished it had been consonant to Truth, and not offensive to my Religion, and that is the 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 remembered by posterity, and far more noble than an History. These opinions I never maintained with pertinacy, or endeavoured to inveagle any mans 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 my self; but suffering them to flame upon their own substance, without addition of new fuel, they went out insensibly of themselves: therefore these Opinions, though condemned by lawful Councils, were not Heresies in me, but bare Errors, and single Lapses of my understanding,

without a joynt depravity of my will: Those have not onely depraved understandings, but diseased affections, which cannot enjoy a singularity without an Heresie, or be the Author of an Opinion without they be of a Sect also; this was the 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 tacitely and upon consequence to delude them both.

SECT.8

That Heresies should arise, we have the Prophetie 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 doctrines heretical, there will be superheresies; and Arians not only divided from their Church, but also among themselves: for heads that are disposed unto Schism and complexionally propense to innovation, are naturally 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 heresie; 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 Heresie.

SECT.9

As for those wingy Mysteries 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 Mysteries ours contains have not only been illustrated, but maintained, by Syllogism and the rule of Reason. 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 learned of *Tertullian*, *Certum est quia impossibile est*. I desire to exercise my faith in the difficultest point; for to credit ordinary and visible objects is not faith, but perswasion. Some believe the better for seeing Christ's Sepulchre; and when they have seen the Red Sea, doubt not of the Miracle. Now contrarily, I bless my self 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 easie 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 prophesies and mystical Types could raise a belief, and expect apparent impossibilities.

SECT.10

'Tis true, there is an edge in all firm belief, and with an easie Metaphor we may say, the Sword of Faith; but in these obscurities I rather use it in the adjunct the Apostle gives it, a Buckler; under which I conceive a wary combatant may lye 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 easie and Platonick description. That⁹ allegorical description of *Hermes*, pleaseth me beyond all the Metaphysical definitions of Divines; where I cannot satisfie my reason, I love to humour my fancy: I hadas live you tell me that *anima est angelus hominis, est Corpus Dei*, as *Entelechia*; *Lux est umbra Dei*, as *actus perspicui*; where there is an obscurity too deep for our Reason, 'tis good to sit down with a description, periphrasis, or adumbration; for by acquainting our Reason how unable it is to display the

⁹ *Sphaera cujus centrum ubique, circumferentia nullibi.*

visible and obvious effects of nature, it becomes more humble and submissive unto the subtleties of Faith; and thus I teach my haggard and unreclaimed reason to stoop unto the lure of Faith. I believe there was already a tree whose fruit our unhappy Parents tasted, though, in the same Chapter when God forbids it, 'tis positively said, the plants of the field were not yet grown, for God had not caus'd it to rain upon the earth. 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. I find the tryal of the Pucelage and virginity of Women, which God ordained the *Jews*, is very fallible. Experience and History informs me, that not onely many particular Women, but likewise whole Nations have escaped the curse of Childbirth, which God seems to pronounce upon the whole Sex; 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.

SECT.11

In my solitary and retired imagination (*Neque enim cum porticus, aut me lectulus accipit, desum mihi*) I remember I am not alone, and therefore forget not to contemplate him and his Attributes who is ever with me, especially those two mighty ones, his Wisdom and Eternity; with the one I recreate, with the other I confound my understanding: for who can speak of Eternity without a solœcism, or think thereof without an Extasie?

Time we may comprehend; 'tis but five days elder then our 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 onely is; 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 indivisible and all together, the last Trump is already sounded, the reprobates in the flame, and the blessed in *Abraham's* bosome. *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.

SECT.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: his similitude of a Triangle, comprehended in a square, doth somewhat illustrate the Trinity of our Souls, and that the Triple Unity of God; for there is in us not three, but a Trinity of Souls, because there is in us, if not three distinct Souls, yet differing faculties, that can and do subsist apart in different Subjects, and yet in us are thus united as to make but one Soul and substance: if one Soul were so perfect as to inform three distinct Bodies, that were a pretty 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 Pourtraict, things are not truly, but in equivocal shapes, and as they counterfeit some more real substance in that invisible

Fabrick.

