

BROWNE THOMAS

THE WORKS OF SIR
THOMAS BROWNE,
VOLUME 3

Thomas Browne

**The Works of Sir Thomas
Browne, Volume 3**

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The Works of Sir Thomas Browne, Volume 3

PREFATORY NOTE

In concluding the present edition of Sir Thomas Browne's works, attention may be drawn to the reprint of the *Hydriotaphia*, from the first edition of 1658. The copy collated was the one preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. In this, in addition to the corrections made at the time of publication on the printed label attached, there are a few others made by a contemporary hand, which deserve consideration. Among these is the excision of a sentence hitherto preserved in the text, and now relegated to the margin (p. 205). If further sanction were needed for the change indicated, it may be gathered from the inscription on the title-page, 'Ex dono Auctoris.' The text of the *Christian Morals* of 1716 has been collated with the copy in the same Library.

For the account of Birds and Fishes found in Norfolk (pp. 513-539), Professor Alfred Newton generously placed his annotated copy at the disposal of the editor. As those actual pages were in the press, Professor Newton passed away, and Death has deprived us of the pleasure of placing this volume in his hands. In this edition Professor Newton's readings have been in the main followed, with the additional help of the valuable recension, published by Mr. Thomas Southwell of Norwich, in 1902, to which every serious student of this treatise must always refer.

For further assistance in questions of identification, I am again indebted to the kindness of Mr. W. Aldis Wright; and for one correction to Mr. A. R. Waller.

Sir Thomas Browne's Latin treatises and his correspondence are not included in these volumes. It was the determination of the original publisher of this edition that they should be omitted; and indeed they do not form the most characteristic part of Sir Thomas Browne's work. His erudition, and the resources from which he drew, his amazing industry, his marvellous diction, and natural piety – all these are apparent to the general reader of his English text; and it is to such that the present edition of Sir Thomas Browne's works, as they originally appeared, will primarily appeal.

C. S.

16th June 1907.

THE SEVENTH BOOK

**Concerning many Historical Tenents generally received,
and some deduced from the history of holy Scripture**

CHAPTER I Of the Forbidden Fruit

Opinions, of what kind the forbidden fruit was.

That the Forbidden fruit of Paradise was an Apple, is commonly believed, confirmed by Tradition, perpetuated by Writings, Verses, Pictures; and some have been so bad *Prosodians*, as from thence to derive the Latine word *malum*, because that fruit was the first occasion of evil; wherein notwithstanding determinations are presumptuous, and many I perceive are of another belief. For some have, conceived it a Vine; in the mystery of whose fruit lay the expiation of the transgression: *Goropius Becanus* reviving the conceit of *Barcephas*, peremptorily concludeth it to be the *Indian Fig-tree*; and by a witty Allegory labours to confirm the same. Again, some fruits pass under the name of *Adams apples*, which in common acception admit not that appellation; the one described by *Mathiolus* under the name of *Pomum Adami*, a very fair fruit, and not unlike a Citron, but somewhat rougher, chopt and cranied, vulgarly conceived the marks of *Adams teeth*. Another, the fruit of that plant which *Serapion* termeth *Musa*, but the Eastern Christians commonly the Apples of Paradise; not resembling an apple in figure, and in taste a Melon or Cowcomber. Which fruits although they have received appellations suitable unto the tradition, yet can we not from thence infer they were this fruit in question: No more then *Arbor vitæ*, so commonly called, to obtain its name from the tree of life in Paradise, or *Arbor Judæ*, to be the same which supplied the gibbet unto *Judas*.

Again, There is no determination in the Text; wherein is only particulared that it was the fruit of a tree good for food, and pleasant unto the eye, in which regards many excell the Apple; and therefore learned men do wisely conceive it inexplicable; and *Philo* puts determination unto despair, when he affirmeth the same kind of fruit was never produced since. Surely were it not requisite to have been concealed, it had not passed unspecified; nor the tree revealed which concealed their nakedness, and that concealed which revealed it; for in the same chapter mention is made of fig-leaves. And the like particulars, although they seem uncircumstantial, are oft set down in holy Scripture; so is it specified that *Elias* sat under a juniper tree, *Absalom* hanged by an Oak, and *Zacheus* got up into a Sycamore.

And although to condemn such Indeterminables unto him that demanded on what hand *Venus* was wounded, the Philosopher thought it a sufficient resolution to re-inquire upon what leg King *Philip* halted; and the *Jews* not undoubtedly resolved of the Sciatica-side of *Jacob*, Jacobs *Sciatica*, see *Gen. 32. 25, 31, 32.* do cautelously in their diet abstain from thesinews of both: yet are there many nice particulars which may be authentically determined. That *Peter* cut off the right ear of *Malchus*, is beyond all doubt. That our Saviour eat the Passover in an upper room, we may determine from the Text. And some we may concede which the Scripture plainly defines not. That the Dyal of *Ahaz* was placed upon the West side of the Temple, we will not deny, or contradict the description of *Adricomius*. That *Abrahams* servant put his hand under his right thigh, we shall not question; and that the Thief on the right hand was saved, and the other on the left reprobated, to make good the Method of the last judicial dismissal, we are ready to admit. But surely in vain we enquire of what wood was *Moses* rod, or the tree that sweetned the waters. Or though tradition or humane History might afford some light, whether the Crown of thorns was made of *Paliurus*; Whether the cross of Christ were made of those four woods in the Distick of *Durantes*, *Pes ceorus est, truncus cupressus, oliva supremum, palmaq; transversum Christi sunt in cruce lignum.* or only of Oak, according unto *Lipsius* and *Goropius*, we labour not to determine. For though hereof prudent Symbols and pious Allegories be made by wiser Conceivers; yet common heads will flie unto superstitious applications, and hardly avoid miraculous or magical expectations.

Now the ground or reason that occasioned this expression by an Apple, might be the community of this fruit, and which is often taken for any other. So the Goddess of Gardens is termed *Pomona*;

so the Proverb expresseth it to give Apples unto *Alcinous*; so the fruit which *Paris* decided was called an Apple; so in the garden of *Hesperides* (which many conceive a fiction drawn from Paradise) we read of golden Apples guarded by the Dragon. And to speak strictly in this appellation, they placed it more safely then any other; for beside the great variety of Apples, the word in Greek comprehendeth Orenge, Lemmons, Citrons, Quinces; and as *Ruellius* defineth, *Ruel. de stirpium natura.* such fruits as have no stone within, and a soft covering without; excepting the Pomegranate. And will extend much farther in the acception of *Spigelius*, *Isagoge in rem Herbariam.* who comprehendeth all round fruits under the name of apples, not excluding Nuts and Plumbs.

It hath been promoted in some constructions from a passage in the *Canticle, Can. 8.* as it runs in the vulgar translation, *Sub arbore malo suscitavi te, ibi corrupta est mater tua, ibi violata est genetrix tua;* Which words notwithstanding parabolically intended, admit no literal inference, and are of little force in our translation, I raised thee under an Apple-tree, there thy mother brought thee forth, there she brought thee forth that bare thee. So when from a basket of summer fruits or apples, as the vulgar rendreth them, God by *Amos* foretold the destruction of his people, we cannot say they had any reference unto the fruit of Paradise, which was the destruction of man; but thereby was declared the propinquity of their desolation, and that their tranquility was of no longer duration then those horary or soon decaying fruits of Summer. Nor when it is said in the same translation, *Fructus horæi. Poma desiderii animæ tuæ discesserunt à te,* the apples that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, is there any allusion therein unto the fruit of Paradise. But thereby is threatned unto *Babylon*, that the pleasures and delights of their Palate should forsake them. And we read in *Pierius*, that an Apple was the Hieroglyphick of Love, and that the Statua of *Venus* was made with one in her hand. So the little Cupids in the figures of *Philostratus Philostrat. figur. 6. De amoribus.* do play with apples in a garden; and there want not some who have symbolized the Apple of Paradise unto such constructions.

Since therefore after this fruit, curiosity fruitlessly enquireth, and confidence blindly determineth, we shall surcease our Inquisition; rather troubled that it was tasted, then troubling our selves in its decision; this only we observe, when things are left uncertain, men will assure them by determination. Which is not only verified concerning the fruit, but the Serpent that perswaded; many defining the kind or species thereof. *Opinions of what kind the Serpent was, etc.* So *Bonaventure* and *Comestor* affirm it was a Dragon, *Eugubinus* a Basilisk, *Delrio* a Viper, and others a common snake. Wherein men still continue the delusion of the Serpent, who having deceived *Eve* in the main, sets her posterity on work to mistake in the circumstance, and endeavours to propagate errors at any hand. And those he surely most desireth which concern either God or himself; for they dishonour God who is absolute truth and goodness; but for himself, who is extremely evil, and the worst we can conceive, by aberration of conceit they may extenuate his depravity, and ascribe some goodness unto him.

CHAPTER II

That a Man hath one Rib less then a Woman

That a Man hath one Rib less then a Woman, is a common conceit derived from the History of *Genesis*, wherein it stands delivered, that *Eve* was framed out of a Rib of *Adam*; whence 'tis concluded the sex of man still wants that rib our Father lost in *Eve*. And this is not only passant with the many, but was urged against *Columbus* in an Anatomy of his at *Pisa*, where having prepared the Sceleton of a woman that chanced to have thirteen ribs on one side, there arose a party that cried him down, and even unto oaths affirmed, this was the rib wherein a woman exceeded. Were this true, it would ocularly silence that dispute out of which side *Eve* was framed; it would determine the opinion of *Oleaster*, that she was made out of the ribs of both sides, or such as from the expression of the Text *Os ex ossibus meis*. maintain there was a plurality of ribs required; and might indeed decry the parabolical exposition of *Origen*, *Cajetan*, and such as fearing to concede a monstrosity, or mutilate the integrity of *Adam*, preventively conceive the creation of thirteen ribs.

How many ribs commonly in men and women.

But this will not consist with reason or inspection. For if we survey the Sceleton of both sexes, and therein the compage of bones, we shall readily discover that men and women have four and twenty ribs, that is, twelve on each side, seven greater annexed unto the Sternon, and five lesser which come short thereof. Wherein if it sometimes happen that either sex exceed, the conformation is irregular, deflecting from the common rate or number, and no more inferrible upon mankind, then the monstrosity of the son of *Rapha*, or the vitious excess in the number of fingers and toes. And although some difference there be in figure and the female *os inominatum* be somewhat more protuberant, to make a fairer cavity for the Infant; the coccyx sometime more reflected to give the easier delivery, and the ribs themselves seem a little flatter, yet are they equal in number. And therefore while *Aristotle* doubteth the relations made of Nations, which had but seven ribs on a side, and yet delivereth, that men have generally no more than eight; as he rejecteth their history, so can we not accept of his Anatomy.

Again, Although we concede there wanted one rib in the Sceleton of *Adam*, yet were it repugnant unto reason and common observation that his posterity should want the same. For we observe that mutilations are not transmitted from father unto son; the blind begetting such as can see, men with one eye children with two, and cripples mutilate in their own persons do come out perfect in their generations. For the seed conveyeth with it not only the extract and single Idea of every part, whereby it transmits their perfections or infirmities; but double and over again; whereby sometimes it multipliciously delineates the same, as in Twins, in mixed and numerous generations. Parts of the seed do seem to contain the Idea and power of the whole; so parents deprived of hands, beget manual issues, and the defect of those parts is supplied by the Idea of others. So in one grain of corn appearing similary and insufficient for a plural germination, there lyeth dormant the virtuality of many other; and from thence sometimes proceed above an hundred ears. And thus may be made out the cause of multiparous productions; for though the seminal materials disperse and separate in the matrix, the formative operator will not delineate a part, but endeavour the formation of the whole; effecting the same as far as the matter will permit, and from dividing materials attempt entire formations. And therefore, though wondrous strange, it may not be impossible what is confirmed at *Lausdun* concerning the Countess of *Holland*, nor what *Albertus* reports of the birth of an hundred and fifty. And if we consider the magnalities of generation in some things, we shall not controvert its possibilities in others: nor easily question that great work, whose wonders are only second unto those of the Creation, and a close apprehension of the one, might perhaps afford a glimmering light, and crepusculous glance of the other.

CHAPTER III Of *Methuselah*

What hath been every where opinioned by all men, and in all times, is more then paradoxical to dispute; and so that *Methuselah* was the longest liver of all the posterity of *Adam*, we quietly believe: but that he must needs be so, is perhaps below paralogy to deny. For hereof there is no determination from the Text; wherein it is only particuled he was the longest Liver of all the Patriarchs whose age is there expressed; but that he out-lived all others, we cannot well conclude. For of those nine whose death is mentioned before the flood, the Text expresseth that *Enoch* was the shortest Liver; who saw but three hundred sixty-five years. But to affirm from hence, none of the rest, whose age is not expressed, did die before that time, is surely an illation whereto we cannot assent.

Again, Many persons there were in those days of longevity, of whose age notwithstanding there is no account in Scripture; as of the race of *Cain*, the wives of the nine Patriarchs, with all the sons and daughters that every one begat: whereof perhaps some persons might out-live *Methuselah*; the Text intending only the masculine line of *Seth*, conduceable unto the Genealogy of our Saviour, and the antediluvian Chronology. And therefore we must not contract the lives of those which are left in silence by *Moses*; for neither is the age of *Abel* expressed in the Scripture, yet is he conceived far elder then commonly opinioned; and if we allow the conclusion of his Epitaph as made by *Adam*, and so set down by *Salian*, *Posuit mærens pater, cui à filio justius positum foret, Anno ab ortu rerum 130. Ab Abele nato 129*, we shall not need to doubt. Which notwithstanding *Cajetan* and others confirm, nor is it improbable, if we conceive that *Abel* was born in the second year of *Adam*, and *Seth* a year after the death of *Abel*: for so it being said, that *Adam* was an hundred and thirty years old when he begat *Seth*, *Abel* must perish the year before, which was one hundred twenty nine.

And if the account of *Cain* extend unto the Deluge, it may not be improbable that some thereof exceeded any of *Seth*. Nor is it unlikely in life, riches, power and temporal blessings, they might surpass them in this world, whose lives related unto the next. For so when the seed of *Jacob* was under affliction and captivity, that of *Ismael* and *Esau* flourished and grew mighty, there proceeding from the one twelve Princes, from the other no less then fourteen Dukes and eight Kings. And whereas the age of *Cain* and his posterity is not delivered in the Text, some do salve it from the secret method of Scripture, which sometimes wholly omits, but seldom or never delivers the entire duration of wicked and faithless persons, as is observable in the history of *Esau*, and the Kings of *Israel* and *Judah*. And therefore when mention is made that *Ismael* lived 137 years, some conceive he adhered unto the faith of *Abraham*; *Job* thought by some to be of the race of *Esau*. for so did others who were not descended from *Jacob*; for *Job* is thought to be an *Idumean*, and of the seed of *Esau*.

Lastly (although we rely not thereon) we will not omit that conceit urged by learned men, that *Adam* was elder then *Methuselah*; inasmuch as he was created in the perfect age of man, which was in those days 50 or 60 years, for about that time we read that they begat children; so that if unto 930 we add 60 years, he will exceed *Methuselah*. And therefore if not in length of days, at least in old age he surpassed others; he was older then all, who was never so young as any. For though he knew old age, he was never acquainted with puberty, youth or Infancy; and so in a strict account he begat children at one year old. And if the usual compute will hold, that men are of the same age which are born within compass of the same year, *Eve* was as old as her husband and parent *Adam*, and *Cain* their son coetaneous unto both.

Now that conception, that no man did ever attain unto a thousand years, because none should ever be one day old in the sight of the Lord, unto whom according to that of *David*, A thousand years are but one day, doth not advantage *Methuselah*. And being deduced from a popular expression, which will not stand a *Metaphysical* and strict examination, is not of force to divert a serious enquirer. For unto God a thousand years are no more then one moment, and in his sight *Methuselah* lived no

nearer one day than *Abel*, for all parts of time are alike unto him, unto whom none are referrible; and all things present, unto whom nothing is past or to come. And therefore, although we be measured by the Zone of time, and the flowing and continued instants thereof, do weave at last a line and circle about the eldest: yet can we not thus commensurate the sphere of *Trismegistus*; or sum up the unsuccessive and stable duration of God.

CHAPTER IV

That there was no Rain-bow before the Flood

That there shall no Rain-bow appear forty years before the end of the world, and that the preceding drought unto that great flame shall exhaust the materials of this Meteor, was an assertion grounded upon no solid reason: but that there was not any in sixteen hundred years, that is, before the flood, seems deduceable from holy Scripture, *Gen. 9*. I do set my bow in the clouds, and it shall be for a token of a Covenant between me and the earth. From whence notwithstanding we cannot conclude the nonexistence of the Rain-bow; nor is that Chronology naturally established, which computeth the antiquity of effects arising from physical and settled causes, by additionall impositions from voluntary determinators. Now by the decree of reason and Philosophy, the Rain-bow hath its ground in Nature, as caused by the rays of the Sun, falling upon a roride and opposite cloud: whereof some reflected, others refracted, beget that semi-circular variety we generally call the Rain-bow; which must succeed upon concurrence of causes and subjects aptly predisposed. And therefore, to conceive there was no Rain-bow before, because God chose this out as a token of the Covenant, is to conclude the existence of things from their signalities, or of what is objected unto the sense, a coexistence with that which is internally presented unto the understanding. With equall reason we may infer there was no water before the institution of Baptism, nor bread and wine before the holy Eucharist.

That there is a Rain-bow of the Moon.

Again, while men deny the antiquity of one Rain-bow, they anciently concede another. For, beside the solary Iris which God shewed unto *Noah*, there is another Lunary, whose efficient is the Moon, visible only in the night, most commonly at full Moon, and some degrees above the Horizon. Now the existence hereof men do not controvert, although effected by a different Luminary in the same way with the other. And probably appeared later, as being of rare appearance and rarer observation, and many there are which think there is no such thing in Nature. And therefore by casual spectators they are lookt upon like prodigies, and significations made, not signified by their natures.

Lastly, We shall not need to conceive God made the Rain-bow at this time, if we consider that in its created and predisposed nature, it was more proper for this signification than any other Meteor or celestial appearancy whatsoever. Thunder and lightning had too much terrour to have been tokens of mercy; Comets or blazing Stars appear too seldom to put us in mind of a Covenant to be remembred often: and might rather signifie the world should be once destroyed by fire, then never again by water. The Galaxia or milky Circle had been more probable; for (beside that unto the latitude of thirty, it becomes their Horizon twice in four and twenty hours, and unto such as live under the *Æquator*, in that space the whole Circle appeareth) part thereof is visible unto any situation; but being only discoverable in the night, and when the ayr is clear, it becomes of unfrequent and comfortless signification. A fixed Star had not been visible unto all the Globe, and so of too narrow a signality in a Covenant concerning all. But Rain-bows are seen unto all the world, and every position of sphere. Unto our own elevation they may appear in the morning, while the Sun hath attained about forty five degrees above the Horizon (which is conceived the largest semi-diameter of any Iris) and so in the afternoon when it hath declined unto that altitude again; which height the Sun not attaining in winter, rain-bows may happen with us at noon or any time. Unto a right position of sphere they may appear three hours after the rising of the Sun, and three before its setting; for the Sun ascending fifteen degrees an hour, in three attaineth forty five of altitude. Even unto a parallel sphere, and such as live under the pole, for half a year some segments may appear at any time and under any quarter, the Sun not setting, but walking round about them.

The natural signification of the rain-bow.

But the propriety of its Election most properly appeareth in the natural signification and prognostick of it self; as containing a mixt signality of rain and fair weather. For being in a roride cloud and ready to drop, it declareth a pluvius disposeure in the air; but because when it appears the Sun must also shine, there can be no universal shows, and consequently no Deluge. Thus when the windows of the great deep were open, in vain men lookt for the Rain-bow: for at that time it could not be seen, which after appeared unto *Noah*. It might be therefore existent before the flood, and had in nature some ground of its addition. Unto that of nature God superadded an assurance of his Promise, that is, never to hinder its appearance, or so to replenish the heavens again, as that we should behold it no more. And thus without disparaging the promise, it might rain at the same time when God shewed it unto *Noah*; thus was there more therein then the heathens understood, when they called it the *Nuncia* of the gods, and the laugh of weeping Heaven; *Risus plorantis Olympi*. and thus may it be elegantly said; I put my bow, not my arrow in the clouds, that is, in the menace of rain the mercy of fair weather.

Cabalistical heads, who from that expression in *Esay, Isa.* 34. 4. do make a book of heaven, and read therein the great concernments of earth, do literally play on this, and from its semicircular figure, resembling the Hebrew letter \beth Caph, whereby is signified the uncomfortable number of twenty, at which years *Joseph* was sold, which *Jacob* lived under *Laban*, and at which men were to go to war: do note a propriety in its signification; as thereby declaring the dismal Time of the Deluge. And Christian conceits do seem to strain as high, while from the irradiation of the Sun upon a cloud, they apprehend the mysterie of the Sun of Righteousness in the obscurity of flesh; by the colours green and red, the two destructions of the world by fire and water; or by the colours of blood and water, the mysteries of Baptism, and the holy Eucharist.

Laudable therefore is the custom of the *Jews*, who upon the appearance of the Rain-bow, do magnifie the fidelity of God in the memory of his Covenant; according to that of *Syracides*, look upon the Rain-bow, and praise him that made it. And though some pious and Christian pens have only symbolized the same from the mysterie of its colours, yet are there other affections which might admit of Theological allusions. Nor would he find a more improper subject, that should consider that the colours are made by refraction of Light, and the shadows that limit that light; that the Center of the Sun, the Rain-bow, and the eye of the Beholder must be in one right line, that the spectator must be between the Sun and the Rain-bow; that sometime there appear, sometime one reversed. With many others, considerable in Meteorological Divinity, which would more sensibly make out the Epithite of the Heathens; *Thaumancias*. and the expression of the son of *Syrach*. Very beautifull is the Rain-bow, it compasseth the heaven about with a glorious circle, and the hands of the most High have bended it.

CHAPTER V

Of *Sem, Ham and Japhet*

Concerning the three sons of *Noah, Sem, Ham and Japhet*, that the order of their nativity was according to that of numeration, and *Japhet* the youngest son, as most believe, as *Austin* and others account, the sons of *Japhet*, and *Europeans* need not grant: nor will it so well concord unto the letter of the Text, and its readiest interpretations. For so is it said in our Translation, *Sem* the father of all the sons of *Heber* the brother of *Japhet* the elder: so by the Septuagint, and so by that of *Tremelius*. And therefore when the Vulgar reads it, *Fratre Japhet majore*, the mistake as *Junius* observeth, might be committed by the neglect of the Hebrew account; which occasioned *Jerom* so to render it, and many after to believe it. Nor is that Argument contemptible which is deduced from their Chronology: for probable it is that *Noah* had none of them before, and begat them from that year when it is said he was five hundred years old, and begat *Sem, Ham and Japhet*. Again it is said he was six hundred years old at the flood, and that two years after *Sem* was but an hundred; therefore *Sem* must be born when *Noah* was five hundred and two, and some other before in the year of five hundred and one.

Now whereas the Scripture affordeth the priority of order unto *Sem*, we cannot from thence infer his primogeniture. For in *Sem* the holy line was continued: and therefore however born, his genealogy was most remarkable. So is it not unusuall in holy Scripture to nominate the younger before the elder: so is it said, That *Tarah* begat *Abraham*, *Gen. 11. Nachor and Haram*: whereas *Haram* was the eldest. So *Rebecca Gen. 28.* is termed the mother of *Jacob* and *Esau*. Nor is it strange the younger should be first in nomination, who have commonly had the priority in the blessings of God, and been first in his benediction. *In divine benedictions the younger often preferred.* So *Abel* was accepted before *Cain*, *Isaac* the younger preferred before *Ishmael* the elder, *Jacob* before *Esau*, *Joseph* was the youngest of twelve, and *David* the eleventh son and minor cadet of *Jesse*.

Lastly, though *Japhet* were not elder then *Sem*, yet must we not affirm that he was younger then *Cham*, for it is plainly delivered, that after *Sem* and *Japhet* had covered *Noah*, he awaked, and knew what his youngest son had done unto him υἱὸς ὁ νεώτερος, is the expression of the Septuagint, *Filius minor* of *Jerom*, and *minimus* of *Tremelius*. And upon these grounds perhaps *Josephus* doth vary from the Scripture enumeration, and nameth them *Sem, Japhet* and *Cham*; which is also observed by the *Annian Berosus*; *Noah cum tribus filiis, Semo, Japeto, Cham*. And therefore although in the priority of *Sem* and *Japhet*, there may be some difficulty, though *Cyril, Epiphanius* and *Austin* have accounted *Sem* the elder, and *Salian* the *Annalist*, and *Petavius* the Chronologist contend for the same, yet *Cham* is more plainly and confessedly named the youngest in the Text.

That Noah and Saturn were the same person.

And this is more conformable unto the Pagan history and Gentile account hereof, unto whom *Noah* was *Saturn*, whose symbol was a ship, as relating unto the Ark, and who is said to have divided the world between his three sons. *Ham* is conceived to be *Jupiter*, who was the youngest son: worshipped by the name of *Hamon*, which was the *Egyptian* and *African* name for *Jupiter*, who is said to have cut off the genitals of his father, derived from the history of *Ham Gen. 9. 22.* , who beheld the nakednes of his, and by no hard mistake *Reading* *Veaggod et abscidit, for* *Veiegged et nunciavit.* might be confirmed from the Text, as *Bochartus* *Bochartus de Geographia sacrâ.* hath well observed.

CHAPTER VI

That the Tower of *Babel* was erected against a second Deluge

An opinion there is of some generality, that our fathers after the flood attempted the Tower of *Babel* to secure themselves against a second Deluge. Which however affirmed by *Josephus* and others, hath seemed improbable unto many who have discoursed hereon. For (beside that they could not be ignorant of the Promise of God never to drown the world again, and had the Rain-bow before their eyes to put them in mind thereof) it is improbable from the nature of the Deluge; which being not possibly causable from natural showers above, or watery eruptions below, but requiring a supernatural hand, and such as all acknowledg irresistible; must needs disparage their knowledg and judgment in so succesless attempts.

Again, They must probably hear, and some might know, that the waters of the flood ascended fifteen cubits above the highest mountains. Now, if as some define, the perpendicular altitude of the highest mountains be four miles; or as others, but fifteen furlongs, it is not easily conceived how such a structure could be effected. Although we allowed the description of *Herodotus* concerning the Tower of *Belus*; whose lowest story was in height and bredth one furlong, and seven more built upon it; abating that of the Annian *Berosus*, the traditional relation of *Jerom*, and fabulous account of the *Jews*. Probable it is that what they attempted was feasible, otherwise they had been amply fooled in fruitless success of their labours, nor needed God to have hindred them, saying, Nothing will be restrained from them, which they begin to do.

History of the world.

It was improbable from the place, that is a plain in the land of *Shinar*. And if the situation of *Babylon* were such at first as it was in the days of *Herodotus*, it was rather a feat of amenity and pleasure, than conducing unto this intention. It being in a very great plain, and so improper a place to provide against a general Deluge by Towers and eminent structures, that they were fain to make provisions against particular and annual inundations by ditches and trenches, after the manner of *Egypt*. And therefore Sir *Walter Raleigh* accordingly objecteth: If the Nations which followed *Nimrod*, still doubted the surprise of a second flood, according to the opinions of the ancient *Hebrews*, it soundeth ill to the ear of Reason, that they would have spent many years in that low and overflown valley of *Mesopotamia*. And therefore in this situation, they chose a place more likely to have secured them from the worlds destruction by fire, then another Deluge of water: and as *Pierius* observeth, some have conceived that this was their intention.

Lastly, The reason is delivered in the Text. Let us build us a City and a Tower, whose top may reach unto heaven, and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the whole earth; as we have already began to wander over a part. These were the open ends proposed unto the people; but the secret design of *Nimrod* was to settle unto himself a place of dominion, and rule over his Brethren, as it after succeeded, according to the delivery of the Text, the beginning of his kingdom was *Babel*.

CHAPTER VII

Of the Mandrakes of *Leah*

We shall not omit the Mandrakes of *Leah*, according to the History of *Genesis*. And *Reuben* went out in the daies of Wheat-harvest, and found Mandrakes in the field, and brought them unto his mother *Leah*; then *Rachel* said unto *Leah*, give me, I pray thee, of thy sons Mandrakes: and she said unto her, is it a small matter that thou hast taken my husband, and wouldest thou take my sons Mandrakes also? and *Rachel* said, Therefore he shall lie with thee this night for thy sons Mandrakes. From whence hath arisen a common conceit, that *Rachel* requested these plants as a medicine of fecundation, or whereby she might become fruitfull. Which notwithstanding is very questionable, and of incertain truth.

For first from the comparison of one Text with another, whether the Mandrakes here mentioned, be the same plant which holds that name with us, there is some cause to doubt. The word is used in another place of Scripture, *Cant. 7.* when the Church inviting her beloved into the fields, among the delightfull fruits of Grapes and Pomegranates, it is said, The Mandrakes give a smell, and at our gates are all manner of pleasant fruits. Now instead of a smell of Delight, our Mandrakes afford a papaverous and unpleasant odor, whether in the leaf or apple, as is discoverable in their simplicity or mixture. The same is also dubious from the different interpretations: for though the Septuagint and *Josephus* do render it the Apples of Mandrakes in this Text, yet in the other of the *Canticles*, the *Chaldy* Paraphrase termeth it Balsame. R. *Solomon*, as *Drusius* observeth, conceives it to be that plant the *Arabians* named *Jeemin*. *Oleaster*, and *Georgius Venetus*, the Lilly, and that the word *Dudaim* may comprehend any plant that hath a good smell, resembleth a womans breast, and flourisheth in wheat harvest. *Tremelius* interprets the same for any amiable flowers of a pleasant and delightfull odor: but the *Geneva* Translators have been more wary then any: for although they retain the word Mandrake in the Text, they in effect retract it in the Margin: wherein is set down the word in the original is *Dudaim*, which is a kind of fruit or Flower unknown.

The vegetables in H. Scripture how variously expounded.

Nor shall we wonder at the dissent of exposition, and difficulty of definition concerning this Text, if we perpend how variously the vegetables of Scripture are expounded, and how hard it is in many places to make out the *species* determined. Thus are we at variance concerning the plant that covered *Jonas*; which though the Septuagint doth render Colocynthis, the *Spanish* Calabaca, and ours accordingly a Gourd: yet the vulgar translates it *Hedera* or *Ivy*; and as *Grotius* observeth, *Jerom* thus translated it, not as the same plant, but best apprehended thereby. The Italian of *Diodati*, and that of *Tremelius* have named it *Ricinus*, and so hath ours in the Margin, for *palma Christi* is the same with *Ricinus*. The *Geneva* Translators have herein been also circumspect, for they have retained the Original word *Kikaion*, and ours hath also affixed the same unto the Margin.

Nor are they indeed alwayes the same plants which are delivered under the same name, and appellations commonly received amongst us. So when it is said of *Solomon*, that he writ of plants from the Cedar of Lebanon, unto the Hysop that groweth upon the wall, that is, from the greatest unto the smallest, it cannot be well conceived our common Hysop; for neither is that the least of vegetables, nor observed to grow upon wals; but rather as *Lemnius* well conceiveth, some kind of the capillaries, which are very small plants, and only grow upon wals and stony places. Nor are the four species in the holy oyntment, Cinnamon, Myrrhe, Calamus and Cassia, nor the other in the holy perfume, Frankincense, Stacte, Onycha and Galbanum, so agreeably expounded unto those in use with us, as not to leave considerable doubts behind them. Nor must that perhaps be taken for a simple unguent, which *Matthew* only termeth a precious oyntment; but rather a composition as *Mark* and *John* imply by pistick *Nard*, *V. Mathioli*. Epist. that is faithfully dispensed, and may be that famous

composition described by *Dioscorides*, made of oyl of Ben, Malabathrum, Juncus Odoratus, Costus, Amomum, Myrrhe, Balsam and Nard; which *Galen* affirmeth to have been in use with the delicate Dames of *Rome*; and that the best thereof was made at *Laodicea*; from whence by Merchants it was conveyed unto other parts. But how to make out that Translation concerning the Tithe of Mint, Anise and Cumin, we are still to seek; for we find not a word in the Text that can properly be rendred Anise; the Greek being ἀνηθον, which the Latines call *Anethum*, and is properly Englished Dill. Lastly, What meteor that was, that fed the *Israelites* so many years, they must rise again to inform us. Nor do they make it out, V. Doctissimum Chrysostom. Magnenum de Manna. who will have it the same with our Manna; nor will any one kind thereof, or hardly all kinds we read of, be able to answer the qualities thereof, delivered in the Scripture; that is, to fall upon the ground, to breed worms, to melt with the Sun, to taste like fresh oyl, to be grounded in Mills, to be like Coriander seed, and of the colour of Bdellium.

Again, It is not deducible from the Text or concurrent sentence of Comments, that *Rachel* had any such intention, and most do rest in the determination of *Austin*, that she desired them for rarity, pulchritude or suavity. Nor is it probable she would have resigned her bed unto *Leah*, when at the same time she had obtained a medicine to fructifie her self. And therefore *Drusius* who hath expressly and favourable treated hereof, is so far from conceding this intention, that he plainly concludeth, *Hoc quo modo illis in mentem venerit conjicere nequeo*; how this conceit fell into mens minds, it cannot fall into mine; for the Scripture delivereth it not, nor can it be clearly deduced from the Text.

Thirdly, If *Rachel* had any such intention, yet had they no such effect, for she conceived not many years after of *Joseph*; whereas in the mean time *Leah* had three children, *Isachar*, *Zebulon* and *Dinah*.

Lastly, Although at that time they failed of this effect, yet is it mainly questionable whether they had any such vertue either in the opinions of those times, or in their proper nature. That the opinion was popular in the land of *Canaan*, it is improbable, and had *Leah* understood thus much, she would not surely have parted with fruits of such a faculty; especially unto *Rachel*, who was no friend unto her. As for its proper nature, the Ancients have generally esteemed in Narcotick or stupefactive, and it is to be found in the list of poysons, set down by *Dioscorides*, *Galen*, *Ætius*, *Ægineta*, and several Antidotes delivered by them against it. It was I confess from good Antiquity, and in the days of *Theophrastus* accounted a philtre, or plant that conciliates affection; and so delivered by *Dioscorides*. And this intent might seem most probable, had they not been the wives of holy *Jacob*: had *Rachel* presented them unto him, and not requested them for her self.

Now what *Dioscorides* affirmeth in favour of this effect, that the grains of the apples of Mandrakes mundifie the matrix, and applied with Sulphur, stop the fluxes of women, he overthrows again by qualities destructive unto conception; affirming also that the juice thereof purgeth upward like Hellebore; and applied in pessaries provokes the menstruous flows, and procures abortion. *Petrus Hispanus*, or Pope *John* the twentieth speaks more directly in his *Thesaurus pauperum*: wherein among the receipts of fecundation, he experimentally commendeth the wine of Mandrakes given with *Triphera magna*. But the soul of the medicine may lie in *Triphera magna*, an excellent composition, and for this effect commended by *Nicolaus*. And whereas *Levinus Lemnius* that eminent Physitian doth also concede this effect, it is from manifest causes and qualities elemental occasionally producing the same. For he imputeth the same unto the coldness of that simple, and is of opinion that in hot climates, and where the uterine parts exceed in heat, by the coldness hereof they may be reduced into a conceptive constitution, and Crasis accommodable unto generation; whereby indeed we will not deny the due and frequent use may proceed unto some effect, from whence notwithstanding we cannot infer a fertilitating condition or property of fecundation. For in this way all vegetables do make fruitful according unto the complexion of the Matrix; if that excel in heat, plants exceeding in cold do rectifie it; if it be cold, simples that are hot reduce it; if dry moist, if moist dry correct it; in which division all plants are comprehended. But to distinguish thus much is a point of Art, and beyond

the Method of *Rachels* or feminine Physick. Again, Whereas it may be thought that *Mandrakes* may fecundate, since *Poppy* hath obtained the Epithite of fruitful, and that fertility was Hieroglyphically described by *Venus* with an head of *Poppy* in her hand; the reason hereof was the multitude of seed within it self, and no such multiplying in humane generation. And lastly, whereas they may seem to have this quality, since *Opium* it self is conceived to extimulate unto venery, and for that intent is sometimes used by *Turks*, *Persians*, and most oriental Nations; although *Winclerus* doth seem to favour the conceit, yet *Amatus Lusitanus*, and *Rodericus à Castro* are against it; *Garcias ab horto* refutes it from experiment; and they speak probably who affirm the intent and effect of eating *Opium*, *of what effect in venery*. it not so much to invigorate themselves in coition, as to prolong the Act, and spin out the motions of carnality.

CHAPTER VIII Of the three Kings of *Collein*

Three magi or wise men (Mat. 2.) What manner of Kings they were.

A common conceit there is of the three Kings of *Collein*, conceived to be the wise men that travelled unto our Saviour by the direction of the Star, Wherein (omitting the large Discourses of *Baronius*, *Pineda* and *Montacutius*.) that they might be Kings, beside the Ancient Tradition and Authority of many Fathers, the Scripture also implieth. The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising. The Kings of *Tharsis* and the Isles, the Kings of *Arabia* and *Saba* shall offer gifts, which places most Christians and many *Rabbins* interpret of the *Messiah*. Not that they are to be conceived potent monarchs, or mighty Kings; but Toparks, Kings of Cities or narrow Territories; such as were the Kings of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, the Kings of *Jericho* and *Ai*, the one and thirty which *Joshuah* subdued, and such as some conceive the Friends of *Job* to have been.

But although we grant they were Kings, yet can we not be assured they were three. For the Scripture maketh no mention of any number; and the numbers of their presents, Gold, Myrrhe and Frankincense, concludeth not the number of their persons; for these were the commodities of their Country, and such as probably the Queen of *Sheba* in one person had brought before unto *Solomon*. So did not the sons of *Jacob* divide the present unto *Joseph*, but are conceived to carry one for them all, according to the expression of their Father – Take of the best fruits of the land in your vessels, and carry down the man a present. And therefore their number being uncertain, what credit is to be given unto their names, *Gaspar*, *Melchior*, *Balthazar*, what to the charm thereof against the falling sickness, *Gaspar* fert myrrham, *etc.* or what unto their habits, complexions, and corporal accidents, we must rely on their uncertain story, and received pourtraits of *Collein*.

Lastly, Although we grant them Kings, and three in number, yet could we not conceive that they were Kings of *Collein*. For though *Collein* were the chief City of the *Ubii*, then called *Ubiopolis*, and afterwards *Agrippina*, yet will no History inform us there were three Kings thereof. Beside, these being rulers in their Countries, and returning home, would have probably converted their subjects: but according unto *Munster*, their conversion was not wrought until seventy years after by *Maternus* a disciple of *Peter*. And lastly, it is said that the wise men came from the East; but *Collein* is seated Westward from *Jerusalem*; for *Collein* hath of longitude thirty four degrees, but *Jerusalem* seventy two.

And why of Collein.

The ground of all was this. These wise men or Kings, were probably of *Arabia*, and descended from *Abraham* by *Keturah*, who apprehending the mystery of this Star, either by the Spirit of God, the prophesie of *Balaam*, the prophesie which *Suetonius* mentions, received and constantly believed through all the East, that out of Jury one should come that should rule the whole world: or the divulged expectation of the *Jews* from the expiring prediction of *Daniel*: were by the same conducted unto *Judea*, returned unto their Country, and were after baptized by *Thomas*. From whence about three hundred years after, by *Helena* the Empress their bodies were translated to *Constantinople*. From thence by *Eustatius* unto Millane, and at last by *Renatus* the Bishop unto *Collein*: where they are believed at present to remain, their monuments shewn unto strangers, and having lost their *Arabian* titles, are crowned Kings of *Collein*.

CHAPTER IX

Of the food of *John Baptist*, Locusts and Wild-honey

Concerning the food of *John Baptist* in the wilderness, Locusts and Wild-honey, lest popular opiniatry should arise, we will deliver the chief opinions. The first conceiveth the Locusts here mentioned to be that fruit which the Greeks name κερότιον mentioned by *Luke* in the diet of the Prodigal son, the Latins *Siliqua*, and some *Panis Sancti Johannis*; included in a broad Cod, and indeed a taste almost as pleasant as Honey. But this opinion doth not so truly impugn that of the Locusts: and might rather call into controversie the meaning of Wild-honey.