SECT.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*,¹⁰ we had better known our selves; 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 prie into the maze of his Counsels is not only folly in man, but presumption even in Angels; like us, they are his Servants, not his Senators; he holds no Counsel, but that mystical one of the Trinity, wherein though there be three Persons, there is

¹⁰ Γνωῶθι σεαυτὸν, Nosce teipsum.

but one mind that decrees without Contradiction: nor needs he any; his actions are not begot with deliberation, his Wisdom naturally knows what's best; his intellect stands ready fraught with the superlative and purest *Idea's* of goodness; consultation and election, which are two motions in us, make but one in him; his actions springing from his power at the first touch of his will. These are Contemplations Metaphysical: 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 magnifie him, whose judicious inquiry into His Acts, and deliberate research into His Creatures, return the duty of a devout and learned admiration. Therefore,

Search while thou wilt, and let thy reason go,
To ransom truth, even to th' Abyss below;
Rally the scattered Causes; and that line
Which Nature twists, be able to untwine

It is thy Makers will, for unto none,
But unto reason can he e'er be known.
The Devils do know Thee, but those damn'd Meteors
Build not thy Glory, but confound thy Creatures.
Teach my indeavours 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 neer the Sun, to stoop again below.
Thus shall my humble Feathers safely hover,
And, though near Earth, more than the Heavens discover
And then at last, when homeward I shall drive,
Rich with the Spoils of nature to my hive,
There will I sit like that industrious 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 doth 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.

SECT.14

There is but one first cause, and four second causes of all

things; some are without efficient, as God; others without matter, as Angels; some without form, as the first matter: but every Essence created or uncreated, hath its final cause, and some positive end both of its Essence and Operation; this is the cause I grope after in the works of Nature; on this hangs the providence of God: to raise so beauteous a structure as the World and the Creatures thereof, was but his Art; but their sundry and divided operations, with their predestinated ends, are from the Treasure of his wisdom. In the causes, nature, and affections of the Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, there is most excellent speculation; but to profound farther, and to contemplate a reason why his providence hath so disposed and ordered their motions in that vast circle as to conjoyn and obscure each other, is a sweeter piece of Reason, and a diviner point of Philosophy; therefore sometimes, and in some things, there appears to me as much Divinity in *Galen* his books *De Usu Partium*, as in *Suarez* 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.

SECT.15

Natura nihil aget frustra, is the only indisputed Axiome in Philosophy; there are no *Grotesques* in nature; 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 his 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, 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* his Fly beyond his Eagle, or wonders not more at the operation of two Souls in those little Bodies, than but one in the Trunk of a Cedar? I could never content my contemplation with those general pieces of wonder, the Flux and Reflux of the Sea, the increase of *Nile*, the conversion of the Needle to the North; and have studied to match and parallel those in the more obvious and neglected pieces of Nature, which without further trouble I can do in the Cosmography of my self; we carry with us the wonders we seek without us: There is all *Africa* and her prodigies in us; we are that bold and adventurous piece of nature, which he that studies wisely learns in a *compendium* what others labour at in a divided piece and endless volume.

SECT.16

Thus there are two Books from which I collect my Divinity; besides that written one of God, another of his servant Nature, that universal and publick Manuscript, that lies expans'd 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 joyn 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 of His creatures, according to their several kinds. To make a revolution every day, is the Nature of the Sun, because of that necessary course which God hath ordained it, from which it cannot swerve but by a faculty from that voice which first did give it motion. Now this course of Nature God seldome 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 fore-laid principles of his Art: yet this rule of his he doth sometimes pervert, to acquaint the World with his Prerogative, lest the arrogancy of our reason should question his power, and conclude he could not; and thus I call the effects of Nature the works of God, whose hand and instrument she only is; and therefore to ascribe his actions unto her, is to devolve the honour of the principal agent upon the instrument; which if with reason we may do, then let our hammers rise up and boast they have built our houses, and our pens receive the honour of our writings. I hold there is a general beauty in the works of God, and therefore no deformity in any kind or species of creature whatsoever: I cannot tell by what 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 past 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 was not at variance with Art, nor Art with Nature, they being both servants of his providence:

Art is the perfection of Nature: were the World now as it was the sixth day, there were yet a Chaos: Nature hath made one World, and Art another. In brief, all things are artificial; for Nature is the Art of God.

SECT.17

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 foreshew these, is not Prophesie, but Prognostication. There is another way, full of Meanders and Labyrinths, whereof the Devil and Spirits have no exact Ephemerides, and that is a more particular and obscure method of his providence, directing the operations of individuals and single Essences: this we call Fortune, that serpentine and crooked 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 conveyed *Moses* in the Ark to the sight of *Pharoh'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 Fortune, 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 combate with the Winds. Where there is a manifest disproportion between the powers and forces of two several agents, upon a Maxime of reason we may promise the Victory to the Superiour; 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 spring that moves it. The success of that petty province of *Holland* (of which the Grand *Seignour* proudly said, if they should trouble him as they did the *Spaniard*, 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 ruine of another, there is a revolution and vicissitude of their greatness, and must obey the swing of that wheel, not moved by Intelligences, but by the hand of God, whereby all Estates arise to their *Zenith* and Vertical points

according to their predestinated periods. For the lives, not only of men, but of Commonwealths, and the whole World, run not upon an Helix that still enlargeth; but on a Circle, where arriving to their Meridian, they decline in obscurity, and fall under the Horizon again.