Opinions concerning ἀκρίδες, or the Locusts of S. John Baptist.

The second affirmeth that they were the tops or tender crops of trees: for so *Locusta* also signifieth: which conceit is plausible in Latin, but will not hold in Greek, wherein the word is ἀκρίς, except for ἀκρίδες, we read ἀκρόδρυα, or ἀκρέμονες, which signifie the extremities of trees, of which belief have divers been: more confidently *Isidore Peleusiota*, who in his Epistles plainly affirmeth they think unlearnedly who are of another belief. And this so wrought upon *Baronius*, that he concludeth in neutrality; *Hæc cum scribat Isidorus definiendum nobis non est et totum relinquimus lectoris arbitrio; nam constat Græcam dictionem ἀκρίδες, et Locustam, insecti genus, et arborum summitates significare. Sed fallitur, saith Montacutius, nam constat contrarium, Ἀκρίδα apud nullum authorem classicum Ἀκρόδρυα significare.* But above all *Paracelsus* with most animosity promoteth this opinion, and in his book *de melle*, spareth not his Friend *Erasmus*. *Hoc à nonnullis ita explicatur ut dicant Locustus aut cicadas Johanni pro cibo fuisse; sed hi stultitiam dissimulare non possunt, veluti Jeronimus, Erasmus, et alii Prophetæ Neoterici in Latinitate immortui.*

The more probable what.

A third affirmeth that they were properly Locusts: that is, a sheath-winged and six-footed insect, such as is our Grashopper. And this opinion seems more probable than the other. For beside the authority of *Origen*, *Jerom*, *Chrysostom*, *Hillary* and *Ambrose* to confirm it: this is the proper signification of the word, thus used in Scripture by the Septuagint, Greek vocabularies thus expound it. *Suidas* on the word Ἀκρίς observes it to be that animal whereon the Baptist fed in the desert; in this sense the word is used by *Aristotle*, *Dioscorides*, *Galen*, and several humane Authors. And lastly, there is no absurdity in this interpretation, or any solid reason why we should decline it, it being a food permitted unto the *Jews*, whereof four kinds are reckoned up among clean meats. Beside, not only the *Jews*, but many other Nations long before and since, have made an usual food thereof. That the *Æthiopians*, *Mauritians* and *Arabians* did commonly eat them, is testified by *Diodorus*, *Strabo*, *Solinus*, *Ælian* and *Pliny*: that they still feed on them is confirmed by *Leo*, *Cadamustus* and others. *John* therefore as our Saviour saith, came neither eating nor drinking: that is, far from the diet of *Jerusalem* and other Riotous places: but fared coursly and poorly according unto the apparel he wore, that is of Camels hair: the place of his abode, the wilderness; and the doctrin he preached, humiliation and repentance.

CHAPTER X

That *John* the Evangelist should not die

The conceit of the long-living, or rather not dying of *John* the Evangelist, although it seem inconsiderable, and not much weightier than that of *Joseph* the wandering Jew: yet being deduced from Scripture, and abetted by Authors of all times, it shall not escape our enquiry. It is drawn from the speech of our Saviour unto *Peter* after the prediction of his Martyrdom; *Peter* saith unto Jesus. *John* 21. Lord what shall this man do? Jesus saith unto him, If I will that he tarry until I come, what is that to thee? Follow thou me; then went this saying abroad among the brethren, that this disciple should not die.

Now the belief hereof hath been received either grosly and in the general, that is not distinguishing the manner or particular way of this continuation, in which sense probably the grosser and undiscerning party received it. Or more distinctly apprehending the manner of his immortality; that is, that *John* should never properly die, but be translated into Paradise, there to remain with *Enoch* and *Elias* until about the coming of Christ; and should be slain with them under Antichrist, according to that of the Apocalyps. I will give power unto my two witnesses, and they shall prophesie a thousand two hundred and threescore days cloathed in sack-cloth, and when they shall have finished their Testimony, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, shall make war against them, and shall overcome them, and kill them. Hereof, as *Baronius* observeth, within three hundred years after Christ, *Hippolytus* the Martyr was the first assertor, but hath been maintained by *Metaphrastes*, by *Freculphus*, but especially by *Georgius Trapezuntius*, who hath expressly treated upon this Text, and although he lived but in the last Century, did still affirm that *John* was not yet dead.

The same is also hinted by the learned Italian Poet *Dante*, who in his Poetical survey of Paradise, meeting with the soul of St. *John*, and desiring to see his body; received answer from him that his body was in earth, and there should remain with other bodys, until the number of the blessed were accomplished.

In terra è terra il mio corpo, et saragli
Tanto con gli altri, che l' numero nostro
Con l' eterno proposito s' agguagli.

As for the gross opinion that he should not die, it is sufficiently refuted by that which first occasioned it, that is the Scripture it self, and no further off than the very subsequent verse: Yet Jesus said unto him, he should not die, but if I will that he tarry till I come, What is that to thee? And this was written by *John* himself, whom the opinion concerned; and as is conceived many years after, when *Peter* had suffered and fulfilled the prophesie of Christ.

For the particular conceit, the foundation is weak, nor can it be made out from the Text alledged in the Apocalyps: for beside that therein two persons are only named, no mention is made of *John*, a third Actor in this Tragedy. *The death of St. John Evangelist, where and when*. The same is also overthrown by History, which recordeth not only the death of *John*, but assigneth the place of his burial, that is *Ephesus*, a City in *Asia* minor, whither after he had been banished into *Patmos* by *Domitian*, he returned in the reign of *Nerva*, there deceased, and was buried in the days of *Trajan*. And this is testified by *Jerom*, De Scriptor. Ecclesiast. by *Tertullian*, De Anima. by *Chrysostom* and *Eusebius*, in whose days his Sepulchre was to be seen; and by a more ancient Testimony alledged also by him, that is of *Polycrates* Bishop of *Ephesus*, not many successions after *John*; whose words are these in an Epistle unto *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, *Johannes ille qui supra pectus Domini recumbat, Doctor optimus, apud Ephesum dormivit*; many of the like nature are noted by *Baronius*, *Jansenius*, *Estius*, *Lipellous*, and others.

Now the main and primitive ground of this error, was a gross mistake in the words of Christ, and a false apprehension of his meaning; understanding that positively which was but conditionally expressed, or receiving that affirmatively which was but concessively delivered. For the words of our Saviour run in a doubtful strain, rather reprehending than satisfying the curiosity of *Peter*; as though he should have said, Thou hast thy own doom, why enquirest thou after thy Brothers? What relief unto thy affliction, will be the society of anothers? Why pryest thou into the secrets of Gods will? If he stay until I come, what concerneth it thee, who shalt be sure to suffer before that time? And such an answer probably he returned, because he fore-knew *John* should not suffer a violent death, but go unto his grave in peace. Which had *Peter* assuredly known, it might have cast some water on his flames, and smothered those fires which kindled after unto the honour of his Master.

*Of all the Apostles St. John only is thought to have suffered a natural death:
And why?*

Now why among all the rest *John* only escaped the death of a Martyr, the reason is given; because all others fled away or withdrew themselves at his death, and he alone of the Twelve beheld his passion on the Cross. Wherein notwithstanding, the affliction that he suffered could not amount unto less than Martyrdom: for if the naked relation, at least the intentive consideration of that Passion, be able still, and at this disadvantage of time, to rend the hearts of pious Contemplators; surely the near and sensible vision thereof must needs occasion Agonies beyond the comprehension of flesh; and the trajections of such an object more sharply pierce the Martyred soul of *John*, than afterward did the nails the crucified body of *Peter*.

Again, They were mistaken in the Emphatical apprehension, placing the consideration upon the words, If I will: whereas it properly lay in these, when I come. Which had they apprehended as some have since, that is, not for his ultimate and last return, but his coming in Judgment and destruction upon the *Jews*; or such a coming, as it might be said, that that generation should not pass before it was fulfilled; they needed not, much less need we suppose such diuturnity. For after the death of *Peter*, *John* lived to behold the same fulfilled by *Vespasian*: nor had he then his *Nunc dimittis*, or went out like unto *Simeon*; but old in accomplisht obscurities, and having seen the expire of *Daniels* prediction, as some conceive, he accomplished his Revelation.

But besides this original and primary foundation, divers others have made impressions according unto different ages and persons by whom they were received. For some established the conceit in the disciples and brethren, which were contemporary unto him, or lived about the same time with him; and this was first the extraordinary affection our Saviour bare unto this disciple, who hath the honour to be called the disciple whom Jesus loved. Now from hence they might be apt to believe their Master would dispense with his death, or suffer him to live to see him return in glory, who was the only Apostle that beheld him to die in dishonour. Another was the belief and opinion of those times, that Christ would suddenly come; for they held not generally the same opinion with their successors, or as descending ages after so many Centuries; but conceived his coming would not be long after his passion, according unto several expressions of our Saviour grosly understood, and as we find the same opinion not long after reprehended by *St. Paul: Thes. 2.* and thus conceiving his coming would not be long, they might be induced to believe his favorite should live unto it. *Saint John, how long surviving our B. Saviour.* Lastly, the long life of *John* might much advantage this opinion; for he survived the other twelve, he was aged 22 years when he was called by Christ, and 25 that is the age of Priesthood at his death, and lived 93 years, that is 68 after his Saviour, and died not before the second year of *Trajan*. Now having out lived all his fellows, the world was confirmed he might live still, and even unto the coming of his Master.

The grounds which promoted it in succeeding ages, were especially two. The first his escape of martyrdom: for whereas all the rest suffered some kind of forcible death, we have no history that he suffered any; and men might think he was not capable thereof: For as History informeth, by the

command of *Domitian* he was cast into a Caldron of burning oyl, and came out again unsinged. Now future ages apprehending he suffered no violent death, and finding also the means that tended thereto could take no place, they might be confirmed in their opinion that death had no power over him, that he might live always who could not be destroyed by fire, and was able to resist the fury of that element which nothing shall resist. The second was a corruption crept into the Latin Text, reading for *Si, Sic eum manere volo*; whereby the answer of our Saviour becometh positive, or that he will have it so; which way of reading was much received in former ages, and is still retained in the vulgar Translation; but in the Greek and original the word is ἐάν, signifying *Si* or *if*, which is very different from οὐτως, and cannot be translated for it: and answerable hereunto is the translation of *Junius*, and that also annexed unto the Greek by the authority of *Sixtus Quintus*.

The third confirmed it in ages farther descending, and proved a powerfull argument unto all others following; because in his tomb at *Ephesus* there was no corps or relique thereof to be found; whereupon arose divers doubts, and many suspitious conceptions; some believing he was not buried, some that he was buried but risen again, others that he descended alive into his tomb, and from thence departed after. But all these proceeded upon unveritable grounds, as *Baronius* hath observed; who alledgeth a letter of *Celestine* Bishop of *Rome*, unto the Council of *Ephesus*, wherein he declareth the reliques of *John* were highly honoured by that City; and by a passage also of *Chrysostome* in the Homilies of the Apostles, That *John* being dead, did cures in *Ephesus*, as though he were still alive. And so I observe that *Esthius* discussing this point concludeth hereupon, *Quod corpus ejus nunquam reperiat, hoc non dicerent si veterum scripta diligenter perlustrassent*.

Now that the first ages after Christ, those succeeding, or any other should proceed into opinions so far divided from reason, as to think of immortality after the fall of *Adam*, or conceit a man in these later times should out-live our fathers in the first; although it seem very strange, yet is it not incredible. For the credulity of men hath been deluded into the like conceits; and as *Ireneus* and *Tertullian* mention, one *Menander* a *Samaritan* obtained belief in this very point; whose doctrin it was, that death should have no power on his disciples, and such as received his baptism should receive immortality therewith. Twas surely an apprehension very strange; nor usually falling either from the absurdities of Melancholy or vanities of ambition. Some indeed have been so affectedly vain, as to counterfeit Immortality, and have stoln their death, in a hope to be esteemed immortal; and others have conceived themselves dead; but surely few or none have fallen upon so bold an error, as not to think that they could die at all. The reason of those mighty ones, whose ambition could suffer them to be called gods, would never be flattered into immortality; but the proudest thereof have by the daily dictates of corruption convinced the impropriety of that appellation. And surely although delusion may run high, and possible it is that for a while a man may forget his nature, yet cannot this be durable. For the inconcealable imperfections of our selves, or their daily examples in others, will hourly prompt us our corruption, and loudly tell us we are the sons of earth.

CHAPTER XI

More compendiously of some others

Many others there are which we resign unto Divinity, and perhaps deserve not controversie. Whether *David* were punished only for pride of heart in numbring the people, as most do hold, or whether as *Josephus* and many maintain, he suffered also for not performing the Commandment of God concerning capitation; that when the people were numbred, for every head they should pay unto God a shekell, we shall not here contend. Surely, if it were not the occasion of this plague, we must acknowledge the omission thereof was threatned with that punishment, according to the words of the Law. Exod. 30. When thou takest the sum of the children of *Israel*, then shall they give every man a ransom for his soul unto the Lord, that there be no plague amongst them. Now how deeply hereby God was defrauded in the time of *David*, and opulent State of *Israel*, will easily appear by the sums of former lustrations. For in the first, Exod. 38. the silver of them that were numbred was an hundred Talents, and a thousand seven hundred three-score and fifteen shekels; a Bekah for every man, that is, half a shekel, after the shekel of the sanctuary; for every one from twenty years old and upwards, for six hundred thousand, and three thousand and five hundred and fifty men. Answerable whereto we read in *Josephus*, *Vespasian* ordered that every man of the *Jews* should bring into the Capital two dragms; which amounts unto fifteen pence, or a quarter of an ounce of silver with us: and is equivalent unto a Bekah, or half a shekel of the Sanctuary. *What the Attick dragm is. What the didrachmum and the stater*, Mat. 17. 27. For an Attick dragm is seven pence halfpeny or a quarter of a shekel, and a didrachmum or double dragm, is the word for Tribute money, or half a shekel; and a stater the money found in the fishes mouth was two Didrachmums, or an whole shekel, and tribute sufficient for our Saviour and for *Peter*.

We will not question the Metamorphosis of *Lots* wife, or whether she were transformed into a real statua of Salt: though some conceive that expression Metaphorical, and no more thereby then a lasting and durable column, according to the nature of Salt, which admitteth no corruption: in which sense the Covenant of God is termed a Covenant of Salt; and it is also said, God gave the Kingdom unto *David* for ever, or by a Covenant of Salt.

That *Absalom* was hanged by the hair of the head, and not caught up by the neck, as *Josephus* conceiveth, and the common argument against long hair affirmeth, we are not ready to deny. Although I confess a great and learned party there are of another opinion; although if he had his Morion or Helmet on, I could not well conceive it; although the translation of *Jerom* or *Tremelius* do not prove it, and our own seems rather to overthrow it.

How Judas might die.

That *Judas* hanged himself, much more, that he perished thereby, we shall not raise a doubt. Although *Jansenius* discoursing the point, produceth the testimony of *Theophylact* and *Euthimius*, that he died not by the Gallows, but under a cart wheel, and *Baronius* also delivereth, this was the opinion of the *Greeks*, and derived as high as *Papias*, one of the Disciples of *John*. Although also how hardly the expression of *Matthew* is reconcilable unto that of *Peter*, and that he plainly hanged himself, with that, that falling head-long he burst asunder in the midst, with many other, the learned *Grotius* plainly doth acknowledge. And lastly, Although as he also urgeth, the word ἀπήγξατο in *Matthew*, doth not only signifie suspension or pendulous illaqueation, as the common picture describeth it, but also suffocation, strangulation or interception of breath, which may arise from grief, despair, and deep dejection of spirit, Strangulat inclusus dolor. in which sense it is used in the History of *Tobit* concerning *Sara*, ἐλυπήθη σφόδρα ὥστε ἀπάγξασθαι. *Ita tristata est ut strangulatione premeretur*, saith *Junius*; and so might it happen from the horrour of mind unto *Judas*. So do many of the *Hebrews*

affirm, that *Achitophel* was also strangled, that is, not from the rope, but passion. For the Hebrew and Arabick word in the Text, not only signifies suspension, but indignation, as *Grotius* hath also observed.

Many more there are of indifferent truths, whose dubious expositions worthy Divines and Preachers do often draw into wholesome and sober uses whereof we shall not speak; with industry we decline such Paradoxes, and peaceably submit unto their received acceptions.

CHAPTER XII

Of the Cessation of Oracles

That Oracles ceased or grew mute at the coming of Christ, is best understood in a qualified sense, and not without all latitude, as though precisely there were none after, nor any decay before. For (what we must confess unto relations of Antiquity) some pre-decay is observable from that of *Cicero*, urged by *Baronius*; *Cur isto modo jam oracula Delphis non eduntur, non modo nostra ætate, sed jam diu, ut nihil possit esse contemptius*. That during his life they were not altogether dumb, is deduceable from *Suetonius* in the life of *Tiberius*, who attempting to subvert the Oracles adjoining unto *Rome*, was deterred by the Lots or chances which were delivered at *Preneste*. After his death we meet with many; *Suetonius* reports, that the Oracle of *Antium* forewarned *Caligula* to beware of *Cassius*, who was one that conspired his death. *Plutarch* enquiring why the Oracles of *Greece* ceased, excepteth that of *Lebadia*: and in the same place *Demetrius* affirmeth the Oracles of *Mopsus* and *Amphilochus* were much frequented in his days. In brief, Histories are frequent in examples, and there want not some even to the reign of *Julian*.

What therefore may consist with history, by cessation of Oracles with *Montacutius* we may understand their intercision, not abscission or consummate desolation; their rare delivery, not total dereliction, and yet in regard of divers Oracles, we may speak strictly, and say there was a proper cessation. Thus may we reconcile the accounts of times, and allow those few and broken divinations, whereof we read in story and undeniable Authors. For that they received this blow from Christ, and no other causes alledged by the heathens, from oraculous confession they cannot deny; whereof upon record there are some very remarkable. The first that Oracle of *Delphos* delivered unto *Augustus*.

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

An Hebrew child, a God all gods excelling,
To hell again commands me from this dwelling.
Our Altars leave in silence, and no more
A Resolution e're from hence implore.

A second recorded by *Plutarch*, of a voice that was heard to cry unto Mariners at the sea, *Great Pan is dead*; which is a relation very remarkable, and may be read in his defect of Oracles. A third reported by *Eusebius* in the life of his magnified *Constantine*, that about that time *Apollo* mourned, declaring his Oracles were false and that the righteous upon earth did hinder him from speaking truth. And a fourth related by *Theodoret*, and delivered by *Apollo Daphneus* unto *Julian* upon his *Persian* expedition, that he should remove the bodies about him before he could return an answer, and not long after his Temple was burnt with lightning.

All which were evident and convincing acknowledgements of that Power which shut his lips, and restrained that delusion which had reigned so many Centuries. But as his malice is vigilant, and the sins of men do still continue a toleration of his mischiefs, he resteth not, nor will he ever cease to circumvent the sons of the first deceived. *The devils retreat when expelled the Oracles*. And therefore expelled from Oracles and solemn Temples of delusion, he runs into corners, exercising minor trumperies, and acting his deceits in Witches, Magicians, Diviners, and such inferiour seducers. And yet (what is deplorable) while we apply our selves thereto, and affirming that God hath left to speak by his Prophets, expect in doubtfull matters a resolution from such spirits, while we say the devil is mute, yet confess that these can speak; while we deny the substance, yet practise the effect

and in the denied solemnity maintain the equivalent efficacy; in vain we cry that Oracles are down; *Apollo's* Altar still doth smoke; nor is the fire of *Delphos* out unto this day.

Impertinent it is unto our intention to speak in general of Oracles, and many have well performed it. The plainest of others was that of *Apollo Delphicus* recorded by *Herodotus*, and delivered unto *Cræsus*; who as a trial of their omniscience sent unto distant Oracles; and so contrived with the Messengers, that though in several places, yet at the same time they should demand what *Cræsus* was then a doing. Among all others the Oracle of *Delphos* only hit it, returning answer, he was boiling a Lamb with a Tortoise, in a brazen vessel, with a cover of the same metal. The stile is haughty in Greek, though somewhat lower in Latine.

*Æquoris est spatium et numerus mihi notus arenæ
Mutum percipio, fantis nihil audio vocem.
Venit ad hos sensus nidor testudinis acris,
Quæ semel agnînâ coquitur cum carne labete,
Aere infra strato, et stratum cui desuper æs est.*

I know the space of Sea, the number of the sand,
I hear the silent, mute I understand.
A tender Lamb joined with Tortoise flesh,
Thy Master King of *Lydia* now doth dress.
The scent thereof doth in my nostrils hover,
From brazen pot closed with brazen cover.

Hereby indeed he acquired much wealth and more honour, and was reputed by *Cræsus* as a Diety: and yet not long after, by a vulgar fallacy he deceived his favourite and greatest friend of Oracles into an irreparable overthrow by *Cyrus*. And surely the same success are likely all to have that rely or depend upon him. 'Twas the first play he practised on mortality; and as time hath rendred him more perfect in the Art, so hath the inveterateness of his malice more ready in the execution. 'Tis therefore the sovereign degree of folly, and a crime not only against God, but also our own reasons, to expect a favour from the devil; whose mercies are more cruel than those of *Polyphemus*; for he devours his favourites first, and the nearer a man approacheth, the sooner he is scorched by *Moloch*. In brief, his favours are deceitfull and double-headed, he doth apparent good, for real and convincing evil after it; and exalteth us up to the top of the Temple, but to humble us down from it.

CHAPTER XIII

Of the death of *Aristotle*

That *Aristotle* drowned himself in *Euripus*, as despairing to resolve the cause of its reciprocation, or ebb and flow seven times a day, with this determination, *Si quidem ego non capio te, tu capies me*, was the assertion of *Procopius*, *Nazianzen*, *Justin Martyr*, and is generally believed amongst us. Wherein, because we perceive men have but an imperfect knowledge, some conceiving *Euripus* to be a River, others not knowing where or in what part to place it; we first advertise, it generally signifieth any strait, fret, or channel of the Sea, running between two shoars, as *Julius Pollux* hath defined it; *What an Euripus is generally*. as we read of *Euripus Hellespontiacus*, *Pyrrhæus*, and this whereof we treat, *Euripus Euboicus* or *Chalchidicus*, that is, a narrow passage of Sea dividing *Attica*, and the Island of *Eubæa*, now called *Golfo de Negroponte*, from the name of the Island and chief City thereof; famous in the wars of *Antiochus*, and taken from the *Venetians* by *Mahomet* the Great.

Touching the death of Aristotle.

Now that in this *Euripe* or fret of *Negropont*, and upon the occasion mentioned, *Aristotle* drowned himself, as many affirm, and almost all believe, we have some room to doubt. For without any mention of this, we find two ways delivered of his death by *Diogenes Laertius*, who expressly treateth thereof; the one from *Eumolus* and *Phavorimus*, that being accused of impiety for composing an Hymn unto *Hermias* (upon whose Concubine he begat his son *Nichomachus*) he withdrew into *Chalcis*, where drinking poison he died; the Hymn is extant in *Laertius*, and the fifteenth book of *Athenæus*. Another by *Apollodorus*, that he died at *Chalcis* of a natural death and languishment of stomach, in his sixty third, or great Climacterical year; and answerable hereto is the account of *Suidas* and *Censorinus*. And if that were clearly made out, which *Rabbi Ben Joseph* affirmeth, he found in an *Egyptian* book of *Abraham Sapiens Perizol*; that *Aristotle* acknowledged all that was written in the Law of *Moses*, and became at last a Proselyte; *Licetus* de quæsitis, epist. it would also make improbable this received way of his death.

Again, Beside the negative of Authority, it is also deniable by reason; nor will it be easie to obtrude such desperate attempts upon *Aristotle*, from unsatisfaction of reason, who so often acknowledged the imbecillity thereof. Who in matters of difficulty, and such which were not without abstrusities, conceived it sufficient to deliver conjecturalities. And surely he that could sometimes sit down with high improbabilities, that could content himself, and think to satisfie others, that the variegation of Birds was from their living in the Sun, or erection made by deliberation of the Testicles; would not have been dejected unto death with this. He that was so well acquainted with ἢ ὄτι, and πότερον *utrum*, and *An Quia*, as we observe in the Queries of his Problems: with ἵσως and ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ, *fortasse* and *plerumque*, as is observable through all his Works: had certainly rested with probabilities, and glancing conjectures in this: Nor would his resolutions have ever run into that mortal Antanaclasis, and desperate piece of Rhetorick, to be compriz'd in that he could not comprehend. Nor is it indeed to be made out that he ever endeavoured the particular of *Euripus*, or so much as to resolve the ebb and flow of the Sea. For, as *Vicomercatus* and others observe, he hath made no mention hereof in his Works, although the occasion present it self in his *Meteors*, wherein he disputeth the affections of the Sea: nor yet in his Problems, although in the twenty-third Section, there be no less than one and forty Queries of the Sea. Some mention there is indeed in a Work of the propriety of Elements, ascribed unto *Aristotle*: which notwithstanding is not reputed genuine, De placitis Philosophorum. and was perhaps the same whence this was urged by *Plutarch*.

Lastly, the thing it self whereon the opinion dependeth, that is, the variety of the flux and the reflux of *Euripus*, or whether the same do ebb and flow seven times a day, is not incontrovertible. For though *Pomponius Mela*, and after him *Solinus* and *Pliny* have affirmed it, yet I observe *Thucydides*,

who speaketh often of *Eubæa*, hath omitted it. *Pausanias* an ancient Writer, who hath left an exact description of *Greece*, and in as particular a way as *Leandro* of *Italy*, or *Cambden* of great *Britain*, describing not only the Country Towns, and Rivers; but Hills, Springs and Houses, hath left no mention hereof. *Æschines* in *Ctesiphon* only alludeth unto it; and *Strabo* that accurate Geographer speaks warily of it, that is, ὡς φασι, and as men commonly reported. And so doth also *Maginus*, *Velocis ac varii fluctus est mare, ubi quater in die, aut septies, ut alii dicunt, reciprocantur æstus*. *Botero* more plainly, *Il mar cresce e cala con un impeto mirabile quatra volte il di, ben che comunimente si dica sette volte*, etc. This Sea with wondrous impetuosity ebbeth and floweth four times a day, although it be commonly said seven times, and generally opinioned, that *Aristotle* despairing of the reason, drowned himself therein. In which description by four times a day, it exceeds not in number the motion of other Seas, taking the words properly, that is, twice ebbing and twice flowing in four and twenty hours. And is no more than what *Thomaso Porrcacchi* affirmeth in his description of famous Islands, that twice a day it hath such an impetuous flood, as is not without wonder. *Livy* speaks more particularly, *Haud facile infestior classi statio est et fretum ipsum Euripi, non septies die (ficut fama fert) temporibus certis reciprocatur, sed temere in modum venti, nunc hunc nunc illuc verso mari, velut monte præcipiti devolutus torrens rapitur*. There is hardly a worse harbour, the fret or channel of *Euripus* not certainly ebbing or flowing seven times a day, according to common report: but being uncertainly, and in the manner of a wind carried hither and thither, is whirled away as a torrent down a hill. But the experimental testimony of *Gillius* is most considerable of any: who having beheld the course thereof, and made enquiry of Millers that dwelt upon its shore, received answer, that it ebbed and flowed four times a day, that is, every six hours, according to the Law of the Ocean: but that indeed sometimes it observed not that certain course. And this irregularity, though seldom happening, together with its unruly and tumultuous motion, might afford a beginning unto the common opinion. Thus may the expression in *Ctesiphon* be made out: And by this may *Aristotle* be interpreted, when in his Problems he seems to borrow a Metaphor from *Euripus*: while in the five and twentieth Section he enquireth, why in the upper parts of houses the air doth Euripize, that is, is whirled hither and thither.

A later and experimental testimony is to be found in the travels of Monsieur *Duloir*; who about twenty years ago, remained sometime at *Negroponte*, or old *Chalcis*, and also passed and repassed this *Euripus*; who thus expresseth himself. I wonder much at the Error concerning the flux and reflux of *Euripus*; and I assure you that opinion is false. I gave a Boat-man a Crown, to set me in a convenient place, where for a whole day I might observe the same. It ebbeth and floweth by six hours, even as it doth at *Venice*, but the course thereof is vehement.

Now that which gave life unto the assertion, might be his death at *Chalcis*, the chief City of *Eubæa*, and seated upon *Euripus*, where 'tis confessed by all he ended his days. That he emaciated and pined away in the too anxious enquiry of its reciprocations, although not drowned therein, as *Rhodiginus* relateth, some conceived, was a half confession thereof not justifiable from Antiquity. Surely the Philosophy of flux and reflux was very imperfect of old among the Greeks and Latins; nor could they hold a sufficient theory thereof, who only observed the Mediterranean, which in some places hath no ebb, and not much in any part. Nor can we affirm our knowledg is at the height, who have now the Theory of the Ocean and narrow Seas beside. While we refer it unto the Moon, we give some satisfaction for the Ocean, but no general salve for Creeks, and Seas which know no flood; nor resolve why it flows three or four foot at *Venice* in the bottom of the Gulf, yet scarce at all at *Ancona*, *Durazzo*, or *Corcyra*, which lie but by the way. And therefore old abstrusities have caused new inventions; and some from the Hypotheses of *Copernicus*, or the Diurnal and annual motion of the earth, endeavour to salve flows and motions of these Seas, Rog. Bac. doctis, Cabeus Met. 2. illustrating the same by water in a boal, that rising or falling to either side, according to the motion of the vessel; the conceit is ingenuous, salves some doubts, and is discovered at large by *Galileo*.

How the Moon may cause the ebbing and flowing of the Sea.

But whether the received principle and undeniable action of the Moon may not be still retained, although in some difference of application, is yet to be perpended; that is, not by a simple operation upon the surphace or superiour parts, but excitation of the nitro-sulphureous spirits, and parts disposed to intumescency at the bottom; not by attenuation of the upper part of the Sea, (whereby ships would draw more water at the flow than at the ebb) but inturgescencies caused first at the bottom, and carrying the upper part before them: subsiding and falling again, according to the Motion of the Moon from the Meridian, and languor of the exciting cause: *Why Rivers and Lakes ebb and flow not. Why some Seas flow higher than others, and continue longer.* and therefore Rivers and Lakes who want these fermenting parts at the bottom, are not excited unto æstuations; and therefore some Seas flow higher than others, according to the Plenty of these spirits, in their submarine constitutions. And therefore also the periods of flux and reflux are various, nor their increase or decrease equal: according to the temper of the terreous parts at the bottom: who as they are more hardly or easily moved, do variously begin, continue or end their intumescencies.

Whence the violent flows proceed in some Estuaries and Rivers.

From the peculiar disposition of the earth at the bottom, wherein quick excitations are made, may arise those Agars and impetuous flows in some æstuaries and Rivers, as is observable about *Trent* and *Humber* in *England*; which may also have some effect in the boisterous tides of *Euripus*, not only from ebullitions at the bottom, but also from the sides and lateral parts, driving the streams from either side, which arise or fall according to the motion in those parts, and the intent or remiss operation of the first exciting causes, which maintain their activities above and below the Horizon; even as they do in the bodies of plants and animals, and in the commotion of *Catarrhes*.

However therefore *Aristotle* died, what was his end, or upon what occasion, although it be not altogether assured, yet that his memory and worthy name shall live, no man will deny, nor grateful Scholar doubt, and if according to the Elogy of *Solon*, a man may be only said to be happy after he is dead, and ceaseth to be in the visible capacity of beatitude, or if according unto his own Ethicks, sense is not essential unto felicity, but a man may be happy without the apprehension thereof; surely in that sense he is pyramidally happy; nor can he ever perish but in the Euripe of Ignorance, or till the Torrent or Barbarism overwhelmeth all.

Homers death.

A like conceit there passeth of *Melisigenes*, *alias Homer*, the Father Poet, that he pined away upon the Riddle of the fishermen. But *Herodotus* who wrote his life hath cleared this point; delivering, that passing from *Samos* unto Athens, he went sick ashore upon the Island *Io*, where he died, and was solemnly interred upon the Sea side; and so decidingly concludeth, *Ex hac ægritudine extremum diem clausit Homerus in Io, non, ut arbitrantur aliqui, Ænigmatis perplexitate enectus, sed morbo.*

CHAPTER XIV

Of the Wish of *Philoxenus*

That Relation of *Aristotle*, and conceit generally received concerning *Philoxenus*, who wished the neck of a Crane, that thereby he might take more pleasure in his meat, although it pass without exception, upon enquiry I find not only doubtful in the story, but absurd in the desire or reason alledged for it. For though his Wish were such as is delivered, yet had it not perhaps that end, to delight his gust in eating; but rather to obtain advantage thereby in singing, as is declared by *Mirandula*. *Aristotle* (saith he) in his *Ethicks* and *Problems*, accuseth *Philoxenus* of sensuality, for the greater pleasure of gust desiring the neck of a Crane; which desire of his, assenting unto *Aristotle*, I have formerly condemned: But since I perceive that *Aristotle* for this accusation hath been accused by divers Writers. For *Philoxenus* was an excellent Musician, and desired the neck of a Crane, not for any pleasure at meat; but fancying thereby an advantage in singing or warbling, and dividing the notes in musick. And many Writers there are which mention a Musician of that name, as *Plutarch* in his book against usury, and *Aristotle* himself in the eighth of his *Politicks*, speaks of one *Philoxenus* a Musician, that went off from the Dorick Dithyrambicks unto the Phrygian Harmony.

Again, Be the story true or false, rightly applied or not, the intention is not reasonable, and that perhaps neither one way nor the other. For if we rightly consider the Organ of tast, we shall find the length of the neck to conduce but little unto it. For the tongue being the instrument of tast, and the tip thereof the most exact distinguisher, it will not advantage the gust to have the neck extended; Wherein the Gullet and conveying parts are only seated, which partake not of the nerves of gustation, or appertaining unto sapor, but receive them only from the sixth pair; whereas the nerves of tast descend from the third and fourth propagations, and so diffuse themselves into the tongue. And therefore Cranes, Hens and Swans have no advantage in taste beyond Hawks, Kites, and others of shorter necks.

Nor, if we consider it, had Nature respect unto the taste in the different contrivance of necks, but rather unto the parts contained, the composure of the rest of the body, and the manner whereby they feed. Thus animals of long legs, have generally long necks; that is, for the conveniency of feeding, as having a necessity to apply their mouths unto the earth. So have Horses, Camels, Dromedaries long necks, and all tall animals, except the Elephant, who in defect thereof is furnished with a Trunk, without which he could not attain the ground. So have Cranes, Hens, Storks and Shovelards long necks: and so even in Man, whose figure is erect, the length of the neck followeth the proportion of other parts: and such as have round faces or broad chests and shoulders, have very seldom long necks. For, the length of the face twice exceedeth that of the neck, and the space betwixt the throat-pit and the navell, is equall unto the circumference thereof. Again, animals are framed with long necks, according unto the course of their life or feeding: so many with short legs have long necks, because they feed in the water, as Swans, Geese, Pelicans, and other fin-footed animals. But Hawks and birds of prey have short necks and trussed leggs; for that which is long is weak and flexible, and a shorter figure is best accomodated unto that intention. Lastly, the necks of animals do vary, according to the parts that are contained in them, which are the weazon and the gullet. Such as have no weazon and breath not, have scarce any neck, as most sorts of fishes; and some none at all, as all sorts of pectinals, Soals, Thornback, Flounders; and all crustaceous animals, as Crevises, Crabs and Lobsters.

All which considered, the Wish of *Philoxenus* will hardly consist with reason. More excusable had it been to have wished himself an Ape, which if common conceit speak true, is exacter in taste than any. Rather some kind of granivorous bird than a Crane, for in this sense they are so exquisite that upon the first peck of their bill, they can distinguish the qualities of hard bodies; which the sense of man discerns not without mastication. Rather some ruminating animal, that he might have eat his meat twice over; or rather, as *Theophilus* observed in *Athenæus*, his desire had been more reasonable,

had he wished himself an Elephant, or an Horse; for in these animals the appetite is more vehement, and they receive their viands in large and plenteous manner. And this indeed had been more sutable, if this were the same *Philoxenus* whereof *Plutarch* speaketh who was so uncivilly greedy, that to engross the mess, he would preventively deliver his nostrils in the dish.

As for the musical advantage, although it seem more reasonable, yet do we not observe that Cranes and birds of long necks have any musical, but harsh and clangous throats. But birds that are canorous, and whose notes we most commend, are of little throats and short necks, as Nightingales, Finches, Linnets, Canary birds and Larks. And truly, although the weazon, throtle and tongue be the instruments of voice, and by their agitations do chiefly concurr unto these delightfull modulations, yet cannot we distinctly and peculiarly assign the cause unto any particular formation; and I perceive the best thereof, the nightingale, hath some disadvantage in the tongue; which is not acuminate and pointed as in the rest, but seemeth as it were cut off, which perhaps might give the hint unto the fable of *Philomela*, and the cutting off her tongue by *Tereus*.

CHAPTER XV

Of the Lake Asphaltites

Concerning the Lake *Asphaltites*, the Lake of *Sodom*, or the dead Sea, that heavy bodies cast therein sink not, but by reason of a salt and bituminous thickness in the water float and swim above, narrations already made are of that variety, we can hardly from thence deduce a satisfactory determination; and that not only in the story it self, but in the cause alledged. As for the story, men deliver it variously: some I fear too largely, as *Pliny*, who affirmeth that bricks will swim therein. *Mandevil* goeth farther, that Iron swimmeth, and feathers sink. *Munster* in his *Cosmography* hath another relation, although perhaps derived from the Poem of *Tertullian*, that a candle Burning swimmeth, but if extinguished sinketh. Some more moderately, as *Josephus*, and many others: affirming only that living bodies float, nor peremptorily averring they cannot sink, but that indeed they do not easily descend. Most traditionally, as *Galen*, *Pliny*, *Solinus* and *Strabo*, who seems to mistake the Lake *Serbonis* for it. Few experimentally, most contenting themselves in the experiment of *Vespasian*, by whose command some captives bound were cast therein, and found to float as though they could have swimmeth: divers contradictorily, or contrarily, quite overthrowing the point. *Aristotle* in the second of his *Meteors* speaks lightly thereof, ὥσπερ μυθολογοῦσι, which word is variously rendred, by some as a fabulous account, by some as a common talk. *Biddulphus* divideth the common accounts of *Judea* in three parts, the one saith he, are apparent Truths, the second apparent falshoods, the third are dubious or between both; in which form he ranketh the relation of this Lake. *Biddulphi* *intinerarium* Anglice. But *Andrew Thevet* in his *Cosmography* doth ocularly overthrow it; for he affirmeth, he saw an Ass with his Saddle cast therein and drowned. Now of these relations so different or contrary unto each other, the second is most moderate and safest to be embraced, which saith, that living bodies swim therein, that is, they do not easily sink: and this, untill exact experiment further determine, may be allowed, as best consistent with this quality, and the reasons alledged for it.

As for the cause of this effect, common opinion conceives it to be the salt and bituminous thickness of the water. This indeed is probable, and may be admitted as far as the second opinion concedeth. For certain it is that salt water will support a greater burden then fresh; and we see an egg will descend in salt water, which will swim in brine. But that Iron should float therein, from this cause is hardly granted; for heavy bodies will only swim in that liquor, wherein the weight of their bulk exceedeth not the weight of so much water as it occupieth or taketh up. But surely no water is heavy enough to answer the ponderosity of Iron, and therefore that metal will sink in any kind thereof, and it was a perfect Miracle which was wrought this way by *Elisha*. Thus we perceive that bodies do swim or sink in different liquors, according unto the tenuity or gravity of those liquors which are to support them. So salt water beareth that weight which will sink in vineger, vineger that which will fall in fresh water, fresh water that which will sink in spirits of Wine, and that will swim in spirits of Wine which will sink in clear oyl; as we made experiment in globes of wax pierced with light sticks to support them. So that although it be conceived an hard matter to sink in oyl, I believe a man should find it very difficult, and next to flying, to swim therein. And thus will Gold sink in Quick-silver, wherein Iron and other metals swim; for the bulk of Gold is only heavier then that space of Quick-silver which it containeth: and thus also in a solution of one ounce of Quick-silver in two of *Aqua fortis*, the liquor will bear Amber, Horn, and the softer kinds of stones, as we have made triall in each.