SECT.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 mans 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 stragling way; nor any effect whatsoever, but hath its warrant from some universal or superiour Cause. 'Tis not a ridiculous devotion to say a prayer before a game at Tables; for even in *sortilegies* and matters of greatest uncertainty, there is a settled and preordered course of effects. It is we that are blind, not Fortune: because our Eye is too dim to discover the mystery of her effects, we foolishly paint her blind, and hoodwink the Providence of the Almighty. I cannot justifie that contemptible Proverb, *That fools only are Fortunate*; or that insolent Paradox, *That a wise man is out of the reach of Fortune*; much less those opprobrious epithets of Poets, *Whore, Bawd, and Strumpet*. 'Tis, I confess, the common fate of men of singular gifts of mind to be destitute of those of Fortune, which doth not any way deject the Spirit of wiser judgements, who throughly understand the justice of this proceeding; and being inrich'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 body or Fortune: and it is an error worse than heresie, to adore these complemental and circumstantial pieces of felicity, and undervalue those perfections and essential points of happiness wherein we resemble our Maker. To wiser desires it is satisfaction enough to deserve, though not to enjoy the favours of Fortune; let Providence provide for Fools: 'tis not partiality, but equity in God, who deals with us but as our natural Parents; those that are able of Body and Mind, he leaves to their deserts; to those of weaker merits he imparts a larger portion, and pieces out the defect of one, by the 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; 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 those, 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 may conjoin 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.

SECT.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 Dissensions between Affection, Faith and Reason: For there is in our Soul a kind of Triumvirate, or triple Government of three Competitors, which distracts the Peace of this our Common-wealth, not less than did that other the State of *Rome*.

As Reason is a Rebel unto Faith, so Passion unto Reason: As the Propositions of Faith seem absurd unto Reason, so the Theorems of Reason unto Passion, and both unto 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 my self, 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 the miracle of the Brazen Serpent, 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 *Elias*, when he entrenched the Altar round with Water: for that inflammable substance yields not easily unto Water, but flames in the Arms of its Antagonist. And thus would he inveagle my belief to think the combustion of *Sodom* might be natural, and that there was an Asphaltick and Bituminous nature in that Lake before the Fire of *Gomorrhah*. 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 Chess with me, and yielding a Pawn, thought to gain a Queen of me, taking advantage of my honest endeavours; and whilst I laboured to raise the structure of my Reason, he strived to undermine the edifice of my Faith.

SECT.20

Neither had these or any other ever such advantage of me, as to incline me to any point of Infidelity or desperate positions of Atheism; for I have been these many years of opinion there was never any. Those that held was the difference of Man from Beasts, 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, but a magnificent and high strained conceit of his Majesty, which he deemed too sublime to mind the trivial Actions of those inferiour 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, though divided from all Religions, and was neither Jew, Turk, nor Christian, was not a positive Atheist. I confess every country hath its *Machiavel*, every Age its *Lucian*, whereof common Heads must not hear, nor more advanced Judgments too rashly venture on: It is the Rhetorick of

Satan, and may pervert a loose or prejudicate belief.

SECT.21

I confess I have perused them all, and can discover nothing that may startle a discreet belief; yet are there heads carried off with the Wind and breath of such motives. I remember a Doctor in 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 ¹¹three lines of *Seneca*, that all our Antidotes, drawn from both Scripture and Philosophy, could not expel the poyson of his error. There are a set of Heads, that can credit the relations of Mariners, yet question the Testimonies of *St. Paul*; and peremptorily maintain the traditions of *Ælian* or *Pliny*, yet in Histories of Scripture raise Queries and Objections, believing no more than they can parallel in humane Authors. I confess there are in Scripture Stories that do exceed the Fables of Poets, and to a captious Reader sound like *Garagantua* or *Bevis*: Search all the Legends of times past, and the fabulous conceits of these present, and 'twill be hard to find one that deserves to carry the Buckler unto *Sampson*; yet is all this of an easie possibility, if we conceive a divine concourse, or an influence but from the little Finger of the Almighty. It is impossible that either in the discourse of man, or in the infallible Voice of God,

¹¹ *Post Mortem nihil est, ipsaque Mors nihil. Mors individua est, noxia corpori, nec patiens animæ ... Toti morimur, nullaque pars manet nostri.*

to the weakness of our apprehensions, there should not appear irregularities, contradictions, and antinomies: my self 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*

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