But a private opinion there is which crosseth the common conceit, maintained by some of late, and alledged of old by *Strabo*, that the floating of bodies in this Lake proceeds not from the thickness of the water, but a bituminous ebullition from the bottom, whereby it wafts up bodies injected, and suffereth them not easily to sink. The verity thereof would be enquired by ocular exploration, for this way is also probable. So we observe, it is hard to wade deep in baths where springs arise; and thus sometime are bals made to play upon a spouting stream.

And therefore, until judicious and ocular experiment confirm or distinguish the assertion, that bodies do not sink herein at all, we do not yet believe; that they not easily, or with more difficulty descend in this than other water, we shall readily assent. But to conclude an impossibility from a difficulty, or affirm whereas things not easily sink, they do not drown at all; beside the fallacy, is a frequent addition in humane expression, and an amplification not unusual as well in opinions as relations; which oftentimes give indistinct accounts of proximities, and without restraint transcend from one another. Thus, forasmuch as the torrid Zone was conceived exceeding hot, and of difficult habitation, the opinions of men so advanced its constitution, as to conceive the same uninhabitable, and beyond possibility for man to live therein. Thus, because there are no Wolves in *England*, nor have been observed for divers generations, common people have proceeded into opinions, and some wise men into affirmations, they will not live therein, although brought from other Countries. Thus most men affirm, and few here will believe the contrary, that there be no Spiders in *Ireland*; but we have beheld some in that Country; and though but few, some Cob-webs we behold in Irish wood in *England*. Thus the Crocodile from an egg growing up to an exceeding magnitude, common conceit, and divers Writers deliver, it hath no period of encrease, but groweth as long as it liveth. And thus in brief, in most apprehensions the conceits of men extend the considerations of things, and dilate their notions beyond the propriety of their natures.

In the Mapps of the dead Sea or Lake of *Sodom*, we meet with the destroyed Cities, and in divers the City of *Sodom* placed about the middle, or far from the shore of it; but that it could not be far from *Segor*, which was seated under the mountains neer the side of the Lake, seems inferrible from the sudden arrival of *Lot*, who coming from *Sodom* at day break, attained *Segor* at Sun rising; and therefore *Sodom* to be placed not many miles from it, and not in the middle of the Lake, which is accounted about eighteen miles over; and so will leave about nine miles to be passed in too small a space of time.

CHAPTER XVI

Of divers other Relations

1. The relation of *Averroes*, and now common in every mouth, of the woman that conceived in a bath, by attracting the sperm or seminal effluxion of a man admitted to bath in some vicinity unto her, I have scarce faith to believe; and had I been of the Jury, should have hardly thought I had found the father in the person that stood by her. 'Tis a new and unseconded way in History to fornicate at a distance, and much offendeth the rules of Physick, which say, there is no generation without a joynt emission, nor only a virtual, but corporal and carnal contaction. And although *Aristotle* and his adherents do cut off the one, who conceive no effectual ejaculation in women, yet in defence of the other they cannot be introduced. For, if as he believeth, the inordinate longitude of the organ, though in its proper recipient, may be a means to inprolificate the seed; surely the distance of place, with the commixture of an aqueous body, must prove an effectual impediment, and utterly prevent the success of a conception. And therefore that conceit concerning the daughters of *Lot*, that they were impregnated by their sleeping father, or conceived by seminal pollution received at distance from him, will hardly be admitted. *Generations by the Devil very improbable*. And therefore what is related of devils, and the contrived delusions of spirits, that they steal the seminal emissions of man, and transmit them into their votaries in coition, is much to be suspected; and altogether to be denied, that there ensue conceptions thereupon; however husbanded by Art, and the wisest menagery of that most subtile imposter. And therefore also that our magnified *Merlin* was thus begotten by the devil, is a groundless conception; and as vain to think from thence to give the reason of his propheticall spirit. For if a generation could succeed, yet should not the issue inherit the faculties of the devil, who is but an auxiliary, and no univocal Actor; Nor will his nature substantially concur to such productions.

And although it seems not impossible, that impregnation may succeed from seminal spirits, and vaporous irradiations containing the active principle, without material and gross immissions; as it happeneth sometimes in imperforated persons, and rare conceptions of some much under pubertie or fourteen. As may be also conjectured in the coition of some insects, wherein the female makes intrusion into the male; and from the continued ovation in Hens, from one single tread of a cock, and little stock laid up near the vent, sufficient for durable proliferation. And although also in humane generation the gross and corpulent seminal body may return again, and the great business be acted by what it caryeth with it: yet will not the same suffice to support the story in question, wherein no corpulent immission is acknowledged; answerable unto the fable of the *Talmudists*, in the storie of *Benzira*, begotten in the same manner on the daughter of the Prophet *Jeremie*.

2. The Relation of *Lucillius*, and now become common, concerning *Crassus* the grand-father of *Marcus* the wealthy *Roman*, that he never laughed but once in all his life, and that was at an Ass eating thistles, is something strange. For, if an indifferent and unridiculous object could draw his habitual austereness unto a smile, it will be hard to believe he could with perpetuity resist the proper motives thereof. *Laughter. What kind of Passion it is*. For the act of Laughter which is evidenced by a sweet contraction of the muscles of the face, and a pleasant agitation of the vocal Organs, is not meerly voluntary, or totally within the jurisdiction of our selves: but as it may be constrained by corporal contaction in any, and hath been enforced in some even in their death, so the new unusual or unexpected jucundities, which present themselves to any man in his life, at some time or other will have activity enough to excitate the earthiest soul, and raise a smile from most composed tempers. Certainly the times were dull when these things happened, and the wits of those Ages short of these of ours; when men could maintain such immutable faces, as to remain like statues under the flatteries of wit and persist unalterable at all efforts of Jocularity. The spirits in hell, and *Pluto* himself, whom *Lucian* makes to laugh at passages upon earth, will plainly condemn these Saturnines, and make

ridiculous the magnified *Heraclitus*, who wept preposterously, and made a hell on earth; for rejecting the consolations of life, he passed his days in tears, and the uncomfortable attendments of hell.

3. The same conceit there passeth concerning our blessed Saviour, and is sometimes urged as an high example of gravity. And this is opinioned, because in holy Scripture it is recorded he sometimes wept, but never that he laughed. Which howsoever granted, it will be hard to conceive how he passed his younger years and child-hood without a smile, if as Divinity affirmeth, for the assurance of his humanity unto men, and the concealment of his Divinity from the devil, he passed this age like other children, and so proceeded untill he evidenced the same. And surely herein no danger there is to affirm the act or performance of that, whereof we acknowledge the power and essential property; and whereby indeed he most nearly convinced the doubt of his humanity. Nor need we be afraid to ascribe that unto the incarnate Son, which sometimes is attributed unto the uncarnate Father; of whom it is said, He that dwelleth in the heavens shall laugh the wicked to scorn. For a laugh there is of contempt or indignation, as well as of mirth and Jocosity; and that our Saviour was not exempted from the ground hereof, that is, the passion of anger, regulated and rightly ordered by reason, the schools do not deny: and besides the experience of the money-changers and Dove-sellers in the Temple, is testified by St. *John*, when he saith, the speech of *David* Zelus domus tuæ comedit me. was fulfilled in our Saviour.

Now the Alogie of this opinion consisteth in the illation; it being not reasonable to conclude from Scripture negatively in points which are not matters of faith, and pertaining unto salvation. And therefore although in the description of the creation there be no mention of fire, Christian Philosophy did not think it reasonable presently to annihilate that element, or positively to decree there was no such thing at all. Thus whereas in the brief narration of *Moses* there is no record of wine before the flood, we cannot satisfactorily conclude that *Noah* was the first that ever tasted thereof. *Only in the vulgar Latin.* Judg. 9. 53. And thus because the word *Brain* is scarce mentioned once, but *Heart* above an hundred times in holy Scripture; Physitians that dispute the principality of parts are not from hence induced to bereave the animal Organ of its priority. Wherefore the Scriptures being serious, and commonly omitting such Parergies, it will be unreasonable from hence to condemn all Laughter, and from considerations inconsiderable to discipline a man out of his nature. For this is by a rustical severity to banish all urbanity; whose harmless and confined condition, as it stands commended by morality, so is it consistent with Religion, and doth not offend Divinity.

4. The custom it is of Popes to change their name at their creation; and the Author thereof is commonly said to be *Bocca di porco*, or swines face; who therefore assumed the stile of *Sergius* the second, as being ashamed so foul a name should dishonour the chair of *Peter*; wherein notwithstanding, from *Montacutius* and others I find there may be some mistake. For *Massonius* who writ the lives of Popes, acknowledgeth he was not the first that changed his name in that Sea; nor as *Platina* affirmeth, have all his Successors precisely continued that custom; for *Adrian* the sixth, and *Marcellus* the second, did still retain their Baptismal denomination. Nor is it proved, or probable, that *Sergius* changed the name of *Bocca di Porco*, for this was his surname or gentilitious appellation: nor was it the custom to alter that with the other; but he commuted his Christian name *Peter* for *Sergius*, because he would seem to decline the name of *Peter* the second. A scruple I confess not thought considerable in other Seas, whose Originals and first Patriarchs have been less disputed; nor yet perhaps of that reality as to prevail in points of the same nature. For the names of the Apostles, Patriarchs and Prophets have been assumed even to affectation; the name of Jesus hath not been appropriate; but some in precedent ages have born that name, and many since have not refused the Christian name of *Emmanuel*. Thus are there few names more frequent then *Moses* and *Abraham* among the *Jews*; The *Turks* without scruple affect the name of *Mahomet*, and with gladness receive so honourable cognomination.

And truly in humane occurrences there ever have been many well directed intentions, whose rationalities will never bear a rigid examination, and though in some way they do commend their

Authors, and such as first began them, yet have they proved insufficient to perpetuate imitation in such as have succeeded them. Thus was it a worthy resolution of *Godfrey*, and most Christians have applauded it, That he refused to wear a Crown of Gold where his Saviour had worn one of thorns. Yet did not his Successors durably inherit that scruple, but some were anointed, and solemnly accepted the Diadem of regality. Thus *Julius*, *Augustus* and *Tiberius* with great humility or popularity refused the name of *Imperator*, but their Successors have challenged that title, and retain the same even in its titularity. And thus to come nearer our subject, the humility of *Gregory* the Great would by no means admit the stile of universal Bishop; but the ambition of *Boniface* made no scruple thereof, nor of more queasie resolutions have been their Successors ever since.

Turkish History.

5. That *Tamerlane* was a *Scythian* Shepherd, from Mr. *Knolls* and others, from *Alhazen* a learned *Arabian* who wrote his life, and was Spectator of many of his exploits, we have reasons to deny. Not only from his birth, for he was of the blood of the *Tartarian* Emperours, whose father *Og* had for his possession the Country of *Sagathy*; which was no slender Territory, but comprehended all that tract wherein were contained *Bactriana*, *Sogdiana*, *Margiana*, and the nation of the *Massagetes*, whose capital City was *Samarcand*; a place though now decaid, of great esteem and trade in former ages. But from his regal Inauguration, for it is said, that being about the age of fifteen, his old father resigned the Kingdom and men of war unto him. And also from his education, for as the storie speaks it, he was instructed in the *Arabian* learning, and afterward exercised himself therein. Now *Arabian* learning was in a manner all the liberal Sciences, especially the Mathematicks, and natural Philosophy; wherein not many ages before him there flourished *Avicenna*, *Averroes*, *Avenzoar*, *Geber*, *Almanzor* and *Alhazen*, cognominal unto him that wrote his History, whose Chronology indeed, although it be obscure, yet in the opinion of his Commentator, he was contemporary unto *Avicenna*, and hath left sixteen books of Opticks, of great esteem with ages past, and textuary unto our days.

Now the ground of this mistake was surely that which the Turkish Historian declareth. Some, saith he, of our Historians will needs have *Tamerlane* to be the Son of a Shepherd. But this they have said, not knowing at all the custom of their Country; wherein the principal revenews of the King and Nobles consisteth in cattle; who despising gold and silver, abound in all sorts thereof. And this was the occasion that some men call them Shepherds, and also affirm this Prince descended from them. Now, if it be reasonable, that great men whose possessions are chiefly in cattle, should bear the name of Shepherds, and fall upon so low denominations; then may we say that *Abraham* was a Shepherd, although too powerful for four Kings: that *Job* was of that condition, who beside Camels and Oxen had seven thousand Sheep: and yet is said to be the greatest man in the East. Thus was *Mesha* King of *Moab* a Shepherd, who annually paid unto the Crown of *Israel* an hundred thousand Lambs, and as many Rams. Surely it is no dishonourable course of life which *Moses* and *Jacob* have made exemplary: 'tis a profession supported upon the natural way of acquisition, and though contemned by the *Egyptians*, much countenanced by the Hebrews, whose sacrifices required plenty of Sheep and Lambs. And certainly they were very numerous; for, at the consecration of the Temple, beside two and twenty thousand Oxen, King *Solomon* sacrificed an hundred and twenty thousand Sheep: and the same is observable from the daily provision of his house: which was ten fat Oxen, twenty Oxen out of the pastures, and an hundred Sheep, beside row Buck, fallow Deer, and fatted Fowls. *Description of the Turkish Seraglio, since printed. The daily provision of the Seraglio.* Wherein notwithstanding (if a punctual relation thereof do rightly inform us) the grand Seignior doth exceed: the daily provision of whose Seraglio in the reign of *Achmet*, beside Beeves, consumed two hundred Sheep, Lambs and Kids when they were in season one hundred, Calves ten, Geese fifty, Hens two hundred, Chickens one hundred, Pigeons an hundred pair.

And therefore this mistake concerning the noble *Tamerlane*, was like that concerning *Demosthenes*, who is said to be the Son of a Black-smith, according to common conceit, and that handsome expression of *Juvenal*.

Quem pater ardentis massæ fuligine lippus,
A carbone et forcipibus, gladiosq; parante
Incude, et luteo Vulcano ad Rhetora misit.

Thus Englished by Sir Robert Stapleton.

Whom's Father with the smoaky forg half blind,
From blows on sooty Vulcans anvil spent.
In ham'ring swords, to study Rhet'rick sent.

But *Plutarch* who writ his life hath cleared this conceit, plainly affirming he was most nobly descended, and that this report was raised, because his father had many slaves that wrought Smiths work, and brought the profit unto him.

CHAPTER XVII Of some others

1. We are sad when we read the story of *Belisarius* that worthy Chieftain of *Justinian*; who, after his Victories over *Vandals*, *Goths*, *Persians*, and his Trophies in three parts of the World, had at last his eyes put out by the Emperour, and was reduced to that distress, that he begged relief on the high-way, in that uncomfortable petition, *Date obolum Belisario*. And this we do not only hear in Discourses, Orations and Themes, but find it also in the leaves of *Petrus Crinitus*, *Volaterranus*, and other worthy Writers.

But, what may somewhat console all men that honour vertue, we do not discover the latter Scene of his Misery in Authors of Antiquity, or such as have expressly delivered the stories of those times. For, *Suidas* is silent herein, *Cedrenus* and *Zonaras*, two grave and punctual Authors, delivering only the confiscation of his goods, omit the History of his mendication. *Paulus Diaconus* goeth farther, not only passing over this act, but affirming his goods and dignities were restored. *Agathius* who lived at the same time, declareth he suffered much from the envy of the Court: but that he descended thus deep into affliction, is not to be gathered from his pen. The same is also omitted by *Procopius* a contemporary and professed enemy unto *Justinian* and *Belisarius*, who hath left an opprobrious book Ἀνέκδοτα, or *Arcana historia*. against them both.

And in this opinion and hopes we are not single, but *Andreas Alciatus* the Civilian in his *Parerga*, and *Franciscus de Cordua* in his *Didascalica*, have both declaratorily confirmed the same, which is also agreeable unto the judgment of *Nicolaus Alemannus*, in his notes upon the bitter History of *Procopius*. Certainly sad and Tragical stories are seldom drawn within the circle of their verities; but as their Relators do either intend the hatred or pitty of the persons, so are they set forth with additional amplifications. Thus have some suspected it hath happened unto the story of *Oedipus*; and thus do we conceive it hath fared with that of *Judas*, who having sinned beyond aggravation, and committed one villany which cannot be exasperated by all other: is also charged with the murder of his reputed brother, parricide of his father, and Incest with his own mother, as *Florilegus* or *Matthew* of *Westminster* hath at large related. And thus hath it perhaps befallen the noble *Belisarius*; who, upon instigation of the Empress, having contrived the exile, and very hardly treated Pope *Serverius*, Latin pens, as a judgment of God upon this fact, have set forth his future sufferings: and omitting nothing of amplification, they have also delivered this: which notwithstanding *Johannes* the Greek makes doubtful, as may appear from his Iambicks in *Baronius*, and might be a mistake or misapplication, translating the affliction of one man upon another, for the same befell unto *Johannes Cappadox*, *Procop. Bell. Persic. 1. Ἄρτον ἢ ὀβολὸν αἰτεῖσθαι*. contemporary unto *Belisarius*, and in great favour with *Justinian*; who being afterward banished into *Egypt*, was fain to beg relief on the high-way.

2. That *fluctus Decumanus*, or the tenth wave is greater and more dangerous than any other, some no doubt will be offended if we deny; and hereby we shall seem to contradict Antiquity; for, answerable unto the literal and common acception, the same is averred by many Writers, and plainly described by *Ovid*.

Qui venit hic fluctus, fluctus supereminet omnes,
Posterior nono est, undecimoq; prior.

Which notwithstanding is evidently false; nor can it be made out by observation either upon the shore or the Ocean, as we have with diligence explored in both. And surely in vain we expect a regularity in the waves of the Sea, or in the particular motions thereof, as we may in its general reciprocations whose causes are constant, and effects therefore correspondent. Whereas its

fluctuations are but motions subservient; which winds, storms, shores, shelves, and every interjacency irregulates. With semblable reason we might expect a regularity in the winds; whereof though some be statary, some anniversary, and the rest do tend to determinate points of heaven, yet do the blasts and undulary breaths thereof maintain no certainty in their course; nor are they numerally feared by Navigators.

Of affinity hereto is that conceit of *Ovum Decumanum*, so called, because the tenth egg is bigger than any other, according unto the reason alledged by *Festus*, *Decumana ova dicuntur, quia ovum decimum majus nascitur*. For the honour we bear unto the Clergy, we cannot but wish this true: but herein will be found no more of verity than in the other: and surely few will assent hereto without an implicate credulity, or Pythagorical submission unto every conception of number.

For, surely the conceit is numeral, and though not in the sense apprehended, relateth unto the number of ten, as *Franciscus Sylvius* hath most probably declared. For, whereas amongst simple numbers or Digits, the number of ten is the greatest: therefore whatsoever was the greatest in every kind, might in some sense be named from this number. Now, because also that which was the greatest, was metaphorically by some at first called *Decumanus*; therefore whatsoever passed under this name, was literally conceived by others to respect and make good this number.

The conceit is also Latin; for the Greeks to express the greatest wave, do use the number of three, that is, the word *τρικυμία*, which is a concurrence of three waves in one, whence arose the proverb, *τρικυμία κακῶν*, or a trifluctuation of evils, which *Erasmus* doth render, *Malorum fluctus Decumanus*. And thus, although the terms be very different, yet are they made to signifie the self-same thing; the number of ten to explain the number of three, and the single number of one wave the collective concurrence of more.

3. The poyson of *Parysatis* reported from *Ctesias* by *Plutarch* in the life of *Artaxerxes*, whereby anointing a knife on the one side, and therewith dividing a bird; with the one half she poysoned *Statira*, and safely fed her self on the other, was certainly a very subtile one, and such as our ignorance is well content it knows not. But surely we had discovered a poyson that would not endure *Pandoraes* box, could we be satisfied in that which for its coldness nothing could contain but an Asses hoof, and wherewith some report that *Alexander* the great was poysoned. Had men derived so strange an effect from some occult or hidden qualities, they might have silenced contradiction; but ascribing it unto the manifest and open qualities of cold, they must pardon our belief, who perceive the coldest and most Stygian waters may be included in glasses; and by *Aristotle* who saith, that glass is the perfectest work of Art, we understand they were not then to be invented.

And though it be said that poyson will break a Venice glass, yet have we not met with any of that nature. Were there a truth herein, it were the best preservative for Princes and persons exalted unto such fears: and surely far better than divers now in use. And though the best of China dishes, and such as the Emperour doth use, be thought by some of infallible vertue unto this effect; yet will they not, I fear, be able to elude the mischief of such intentions. *In what sense God Almighty hath created all things double*. And though also it be true, that God made all things double, and that if we look upon the works of the most High, there are two and two, one against another; that one contrary hath another, and poyson is not without a poyson unto it self; yet hath the curse so far prevailed, or else our industry defected that poysons are better known than their Antidotes, and some thereof do scarce admit of any. And lastly, although unto every poyson men have delivered many Antidotes, and in every one is promised an equality unto its adversary, yet do we often find they fail in their effects: Moly will not resist a weaker cup then that of *Circe*; a man may be poysoned in a Lemnian dish; without the miracle of *John*, there is no confidence in the earth of *Paul*; Terra Melitea. and if it be meant that no poyson could work upon him, we doubt the story, and expect no such success from the diet of *Mithridates*.

A story there passeth of an Indian King, that sent unto *Alexander* a fair woman fed with Aconites and other poysons, with this intent, either by converse or copulation complexionally to destroy him.

For my part, although the design were true, I should have doubted the success. For, though it be possible that poysons may meet with tempers whereto they may become Aliments, and we observe from fowls that feed on fishes, and others fed with garlick and onyons, that simple aliments are not alwayes concocted beyond their vegetable qualities; and therefore that even after carnall conversion, poysons may yet retain some portion of their natures; yet are they so refracted, cicurated and subdued, as not to make good their first and destructive malignities. And therefore the Stork that eateth Snakes, and the Stare that feedeth upon Hemlock, though no commendable aliments, are not destructive poysons. For, animals that can innociously digest these poysons, become antidotall unto the poyson digested. And therefore whether their breath be attracted, or their flesh ingested, the poysonous reliques go still along with their Antidote: whose society will not permit their malice to be destructive. And therefore also animals that are not mischieved by poysons which destroy us, may be drawn into Antidote against them; the blood or flesh of Storks against the venom of Serpents, the Quail against Hellebore, and the diet of Starlings against the drought of *Socrates.Hemlock*. Upon like grounds are some parts of Animals Alexipharmacall unto others; and some veins of the earth, and also whole regions, not only destroy the life of venemous creatures, but also prevent their productions. For though perhaps they contain the seminals of Spiders and Scorpions, and such as in other earths by suscitation of the Sun may arise unto animation; yet lying under command of their Antidote, without hope of emergency they are poysoned in their matrix by powers easily hindring the advance of their originals, whose confirmed forms they are able to destroy.

5. The story of the wandring Jew is very strange, and will hardly obtain belief; yet is there a formall account thereof set down by *Mathew Paris*, from the report of an Armenian Bishop; who came into this kingdom about four hundred years ago, and had often entertained this wanderer at his Table. That he was then alive, was first called *Cartaphilus*, was keeper of the Judgement Hall, whence thrusting out our Saviour with expostulation of his stay, was condemned to stay untill his return; *Vade quid moraris? Ego vado, tu autem morare donec venio.* was after baptized by *Ananias*, and by the name of *Joseph*; was thirty years old in the dayes of our Saviour, remembred the Saints that arised with him, the making of the Apostles Creed, and their several peregrinations. Surely were this true, he might be an happy arbitrator in many Christian controversies; but must impardonably condemn the obstinacy of the Jews, who can contemn the Rhetorick of such miracles, and blindly behold so living and lasting conversions.

6. Clearer confirmations must be drawn for the history of Pope *Joan*, who succeeded *Leo* the fourth, and preceeded *Benedict* the third, then many we yet discover. And since it is delivered with *aiunt* and *ferunt* by many; *Confutatio fabulæ de Joanna Papissa cum Nihusio.* since the learned *Leo Allatius* hath discovered, that ancient copies of *Martinus Polonus*, who is chiefly urged for it, had not this story in it; since not only the stream of Latine Historians have omitted it, but *Photius* the Patriarch, *Metrophanes Smyrnaeus*, and the exasperated Greeks have made no mention of it, but conceded *Benedict* the third to bee Successor unto *Leo* the fourth; he wants not grounds that doubts it.

Many things historicall which seem of clear concession, want not affirmations and negations, according to divided pens: as is notoriously observable in the story of *Hildebrand* or *Gregory* the seventh, repugnantly delivered by the Imperiall and Papal party. In such divided records partiality hath much depraved history, wherein if the equity of the reader do not correct the iniquity of the writer, he will be much confounded with repugnancies, and often find in the same person, *Numa* and *Nero*. Of Luther, Calvin, Beza. In things of this nature moderation must intercede; and so charity may hope, that Roman Readers will construe many passages in *Bolsech*, *Fayus*, *Schlusselberg* and *Cochlæus*.

7. Every ear is filled with the story of Frier *Bacon*, Rog. Bacon. minor ita. Oxoniensis vir doctissimus. that made a brazen head to speak these words, *Time is*, Which though there want not the like relations, is surely too literally received, and was but a mystical fable concerning the Philosophers great work, wherein he eminently laboured: implying no more by the copper head, then the vessel wherein it was wrought, and by the words it spake, then the opportunity to be watched, about the

Tempus ortus, or birth of the mystical child, or Philosophical King of *Lullius*: the rising of the *Terra foliata* of *Arnoldus*, when the earth sufficiently impregnated with the water, ascendeth white and splendent. Which not observed, the work is irrecoverably lost; according to that of *Petrus Bonus*. *Margarita pretiosa*. *Ibi est operis perfectio aut annihilatio; quoniam ipsa die, immo horâ, oriuntur elementa simplicia depurata, quæ egent statim compositione, antequam volent ab igne.*

Now letting slip this critical opportunity, he missed the intended treasure. Which had he obtained, he might have made out the tradition of making a brazen wall about *England*. That is, the most powerfull defence, and strongest fortification which Gold could have effected.

8. Who can but pity the vertuous *Epicurus*, who is commonly conceived to have placed his chief felicity in pleasure and sensual delights, and hath therefore left an infamous name behind him? How true, let them determine who read that he lived seventy years, and wrote more books then any Philosopher but *Chrysippus*, and no less then three hundred, without borrowing from any Author. That he was contented with bread and water, and when he would dine with *Jove*, and pretend unto epulation, he desired no other addition then a piece of *Cytheridian* cheese. That shall consider the words of *Seneca*, *Non dico, quod pleriq; nostrorum, sectam Epicuri flagitiorum magistrum esse: sed illud dico, malè audit infamis est, et immerito.* Or shall read his life, his Epistles, his Testament in *Laertius*, who plainly names them Calumnies, which are commonly said against them.

The ground hereof seems a mis-apprehension of his opinion, who placed his Felicity not in the pleasures of the body, but the mind, and tranquility thereof, obtained by wisdom and vertue, as is clearly determined in his Epistle unto *Menæceus*. Now how this opinion was first traduced by the *Stoicks*, how it afterwards became a common belief, and so taken up by Authors of all ages, by *Cicero*, *Plutarch*, *Clemens*, *Ambrose* and others, *De vita et moribus Epicuri*. the learned Pen of *Gassendus* hath discovered.

CHAPTER XVIII

More briefly of some others

Other relations there are, and those in very good Authors, which though we do not positively deny, yet have they not been unquestioned by some, and at least as improbable truths have been received by others. Unto some it hath seemed incredible what *Herodotus* reporteth of the great Army of *Xerxes*, that drank whole rivers dry. And unto the Author himself it appeared wondrous strange, that they exhausted not the provision of the Countrey, rather then the waters thereof. For as he maketh the account, and *Budeus de Asse* correcting the mis-compute of *Valla*, delivereth it; if every man of the Army had had a chenix of Corn a day, that is, a sextary and half; or about two pints and a quarter, the Army had daily expended ten hundred thousand and forty Medimna's, or measures containing six Bushels. Which rightly considered, the *Abderites* had reason to bless the Heavens, that *Xerxes* eat but one meal a day; and *Pythius* his noble Host, might with less charge and possible provision entertain both him and his Army. And yet may all be salved, if we take it hyperbolically, as wise men receive that expression in *Job*, concerning *Behemoth* or the Elephant; Behold, he drinketh up a river and hasteth not, he trusteth that he can draw up *Jordan* into his mouth.

2. That *Annibal* eat or brake through the Alps with Vinegar, may be too grosly taken and the Author of his life annexed unto *Plutarch* affirmeth only, he used this artifice upon the tops of some of the highest mountains. For as it is vulgarly understood, that he cut a passage for his Army through those mighty mountains, it may seem incredible, not only in the greatness of the effect, but the quantity of the efficient and such as behold them, may think an Ocean of Vinegar too little for that effect. 'Twas a work indeed rather to be expected from earthquakes and inundations, then any corrosive waters, and much condemneth the Judgement of *Xerxes*, that wrought through Mount *Athos* with Mattocks.

3. That *Archimedes* burnt the ships of *Marcellus*, with speculums of parabolical figures, at three furlongs, or as some will have it, at the distance of three miles, sounds hard unto reason, and artificial experience: and therefore justly questioned by *Kircherus*, De luce et umbra. who after long enquiry could find but one made by *Manfredus Septalius* that fired at fifteen paces. And therefore more probable it is, that the ships were nearer the shore, or about some thirty paces: at which distance notwithstanding the effect was very great. But whereas men conceive the ships were more easily set on flame by reason of the pitch about them, it seemeth no advantage. Since burning glasses will melt pitch or make it boyle, not easily set it on fire.

4. The story of the *Fabii*, whereof three hundred and six marching against the *Veientes*, were all slain, and one child alone to support the family remained; is surely not to be paralleld, nor easie to be conceived, except we can imagine, that of three hundred and six, but one had children below the service of war; that the rest were all unmarried, or the wife but of one impregnated.

5. The received story of *Milo*, who by daily lifting a Calf, attained an ability to carry it being a Bull, is witty conceit, and handsomly sets forth the efficacy of Assuefaction. But surely the account had been more reasonably placed upon some person not much exceeding in strength, and such a one as without the assistance of custom could never have performed that act; which some may presume that *Milo* without precedent artifice or any other preparative, had strength enough to perform. For as relations declare, he was the most pancratical man of *Greece*, and as *Galen* reporteth, and *Mercurialis* in his *Gymnasticks* representeth, he was able to persist erect upon an oyled plank, and not to be removed by the force or protrusion of three men. And if that be true which *Atheneus* reporteth, he was little beholding to custom for this ability. For in the Olympick games, for the space of a furlong, he carried an Ox of four years upon his shoulders; and the same day he carried it in his belly: for as it is there delivered he eat it up himself. Surely he had been a proper guest at In Rabelais. *Grandgousiers* feast, and might have matcht his throat that eat six pilgrims for a Salad.

6. It much disadvantage the Panegyrick of *Synesius*, Who writ in the praise of baldness. and is no small disparagement unto baldness, if it be true what is related by *Ælian* concerning *Æschilus*, whose bald-pate was mistaken for a rock, and so was brained by a Tortoise which an *Æagle* let fall upon it. *An argument or instance against the motion of the earth*. Certainly it was a very great mistake in the perspicacy of that Animal. Some men critically disposed, would from hence confute the opinion of *Copernicus*, never conceiving how the motion of the earth below should not wave him from a knock perpendicularly directed from a body in the air above.

7. It crosseth the Proverb, and *Rome* might well be built in a day; if that were true which is traditionally related by *Strabo*; that the great Cities *Anchiale* and *Tarsus*, were built by *Sardanapalus* both in one day, according to the inscription of his monument, *Sardanapalus Anacyndaraxis filius, Anchialem et Tarsum unâ die edificavi, Tu autem hospes Ede, Lude, Bibe*, etc. Which if strictly taken, that is, for the finishing thereof, and not only for the beginning; for an artificial or natural day, and not one of *Daniels* weeks, that is, seven whole years; surely their hands were very heavy that wasted thirteen years in the private house of *Solomon*: It may be wondred how forty years were spent in the erection of the Temple of *Jerusalem*, and no less than an hundred in that famous one of *Ephesus*. Certainly it was the greatest Architecture of one day, since that great one of six; an Art quite lost with our *Mechanicks*, a work not to be made out, but like the wals of *Thebes*, and such an Artificer as *Amphion*.

The Syracusia or King Hiero's Galleon, of what Bulk.

8. It had been a sight only second unto the Ark to have beheld the great *Syracusia*, or mighty ship of *Hiero*, described in *Athenæus*; and some have thought it a very large one, wherein were to be found ten stables for horses, eight Towers, besides Fish-ponds, Gardens, Tricliniums, and many fair rooms paved with Agath, and precious Stones. But nothing was impossible unto *Archimedes*, the learned Contriver thereof; nor shall we question his removing the earth, when he finds an immoveable base to place his Engine upon it.

9. That the *Pamphilian* Sea gave way unto *Alexander* in his intended March toward *Persia*, many have been apt to credit, and *Josephus* is willing to believe, to countenance the passage of the *Israelites* through the Red Sea. But *Strabo* who writ before him delivereth another account; that the Mountain *Climax* adjoining to the *Pamphilian* Sea, leaves a narrow passage between the Sea and it, which passage at an ebb and quiet Sea all men take; but *Alexander* coming in the Winter, and eagerly pursuing his affairs, would not wait for the reflux or return of the Sea; and so was fain to pass with his Army in the water, and march up to the navel in it.

A List of some historical Errata's in this and the following Sections.

10. The relation of *Plutarch* of a youth of *Sparta*, that suffered a Fox concealed under his robe to tear out his bowels, before he would either by voice or countenance betray his theft; and the other of the Spartan Lad, that with the same resolution suffered a coal from the Altar to burn his arm, although defended by the Author that writes his life, is I perceive mistrusted by men of Judgment, and the Author with an *aiunt*, is made to salve himself. Assuredly it was a noble Nation that could afford an hint to such inventions of patience, and upon whom, if not such verities, at least such verisimilities of fortitude were placed. Were the story true, they would have made the only Disciples for *Zeno* and the *Stoicks*, and might perhaps have been perswaded to laugh in *Phaleris* his Bull.

11. If any man shall content his belief with the speech of *Balaams* Ass, without a belief of that of *Mahomets* Camel, or *Livies* Ox: If any man make a doubt of *Giges* ring in *Justinus*, or conceives he must be a *Jew* that believes the Sabbatical river in *Josephus*. If any man will say he doth not apprehend how the tayl of an *African* Weather out-weigheth the body of a good Calf, that is, an hundred pound, according unto *Leo Africanus*, or desires before belief, to behold such a creature as is the Ruck in *Paulus Venetus*, for my part I shall not be angry with his incredulity.

12. If any one shall receive as stretcht or fabulous accounts what is delivered of *Cocles*, *Scævola* and *Curtius*, the sphere of *Archimedes*, the story of the *Amazons*, the taking of the City of *Babylon*, not known to some therein three days after; that the nation was deaf which dwelt at the fall of *Nilus*, the laughing and weeping humour of *Heraclitus* and *Democritus*, *Farsalloni Historici*. with many more, he shall not want some reason and the authority of *Lancelotti*.

13. If any man doubt of the strange Antiquities delivered by Historians, as of the wonderful corps of *Antæus* untombd a thousand years after his death by *Sertorius*. Whether there were no deceit in those fragments of the Ark so common to be seen in the days of *Berosus*; whether the Pillar which *Josephus* beheld long ago, *Tertullian* long after, and *Bartholomeus de Saligniaco*, and *Borchardus* long since, be the same with that of *Lots* wife; whether this were the hand of *Paul*, or that which is commonly shewn the head of *Peter*, if any doubt, I shall not much dispute with their suspicions. If any man shall not believe the Turpentine Tree, betwixt *Jerusalem* and *Bethlem*, under which the Virgin suckled our Saviour, as she passed between those Cities; or the fig-tree of *Bethany* shewed to this day, whereon *Zacheus* ascended to behold our Saviour; I cannot tell how to enforce his belief, nor do I think it requisite to attempt it. *To compel Religion, somewhat contrary to Reason*. For, as it is no reasonable proceeding to compel a religion, or think to enforce our own belief upon another, who cannot without the concurrence of Gods spirit have any indubitable evidence of things that are obruded: So is it also in matters of common belief; whereunto neither can we indubitably assent, without the co-operation of our sense or reason, wherein consists the principles of perswasion. For, as the habit of Faith in Divinity is an Argument of things unseen, and a stable assent unto things inevent, upon authority of the Divine Revealer: So the belief of man which depends upon humane testimony is but a staggering assent unto the affirmative, not without some fear of the negative. And as there is required the Word of God, or infused inclination unto the one, so must the actual sensation of our senses, at least the non-opposition of our reasons procure our assent and acquiescence in the other. So when *Eusebius* an holy Writer affirmeth, there grew a strange and unknown plant near the statue of Christ, erected by his Hæmorrhoidal patient in the Gospel, which attaining unto the hem of his vesture, acquired a sudden faculty to cure all diseases. Although he saith he saw the statue in his days, yet hath it not found in many men so much as humane belief? Some believing, others opinioning, a third suspensive it might be otherwise. For indeed, in matters of belief the understanding assenting unto the relation, either for the authority of the person, or the probability of the object, although there may be a confidence of the one, yet if there be not a satisfaction in the other, there will arise suspensions; nor can we properly believe until some argument of reason, or of our proper sense convince or determine our dubitations.

And thus it is also in matters of certain and experimented truth: for if unto one that never heard thereof, a man should undertake to perswade the affections of the Load-stone, or that Jet and Amber attracteth straws and light bodies, there would be little Rhetorick in the authority of *Aristotle*, *Pliny*, or any other. Thus although it be true that the string of a Lute or Viol will stir upon the stroak of an Unison or Diapazon in another of the same kind; that Alcanna being green, will suddenly infect the nails and other parts with a durable red; that a Candle out of a Musket will pierce through an Inch-board, or an urinal force a nail through a Plank; yet can few or none believe thus much without a visible experiment. Which notwithstanding fals out more happily for knowledge; for these relations leaving unsatisfaction in the Hearers, do stir up ingenuous dubiosities unto experiment, and by an exploration of all, prevent delusion in any.

CHAPTER XIX

Of some Relations whose truth we fear

Lastly, As there are many Relations whereto we cannot assent, and make some doubt thereof, so there are divers others whose verities we fear, and heartily wish there were no truth therein.

1. It is an unsufferable affront unto filiall piety, and a deep discouragement unto the expectation of all aged Parents, who shall but read the story of that barbarous Queen, who after she had beheld her royall Parents ruin, lay yet in the arms of his assassine, and caroused with him in the skull of her father. For my part, I should have doubted the operation of antimony, where such a potion would not work; 'twas an act me thinks beyond Anthropophagy, and a cup fit to be served up only at the table of *Atreus*.

2. While we laugh at the story of *Pygmalion*, and receive as a fable that he fell in love with a statue; we cannot but fear it may be true, what is delivered by *Herodotus* concerning *Egyptian* Pollinctors, or such as annointed the dead; that some thereof were found in the act of carnality with them. From wits that say 'tis more then incontinency for *Hylas* to sport with *Hecuba*, and youth to flame in the frozen embraces of age, we require a name for this: wherein *Petronius* or *Martial* cannot relieve us. *Who tied dead and living bodies together*. The tyrannie of *Mezentius* did never equall the vitiosity of this *Incubus*, that could embrace corruption, and make a Mistress of the grave; that could not resist the dead provocations of beauty, whose quick invitements scarce excuse submission. Surely, if such depravities there be yet alive, deformity need not despair; nor will the eldest hopes be ever superannuated, since death hath spurs, and carcasses have been courted.

3. I am heartily sorry, and wish it were not true, what to the dishonour of Christianity is affirmed of the *Italian*, who after he had inveigled his enemy to disclaim his faith for the redemption of his life, did presently poyniard him, to prevent repentance, and assure his eternal death. The villany of this Christian exceedeth the persecution of Heathens, whose malice was never so Longimanous *Long-handed*. as to reach the soul of their enemies; or to extend unto the exile of their *Elysiums*. And though the blindness of some ferities have savaged on the bodies of the dead, and been so injurious unto worms, as to disinter the bodies of the deceased; yet had they therein no design upon the soul: and have been so far from the destruction of that, or desires of a perpetual death, that for the satisfaction of their revenge they wisht them many souls, and were it in their power would have reduced them unto life again. It is a great depravity in our natures, and surely an affection that somewhat savoureth of hell, to desire the society, or comfort our selves in the fellowship of others that suffer with us; but to procure the miseries of others in those extremities, wherein we hold an hope to have no society our selves, is me thinks a strain above *Lucifer*, and a project beyond the primary seduction of hell.

4. I hope it is not true, and some indeed have probably denied, what is recorded of the Monk that poysoned *Henry* the Emperour, in a draught of the holy Eucharist. 'Twas a scandalous wound unto Christian Religion, and I hope all Pagans will forgive it, when they shall read that a Christian was poysoned in a cup of Christ, and received his bane in a draught of his salvation. Had he believed Transubstantiation, he would have doubted the effect; and surely the sin it self received an aggravation in that opinion. It much commendeth the innocency of our forefathers, and the simplicity of those times, whose Laws could never dream so high a crime as parricide: whereas this at the least may seem to out-reach that fact, and to exceed the regular distinctions of murder. I will not say what sin it was to act it; yet may it seem a kind of martyrdom to suffer by it. For, although unknowingly, he died for Christ his sake, and lost his life in the ordained testimony of his death. Certainly, had they known it, some noble zeales would scarcely have refused it; rather adventuring their own death, then refusing the memorial of his.

Many other accounts like these we meet sometimes in history, *Hujus farinae multa in historia horribili*. scandalous unto Christianity, and even unto humanity; whose verities not only, but whose

relations honest minds do deprecate. For of sins heteroclital, and such as want either name or president, there is oft times a sin even in their histories. We desire no records of such enormities; sins should be accounted new, that so they may be esteemed monstrous. They omit of monstrosity as they fall from their rarity; for men count it veniall to err with their forefathers, and foolishly conceive they divide a sin in its society. The pens of men may sufficiently expatiate without these singularities of villany; For, as they encrease the hatred of vice in some, so do they enlarge the theory of wickedness in all. And this is one thing that may make latter ages worse then were the former; For, the vicious examples of Ages past, poyson the curiosity of these present, affording a hint of sin unto seduceable spirits, and soliciting those unto the imitation of them, whose heads were never so perversly principled as to invent them. In this kind we commend the wisdom and goodness of *Galen*, who would not leave unto the world too subtile a Theory of poisons; unarming thereby the malice of venomous spirits, whose ignorance must be contented with Sublimate and Arsenick. For, surely there are subtiler venenations, such as will invisibly destroy, and like the Basilisks of heaven. In things of this nature silence commendeth history: 'tis the veniable part of things lost; wherein there must never rise a Pancirollus, *Who writ De Antiquis deperditis, or of inventions lost.* nor remain any Register but that of hell.

And yet, if as some Stoicks opinion, and *Seneca* himself disputeth, these unruly affections that make us sin such prodigies, and even sins themselves be animals; there is an history of *Africa* and story of Snakes in these. And if the transanimation of *Pythagoras* or method thereof were true, that the souls of men transmigrated into species answering their former natures; some men must surely live over many Serpents, and cannot escape that very brood whose sire Satan entered. And though the objection of *Plato* should take place, that bodies subjected unto corruption, must fail at last before the period of all things, and growing fewer in number, must leave some souls apart unto themselves; the spirits of many long before that time will find but naked habitations: and meeting no assimilables wherein to react their natures, must certainly anticipate such natural desolations.

Lactant

Primus sapientiæ gradus est, falsa intelligere

FINIS

**HYDRIOTAPHIA
URNE-BURIALL
OR A DISCOURSE OF THE SEPULCHRALL
URNES LATELY FOUND IN NORFOLK**

TOGETHER WITH

THE GARDEN OF CYRUS

TO MY WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND THOMAS LE GROS Of Crostwick Esquire

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

But who knows the fate of his bones, or how often he is to be buried? who hath the Oracle of his ashes, or whether they are to be scattered? The Reliques of many lie like the ruines of [A]Pompeys, in all parts of the earth; And when they arrive at your hands, these may seem to have wandred farre, who in a [B] direct and *Meridian* Travell, have but few miles of known Earth between your selfe and the Pole.

That the bones of *Theseus* should be seen again [C]in *Athens*, was not beyond conjecture, and hopeful expectation; but that these should arise so opportunely to serve your self, was an hit of fate and honour beyond prediction.

We cannot but wish these Urnes might have the effect of Theatrical vessels, and great [D]*Hippodrome* Urnes in *Rome*; to resound the acclamations and honour due unto you. But these are sad and sepulchral Pitchers, which have no joyfull voices; silently expressing old mortality, the ruines of forgotten times, and can only speak with life, how long in this corruptible frame, some parts may be uncorrupted; yet able to out-last bones long unborn, and noblest [E]pyle among us.

We present not these as any strange sight or spectacle unknown to your eyes, who have beheld the best of Urnes, and noblest variety of Ashes; Who are your self no slender master of Antiquities, and can daily command the view of so many Imperiall faces; Which raiseth your thoughts unto old things, and consideration of times before you, when even living men were Antiquities; when the living might exceed the dead, and to depart this world, could not be properly said, to go unto the [F]greater number. And so run up your thoughts upon the ancient of dayes, the Antiquaries truest object, unto whom the eldest parcels are young, and earth it self an Infant; and without [G]Ægyptian account makes but small noise in thousands.

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

Beside, to preserve the living, and make the dead to live, to keep men out of their Urnes, and discourse of humane fragments in them, is not impertinent unto our profession; whose study is life and death, who daily behold examples of mortality, and of all men least need artificial *memento's*, or coffins by our bed side, to minde us of our graves.

'Tis time to observe Occurrences, and let nothing remarkable escape us; The Supinity of elder dayes hath left so much in silence, or time hath so martyred the Records, that the most industrious [H] heads do finde no easie work to erect a new *Britannia*.

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

When the bones of King *Arthur* were digged up[[II](#)], the old Race might think, they beheld therein some Originals of themselves; Unto these of our Urnes none here can pretend relation, and can only behold the Reliques of those persons, who in their life giving the Laws unto their predecessors, after long obscurity, now lye at their mercies. But remembering the early civility they brought upon these Countreys, and forgetting long passed mischiefs; We mercifully preserve their bones, and pisse not upon their ashes.

In the offer of these Antiquities we drive not at ancient Families, so long out-lasted by them; We are farre from erecting your worth upon the pillars of your Fore-fathers, whose merits you illustrate. We honour your old Virtues, conformable unto times before you, which are the Noblest Armoury. And having long experience of your friendly conversation, void of empty Formality, full of freedome, constant and Generous Honesty, I look upon you as a Gemme of the Old Rock[[JJ](#)], and must professe my self even to Urne and Ashes,

Your ever faithfull Friend,
and Servant
THOMAS BROWNE.

Norwich, May 1.

TO MY WORTHY AND HONOURED FRIEND NICHOLAS BACON Of *Gillingham* Esquire

Had I not observed that [K]Purblinde men have discoursed well of sight, and some [L]without issue, excellently of Generation; I that was never master of any considerable garden, had not attempted this Subject. But the Earth is the Garden of Nature, and each fruitfull Countrey a Paradise. Dioscorides made most of his Observations in his march about with Antonius; and Theophrastus raised his generalities chiefly from the field.

Beside, we write no Herball, nor can this Volume deceive you, who have handled the [M]massiest thereof: who know that thre [N]Folio's are yet too little, and how New Herbals fly from America upon us, from persevering Enquirers, and [O]old in those singularities, we expect such Descriptions. Wherein [P]England is now so exact, that it yeelds not to other Countreys.

We pretend not to multiply vegetable divisions by Quincuncial and Reticulate plants; or erect a new Phytology. The Field of knowledge hath been so traced, it is hard to spring any thing new. Of old things we write something new, If truth may receive addition, or envy will have any thing new; since the Ancients knew the late Anatomicall discoveries, and Hippocrates the Circulation.

You have been so long out of trite learning, that 'tis hard to finde a subject proper for you; and if you have met with a Sheet upon this, we have missed our intention. In this multiplicity of writing, bye and barren Themes are best fitted for invention; Subjects so often discoursed confine the Imagination, and fix our conceptions unto the notions of fore-writers. Beside, such Discourses allow excursions, and venially admit of collaterall truths, though at some distance from their principals. Wherein if we sometimes take wide liberty, we are not single, but erre by great [Q]example.

He that will illustrate the excellency of this order, may easily fail upon so spruce a Subject, wherein we have not affrighted the common Reader with any other Diagramms, then of it self; and have industriously declined illustrations from rare and unknown plants.

Your discerning judgement so well acquainted with that study, will expect herein no mathematicall truths, as well understanding how few generalities and [R]Vfinita's there are in nature. How Scaliger hath found exceptions in most Universals of Aristotle and Theophrastus. How Botanicall Maximes must have fair allowance, and are tolerably currant, if not intolerably over-ballanced by exceptions.

You have wisely ordered your vegetable delights, beyond the reach of exception. The Turks who passt their dayes in Gardens here, will have Gardens also hereafter, and delighting in Flowers on earth, must have Lillies and Roses in Heaven. In Garden Delights 'tis not easie to hold a Mediocrity; that insinuating pleasure is seldome without some extremity. The Antients venially delighted in flourishing Gardens; Many were Florists that knew not the true use of a Flower; And in Plinies dayes none had directly treated of that subject. Some commendably affected Plantations of venemous Vegetables, some confined their delights unto single plants, and Cato seemed to dote upon Cabbage; While the Ingenuous delight of Tulipists, stands saluted with hard language, even by their own [S]Professors.

That in this Garden Discourse, we range into extraneous things, and many parts of Art and Nature, we follow herein the example of old and new Plantations, wherein noble spirits contented not themselves with Trees, but by the attendance of Aviaries, Fish-Ponds, and all variety of Animals, they made their gardens the Epitome of the earth, and some resemblance of the secular shows of old.

That we conjoyn these parts of different Subjects, or that this should succeed the other; Your judgement will admit without impute of incongruity; Since the

delightfull World comes after death, and Paradise succeeds the Grave. Since the verdant state of things is the Symbole of the Resurrection, and to flourish in the state of Glory, we must first be sown in corruption. Beside the ancient practise of Noble Persons, to conclude in Garden-Graves, and Urnes themselves of old, to be wrapt up flowers and garlands.

Nullam sine venia placuisse eloquium, is more sensibly understood by Writers, then by Readers; nor well apprehended by either, till works have hanged out like Apelles his Pictures; wherein even common eyes will finde something for emendation.

To wish all Readers of your abilities, were unreasonably to multiply the number of Scholars beyond the temper of these times. But unto this ill-judging age, we charitably desire a portion of your equity, judgement, candour, and ingenuity; wherein you are so rich, as not to lose by diffusion. And being a flourishing branch of that [T]Noble Family, unto which we owe so much observance, you are not new set, but long rooted in such perfection; whereof having had so lasting confirmation in your worthy conversation, constant amity, and expression; and knowing you a serious Student in the highest arcana's of Nature; with much excuse we bring these low delights, and poor maniples to your Treasure.

*Your affectionate Friend,
and Servant
THOMAS BROWNE.*

Norwich, May 1.

Footnotes

[A] Pompeios juvenes Asia, atque Europa, sed ipsum terra tegit *Lybies*.

[B] *Little directly, but Sea between your house and Greenland.*

[C] *Brought back by Cimon. Plutarch.*

[D] *The great Urnes in the Hippodrome at Rome conceived to resound the voices of people at their shows.*

[E] *Worthily possessed by that true Gentleman Sir Horatio Townshend my honored Friend.*

[F] *Abiit ad plures.*

[G] *Which makes the world so many years old.*

[H] *Wherein M. Dugdale hath excellently well endeavoured, and worthy to be countenanced by ingenuous and noble persons.*

[I] *In the time of Henry the second, Cambden.*

[J] *Adamas de rupe veteri præstantissimus.*

[K] *Plempius, Cabeus, etc.*

[L] *D. Harvy.*

[M] *Besleri Hortus Eystetensis.*

[N] *Bauhini Theatrum Botanicum, etc.*

[O] *My worthy friend M. Goodier an ancient and learned Botanist.*

[P] *As in London and divers parts, whereof we mention none, lest we seem to omit any.*

[Q] *Hippocrates de superfætatione, de dentitione.*

[R] *Rules without exceptions.*

[S] *Tulipo mania, Narrencruiid, Laurenberg. Pet. Hondius. in lib. Belg.*

[T] *Of the most worthy Sr Edmund Bacon prime Baronet, my true and noble Friend.*

HYDRIOTAPHIA: URNE BURIAL

Or, a brief Discourse of the Sepulchrall Urnes lately found in Norfolk

CHAPTER I

In the deep discovery of the Subterranean world, a shallow part would satisfie some enquirers; who, if two or three yards were open about the surface, would not care to wrack the bowels of *Potosi*,¹ regions towards the Centre. Nature hath furnished one part of the Earth, and man another. The treasures of time lie high, in Urnes, Coynes, and Monuments, scarce below the roots of some vegetables. Time hath endlesse rarities, and shows of all varieties; which reveals old things in heaven, makes new discoveries in earth, and even earth it self a discovery. That great antiquity *America* lay buried for thousands of years; and a large part of the earth is still in the Urne unto us.

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

Though earth hath engrossed the name yet water hath proved the smartest grave; which in fourty dayes swallowed almost mankinde, and the living creation; Fishes not wholly escaping, except the salt Ocean were handsomly contempered by a mixture of the fresh Element.

Many have taken voluminous pains to determine the state of the soul upon disunion; but men have been most phantastical in the singular contrivances of their corporall dissolution: whilst the soberest Nations have rested in two wayes, of simple inhumation and burning.

That carnal interrment or burying, was of the elder date, the old examples of *Abraham* and the Patriarches are sufficient to illustrate; And were without competition, if it could be made out, that *Adam* was buried near *Damascus*, or Mount *Calvary*, according to some Tradition. God himself that buried but one, was pleased to make choice of this way, collectible from Scripture-expression, and the hot contest between Satan and the Arch-Angel, about discovering the body of *Moses*. But the practice of Burning was also of great Antiquity, and of no slender extent. For (not to derive the same from *Hercules*) noble descriptions there are hereof in the Grecian Funerale of *Homer*, in the formal Obsequies of *Patroclus*, and *Achilles*; and somewhat elder in the *Theban* war, and solemn combustion of *Meneceus*, and *Archemorus*, contemporary unto *Jair* the Eighth Judge of *Israel*. Confirmable also among the *Trojans*, from the Funeral Pyre of *Hector*, burnt before the gates of *Troy*, and the burning² of *Penthisilea* the *Amazonian Queen*: and long continuance of that practice in the inward Countries of *Asia*; while as low as the Reign of *Julian*, we finde that the King of *Chionia*³ burnt the body of his Son, and interred the ashes in a silver Urne.

The same practice extended also far West,⁴ and besides *Herulians*, *Getes*, and *Thracians*, was in use with most of the *Celtæ*, *Sarmatians*, *Germans*, *Gauls*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Norwegians*; not to omit

¹ *The rich mountain of Peru.*

² *Q. Calaber lib. 1.*

³ *Ammianus Marcellinus, Gumberates King of Chionia a Countrey near Persia.*

⁴ *Arnoldis Montanis not in Cæs. Commentar. L. L. Gyraldus. Kirkmannus.*

some use thereof among *Carthaginians* and *Americans*: Of greater antiquity among the *Romans* then most opinion, or *Pliny* seems to allow. For (beside the old Table Laws of burning⁵ or burying within the City, of making the Funeral fire with plained wood, or quenching the fire with wine) *Manlius* the Consul burnt the body of his son: *Numa* by special clause of his will, was not burnt but buried; And *Remus* was solemnly buried, according to the description of *Ovid*.⁶

Cornelius Sylla was not the first whose body was burned in *Rome*, but of the *Cornelian* Family, which being indifferently, not frequently used before; from that time spread and became the prevalent practice. Not totally pursued in the highest run of Cremation; For when even Crows were funerally burnt, *Poppæa* the wife of *Nero* found a peculiar grave enterment. Now as all customs were founded upon some bottom of Reason, so there wanted not grounds for this; according to several apprehensions of the most rational dissolution. Some being of the opinion of *Thales*, that water was the original of all things, thought it most equal to submit unto the principle of putrifaction, and conclude in a moist relentment. Others conceived it most natural to end in fire, as due unto the master principle in the composition, according to the doctrine of *Heraclitus*.

And therefore heaped up large piles, more actively to waft them toward that Element, whereby they also declined a visible degeneration into worms, and left a lasting parcel of their composition.

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

But as many Nations embraced, and many left it indifferent, so others too much affected, or strictly declined this practice. The *Indian Brachmans* seemed too great friends unto fire, who burnt themselves alive, and thought it the noblest way to end their dayes in fire; according to the expression of the Indian, burning himself at *Athens*,⁷ in his last words upon the pyre unto the amazed spectators, *Thus I make my self immortal*.

But the *Chaldeans* the great Idolaters of fire, abhorred the burning of their carcasses, as a pollution of that Deity. The *Persian Magi* declined it upon the like scruple, and being only solicitous about their bones, exposed their flesh to the prey of Birds and Dogs. And the *Persees* now in *India*, which expose their bodies unto Vultures, and endure not so much as *feretra* or Beers of Wood; the proper Fuell of fire, are led on with such nicities. But whether the ancient *Germans* who burned their dead, held any such fear to pollute their Deity of *Herthus*, or the earth, we have no Authentick conjecture.

The *Ægyptians* were afraid of fire, not as a Deity, but a devouring Element, mercilessly consuming their bodies, and leaving too little of them; and therefore by precious Embalmments, depositeure in dry earths, or handsome inclosure in glasses, contrived the notablest wayes of integrall conservation. And from such *Ægyptian* scruples imbibed by *Pythagoras*, it may be conjectured that *Numa* and the *Pythagorical* Sect first waved the fiery solution.

The *Scythians* who swore by winde and sword, that is, by life and death, were so far from burning their bodies, that they declined all interment, and made their grave in the ayr: And the *Ichthyophagi* or fish-eating Nations about *Ægypt*, affected the Sea for their grave: Thereby declining visible corruption, and restoring the debt of their bodies. Whereas the old Heroes in *Homer*, dreaded

⁵ 12 Tabul. part. 1 de jure sacro. Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito. tom. 2. Rogum ascia ne polito. to. 4 Item vigeneri Annotat in Livium, et Alex. ab Alex. cum Tiraquello Roscinus cum dempstero.

⁶ Ultima prolato subditu flamma rogo. De Fast. lib. 4. cum Car. Neapol. anaptyxi.

⁷ And therefore the Inscription of his Tomb was made accordingly. Nic. Damasc.

nothing more than water or drowning; probably upon the old opinion of the fiery substance of the soul, onely extinguishable by that Element; And therefore the Poet emphatically implieth the total destruction in this kinde of death, which happened to *Ajax Oileus*.⁸

The old *Balearians*⁹ had a peculiar mode, for they used great Urnes and much wood, but no fire in their burials; while they bruised the flesh and bones of the dead, crowded them into Urnes, and laid heaps of wood upon them. And the *Chinois*¹⁰ without cremation or urnal interment of their bodies, make use of trees and much burning, while they plant a Pine-tree by their grave, and burn great numbers of printed draughts of slaves and horses over it, civilly content with their companies in effigie, which barbarous Nations exact unto reality.

Christians abhorred this way of obsequies, and though they stickt not to give their bodies to be burnt in their lives, detested that mode after death; affecting rather a depositeure than absumption, and properly submitting unto the sentence of God, to return not unto ashes but unto dust again, conformable unto the practice of the Patriarches, the interment of our Saviour, of *Peter, Paul*, and the ancient Martyrs. And so far at last declining promiscuous enterrment with Pagans, that some¹¹ have suffered Ecclesiastical censures, for making no scruple thereof.

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

The Jewish Nation, though they entertained the old way of inhumation, yet sometimes admitted this practice. For the men of *Jabesh* burnt the body of *Saul*. And by no prohibited practice to avoid contagion or pollution, in time of pestilence, burnt the bodies of their friends.¹² And when they burnt not their dead bodies, yet sometimes used great burnings near and about them, deducible from the expressions concerning *Jehoram, Sedechias*, and the sumptuous pyre of *Asa*; And were so little averse from Pagan¹³ burning, that the Jews lamenting the death of *Cæsar* their friend, and revenger on *Pompey*, frequented the place where his body was burnt for many nights together. And as they raised noble Monuments and *Mausolæums* for their own Nation,¹⁴ so they were not scrupulous in erecting some for others, according to the practice of *Daniel*, who left that lasting sepulchral pyle in *Echbatana*, for the *Median* and *Persian* Kings.¹⁵

But even in times of subjection and hottest use, they conformed not unto the *Romane* practice of burning; whereby the Prophecy was secured concerning the body of Christ, that it should not see corruption, or a bone should not be broken; which we beleeve was also providentially prevented, from the Souldiers spear and nailes that past by the little bones both in his hands and feet: Nor of ordinary contrivance, that it should not corrupt on the crosse, according to the Law of *Romane* Crucifixion, or an hair of his head perish, though observable in Jewish customes, to cut the haire of Malefactors.

Nor in their long co-habitation with the *Ægyptians*, crept into a custome of their exact embalming, wherein deeply slashing the muscles, and taking out the braines and entrailes, they had broken the subject of so entire a Resurrection, nor fully answered the tipes of *Enoch, Eliah*, or *Jonah*, which yet to prevent or restore, was of equall facility unto that rising power, able to break the fasciations and bands of death, to get clear out of the Cere-cloth, and an hundred pounds of oyntment, and out of the Sepulchre before the stone was rolled from it.

⁸ Which Magius reads ἔξαπόλωλε.

⁹ Diodorus Siculus.

¹⁰ Ramusius in Navigat.

¹¹ *Martialis* the Bishop. Cyprian.

¹² *Amos* 6. 10.

¹³ *Sueton. in vita. Jul. Cæs.*

¹⁴ As that magnificent sepulchral Monument erected by *Simon. Mach. 1. 13.*

¹⁵ Κατασκένασμα θαυμασίως πεποιημένον, whereof a Jewish Priest had alwayes the custody unto *Josephus* his dayes. *Jos. Lib. 10. Antiq.*

But though they embraced not this practice of burning, yet entertained they many ceremonies agreeable unto *Greek* and *Romane* obsequies, And he that observeth their funeral Feasts, their Lamentations at the grave, their musick, and weeping mourners; how they closed the eyes of their friends, how they washed, anointed, and kissed the dead; may easily conclude these were not meer Pagan Civilities. But whether that mournful burthen, and treble calling out after *Absalom*, had any reference unto the last conclamation, and triple valediction, used by other nations, we hold but a wavering conjecture.

Civilians make sepulture but of the Law of nations, others do naturally found it and discover it also in animals. They that are so thick skinned as still to credit the story of the *Phoenix*, may say something for animal burning: More serious conjectures finde some examples of sepulture in Elephants, Cranes, the Sepulchral Cells of Pismires and practice of Bees; which civil society carrieth out their dead, and hath exequies, if not interments.

CHAPTER II

The Solemnities, Ceremonies, Rites of their Cremation or enterrment, so solemnly delivered by Authours, we shall not disparage our Reader to repeat. Only the last and lasting part in their Urns, collected bones and Ashes, we cannot wholly omit, or decline that Subject, which occasion lately presented, in some discovered among us.

In a Field of old *Walsingham*, not many months past, were digged up between fourty and fifty Urnes, deposited in a dry and sandy soile, not a yard deep, nor far from one another: Not all strictly of one figure, but most answering these described; Some containing two pounds of bones, distinguishable in skulls, ribs, jawes, thigh-bones, and teeth, with fresh impressions of their combustion. Besides the extraneous substances, like peeces of small boxes, or combs handsomely wrought, handles of small brasse instruments, brazen nippers, and in one some kinde of *Opale*¹⁶.

Near the same plot of ground, for about six yards compasse were digged up coals and incinerated substances, which begat conjecture that this was the *Ustrina* or place of burning their bodies, or some sacrificing place unto the *Manes*, which was properly below the surface of the ground, as the *Arae* and *Altars* unto the gods and *Heroes* above it.

That these were the Urnes of *Romanes* from the common custome and place where they were found, is no obscure conjecture, not far from a *Romane* Garrison, and but five mile from *Brancaster*, set down by ancient Record under the name of *Brannodunum*. And where the adjoining Town, containing seven Parishes, in no very different sound, but Saxon termination, still retains the Name of *Burnham*, which being an early station, it is not improbable the neighbour parts were filled with habitations, either of *Romanes* themselves, or *Brittains Romanised*, which observed the *Romane* customes.

Nor is it improbable that the *Romanes* early possessed this Countrey; for though we meet not with such strict particulars of these parts, before the new Institution of *Constantine*, and military charge of the Count of the *Saxon* shore, and that about the *Saxon* Invasions, the *Dalmatian* Horsemen were in the Garrison of *Brancaster*: Yet in the time of *Claudius Vespasian*, and *Severus*, we finde no lesse then three Legions dispersed through the Province of *Brittain*. And as high as the Reign of *Claudius* a great overthrow was given unto the *Iceni*, by the *Romane* Lieutenant *Ostorius*. Not long after the Countrey was so molested, that in hope of a better state *Prasatagus* bequeathed his Kingdom unto *Nero* and his Daughters; and *Boadicea* his Queen fought the last decisive Battle with *Paulinus*. After which time and Conquest of *Agricola* the Lieutenant of *Vespasian*, probable it is they wholly possessed this Countrey, ordering it into Garrisons or Habitations, best suitable with their securities. And so some *Romane* habitations, not improbable in these parts, as high as the time

¹⁶ In one sent me by my worthy friend Dr. Thomas Witherley of Walsingham.

of *Vespasian*, where the *Saxons* after seated, in whose thin-fill'd Mappes we yet finde the Name of *Walsingham*. Now if the *Iceni* were but *Gammadims*, *Anconians*, or men that lived in an Angle wedge or Elbow of *Brittain*, according to the Original Etymologie, this countrey will challenge the Emphatical appellation, as most properly making the Elbow or Iken of *Icenia*.

That *Britain* was notably populous is undeniable, from that expression of *Cæsar*¹⁷. That the *Romanes* themselves were early in no small numbers, Seventy Thousand with their associats slain by *Boadicea*, affords a sure account. And though many *Roman* habitations are now unknown, yet some by old works, Rampiers, Coynes, and Urnes do testifie their Possessions. Some Urnes have been found at *Castor*, some also about *Southcreake* and not many years past, no lesse then ten in a field at *Buxton*,¹⁸ not near any recorded Garrison. Nor is it strange to finde *Romane* Coynes of Copper and Silver among us; of *Vespasian*, *Trajan*, *Adrian*, *Commodus*, *Antoninus*, *Severus*, etc. But the greater number of *Dioclesian*, *Constantine*, *Constans*, *Valens*, with many of *Victorinus Posthumius*, *Tetricus*, and the thirty Tyrants in the Reigne of *Gallienus*; and some as high as *Adrianus* have been found about *Thetford*, or *Sitomagus*, mentioned in the itinerary of *Antoninus*, as the way from *Venta* or *Castor* unto *London*.¹⁹ But the most frequent discovery is made at the two *Casters* by *Norwich* and *Yarmouth*²⁰ at *Burghcastle* and *Brancaster*.²¹

Besides, the *Norman*, *Saxon* and *Danish* peeces of *Cuthred*, *Canutus*, *William Matilda*,²² and others, some *British* Coynes of gold have been dispersedly found; And no small number of silver peeces neer *Norwich*²³; with a rude head upon the obverse, and an ill formed horse on the reverse, with inscriptions *Ic. Duro T.* whether implying *Iceni*, *Duroriges*, *Tascia*, or *Trinobantes*, we leave to higher conjecture. Vulgar Chronology will have *Norwich* Castle as old as *Julius Cæsar*, but his distance from these parts, and its *Gothick* form of structure, abridgeth such Antiquity. The *British* Coyns afford conjecture of early habitation in these parts, though the City of *Norwich* arose from the ruines of *Venta*, and though perhaps not without some habitation before, was enlarged, builded, and nominated by the *Saxons*. In what bulk or populousity it stood in the old East-angle Monarchy, tradition and history are silent. Considerable it was in the *Danish* Eruptions, when *Sueno* burnt *Thetford* and *Norwich*,²⁴ and *Ulfketel* the Governour thereof was able to make some resistance, and after endeavoured to burn the *Danish* Navy.

How the *Romanes* left so many Coynes in Countreys of their Conquests, seemes of hard resolution, except we consider how they buried them under ground, when upon barbarous invasions they were fain to desert their habitations in most part of their Empire, and the strictnesse of their laws forbiding to transfer them to any other uses; Wherein the *Spartans*²⁵ were singular, who to make their copper money uselesse, contempered it with vinegar. That the *Britains* left any, some wonder; since their money was iron, and Iron rings before *Cæsar*; and those of after stamp by permission, and but small in bulk and bignesse; that so few of the *Saxons* remain, because overcome by succeeding Conquerours upon the place, their Coynes by degrees passed into other stamps, and the marks of after ages.

¹⁷ Hominum infinita multitudo est, creberrimaque ædificia ferè Gallicis consimilia. *Cæs. de bello Gal. l. 5.*

¹⁸ *In the ground of my worthy Friend Rob. Jegon, Esq., wherein some things contained were preserved by the most worthy Sir William Paston, Bt.*

¹⁹ *From Castor to Thetford the Romans accounted thirty-two miles, and from thence observed not our common road to London, but passed by Combretonium ad Ansam, Canonium, Cæsaromagus, etc., by Bretenham, Coggeshall, Chelmeford, Burntwood, etc.*

²⁰ *Most at Caster by Yarmouth, found in a place called East-bloudyburgh furlong, belonging to Mr. Thomas Wood, a person of civility, industry and knowledge in this way, who hath made observation of remarkable things about him, and from whom we have received divers Silver and Copper Coynes.*

²¹ *Belonging to that Noble Gentleman, and true example of worth Sir Ralph Hare, Baronet, my honoured Friend.*

²² *A peece of Maud the Empresse said to be found in Buckenham Castle with this inscription, Elle n'a elle.*

²³ *At Thorpe.*

²⁴ *Brampton Abbas Jorvallensis.*

²⁵ *Plut. in vita Lycurg.*

Then the time of these Urnes deposited, or precise Antiquity of these Relicks, nothing of more uncertainty. For since the Lieutenant of *Claudius* seems to have the first progresse into these parts, since *Boadicea* was overthrown by the Forces of *Nero*, and *Agricola* put a full end to these Conquests; it is not probable the Country was fully garrisoned or planted before; and therefore however these Urnes might be of later date, not likely of higher Antiquity.

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

A great obscurity herein, because, no medall or Emperours coyne enclosed, which might denote the dates of their enterrments, observable in many Urnes, and found in those of *Spittle Fields* by *London*,²⁶ which contained the Coyne of *Claudius*, *Vespasian*, *Commodus*, *Antoninus*, attended with Lacrymatories, Lamps, Bottles of Liquor, and other appurtenances of affectionate superstition, which in these rurall interments were wanting.

Some uncertainty there is from the period or term of burning, or the cessation of that practise. *Macrobius* affirmeth it was disused in his dayes. But most agree, though without authentick record, that it ceased with the *Antonini*. Most safely to be understood after the Reigne of those Emperours, which assumed the name of *Antoninus*, extending unto *Heliogabalus*. Not strictly after *Marcus*; For about fifty years later we finde the magnificent burning, and consecration of *Severus*; and if we so fix this period or cessation, these Urnes will challenge above thirteen hundred years.

But whether this practise was onely then left by Emperours and great persons, or generally about *Rome*, and not in other Provinces, we hold no authentick account. For after *Tertullian*, in the dayes of *Minucius* it was obviously objected upon Christians, that they condemned the practise of burning.²⁷ And we finde a passage in *Sidonius*,²⁸ which asserteth that practise in France unto a lower account. And perhaps not fully disused till Christianity fully established, which gave the final extinction to these Sepulchral Bonafires.

Whether they were the bones of men or women or children, no authentick decision from ancient custome in distinct places of burial. Although not improbably conjectured, that the double Sepulture or burying place of *Abraham*, had in it such intension. But from exility of bones, thinnesse of skulls, smallnesse of teeth, ribbes, and thigh-bones; not improbable that many thereof were persons of *minor* age, or women. Confirmable also from things contained in them: In most were found substances resembling Combes, Plates like Boxes, fastened with Iron pins, and handsomely overwrought like the necks or Bridges of Musically Instruments, long brasse plates overwrought like the handles of neat implements, brazen nippers to pull away hair, and in one a kinde of *Opale* yet maintaining a blewish colour.

Now that they accustomed to burn or bury with them, things wherein they excelled, delighted, or which were dear unto them, either as farewells unto all pleasure, or vain apprehension that they might use them in the other world, is testified by all Antiquity. Observable from the Gemme or Beril Ring upon the finger of *Cynthia*, the Mistress of *Propertius*, when after her Funeral Pyre her Ghost appeared unto him. And notably illustrated from the Contents of that *Roman Urne* preserved by Cardinal *Farnese*,²⁹ wherein besides great number of Gemmes with heads of Gods and Goddesses, were found an Ape of *Agath*, a Grashopper, an Elephant of *Ambre*, a Crystal Ball, three glasses, two Spoons, and six Nuts of Crystall. And beyond the content of Urnes, in the Monument of *Childerick* the

²⁶ Stowes *Survey of London*.

²⁷ Execrantur rogos, et damnant ignium sepulturam. *Min. in Oct.*

²⁸ Sidon. Apollinaris.

²⁹ Vigeneri Annot. in 4. Liv.

first,³⁰ and fourth King from *Pharamond*, casually discovered three years past at *Tournay*, restoring unto the world much gold richly adorning his Sword, two hundred Rubies, many hundred Imperial Coyns, three hundred Golden Bees, the bones and horseshoe of his horse enterr'd with him, according to the barbarous magnificence of those dayes in their sepulchral Obsequies. Although if we steer by the conjecture of many and Septuagint expression; some trace thereof may be found even with the ancient Hebrews, not only from the Sepulchral treasure of *David*, but the circumcision knives which *Josuah* also buried.

Some men considering the contents of these Urnes, lasting peeces and toyes included in them, and the custome of burning with many other Nations, might somewhat doubt whether all Urnes found among us, were properly *Romane* Reliques, or some not belonging unto our *Brittish*, *Saxon*, or *Danish* Forefathers.

In the form of Burial among the ancient *Brittains*, the large Discourses of *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, and *Strabo* are silent: For the discovery whereof, with other particulars, we must deplore the loss of that Letter which *Cicero* expected or received from his Brother *Quintus*, as a resolution of *Brittish* customes; or the account which might have been made by *Scribonius Largus* the Physician, accompanying the Emperor *Claudius*, who might have also discovered that frugal Bit³¹ of the Old *Brittains*, which in the bigness of a Bean could satisfie their thirst and hunger.

But that the *Druids* and ruling Priests used to burn and bury, is expressed by *Pomponius*; That *Bellinus* the Brother of *Brennus*, and King of *Brittains* was burnt, is acknowledged by *Polydorus*, as also by *Amandus Zierexensis* in *Historia*, and *Pineda* in his *Universa historia*. Spanish. That they held that practise in *Gallia*, *Cæsar* expressly delivereth. Whether the *Brittains* (probably descended from them, of like Religion, Language and Manners) did not sometimes make use of burning; or whether at least such as were after civilized unto the *Romane* life and manners, conformed not unto this practise, we have no historical assertion or denial. But since from the account of *Tacitus* the *Romanes* early wrought so much civility upon the *Brittish* stock, that they brought them to build Temples, to wear the Gown, and study the *Romane* Laws and Language, that they conformed also unto their Religious rites and customes in burials, seems no improbable conjecture.

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

Roisold, Brendetiide. Ild tyde.

But the *Danish* and Northern Nations have raised an *Æra* or point of compute from their Custome of burning their dead: Some deriving it from *Unguinus*, some from *Frotho* the great; who ordained by Law, that Princes and Chief Commanders should be committed unto the fire, though the common sort had the common grave enterrment. So *Starkatterus* that old *Heroe* was burnt, and *Ringo* royally burnt the body of *Harald* the King slain by him.

What time this custome generally expired in that Nation, we discern no assured period; whether it ceased before Christianity, or upon their Conversion, by *Ansgurius* the Gaul in the time of *Ludovicus Pius* the Son of *Charles* the Great, according to good computes; or whether it might not be used by some persons, while for a hundred and eighty years Paganisme and Christianity were promiscuously embraced among them, there is no assured conclusion. About which times the *Danes* were busie in

³⁰ Chifflet in Anast. Childer.

³¹ Dionis excerpta per Xiphilin. in Severo.

England, and particularly infested this Countrey: Where many Castles and strong holds were built by them, or against them, and great number of names and Families still derived from them. But since this custome was probably disused before their Invasion or Conquest, and the *Romanes* confessedly practised the same, since their possession of this Island, the most assured account will fall upon the *Romanes*, or *Brittains Romanized*.

However certain it is, that Urnes conceived of no *Romane* Original, are often digged up both in *Norway* and *Denmark*, handsomely described, and graphically represented by the Learned Physician *Wormius*,³² And in some parts of *Denmark* in no ordinary number, as stands delivered by Authors exactly describing those Countreys.³³ And they contained not only bones, but many other substances in them, as Knives, peeces of Iron, Brass and Wood, and one of *Norway* a brasse guilded Jewes harp.

Nor were they confused or carelesse in disposing the noblest sort, while they placed large stones in circle about the Urnes, or bodies which they interred: Somewhat answerable unto the Monument of *Rollrich* stones in *England*,³⁴ or sepulcral Monument probably erected by *Rollo*, who after conquered *Normandy*. Where 'tis not improbable somewhat might be discovered. Mean while to what Nation or person belonged that large Urne found at *Ashburie*,³⁵ containing mighty bones, and a Buckler; what those large Urnes found at little *Massingham*,³⁶ or why the *Anglesea* Urnes are placed with their mouths downwards, remains yet undiscovered.

CHAPTER III

Plastered and whited Sepulchres, were anciently affected in cadaverous, and corruptive Burials; And the rigid Jews were wont to garnish the Sepulchres of the righteous;³⁷ *Ulysses* in *Hecuba*³⁸ cared not how meanly he lived, so he might finde a noble Tomb after death. Great Princes affected great Monuments, and the fair and larger Urnes contained no vulgar ashes, which makes that disparity in those which time discovereth among us. The present Urnes were not of one capacity, the largest containing above a gallon, Some not much above half that measure; nor all of one figure, wherein there is no strict conformity, in the same or different Countreys; Observable from those represented by *Casalius*, *Bosio*, and others, though all found in *Italy*: While many have handles, ears, and long necks, but most imitate a circular figure, in a spherical and round composure; whether from any mystery, best duration or capacity, were but a conjecture. But the common form with necks was a proper figure, making our last bed like our first; nor much unlike the Urnes of our Nativity, while we lay in the nether part of the Earth,³⁹ and inward vault of our Microcosme. Many Urnes are red, these but of a black colour, somewhat smooth, and dully sounding, which begat some doubt, whether they were burnt, or only baked in Oven or Sun: According to the ancient way, in many bricks, tiles, pots, and testaceous works; and as the word *testa* is properly to be taken, when occurring without addition: And chiefly intended by *Pliny*, when he commendeth bricks and tiles of two years old, and to make them in the spring. Nor only these concealed peeces, but the open magnificence of Antiquity, ran much in the Artifice of Clay. Hereof the house of *Mausolus* was built, thus old *Jupiter* stood in the Capitol, and the *Statua* of *Hercules* made in the Reign of *Tarquinius Priscus*, was extant in *Plinies* dayes. And such as declined burning or Funeral Urnes, affected Coffins of Clay, according to the mode of *Pythagoras*, and way preferred by *Varro*. But the spirit of great ones was above these

³² Olai Wormii monumenta et Antiquitat. Dan.

³³ Adolphus Cyprius in Annal. Sleswic. urnis adeo abundabat collis, etc.

³⁴ In *Oxfordshire*; Cambden.

³⁵ In *Cheshire*, Twinus de rebus Albionis.

³⁶ In *Norfolk*, Hollingshead.

³⁷ *Matt.* 23.

³⁸ Euripides.

³⁹ *Psa.* 63.

circumscriptions, affecting Copper, Silver, Gold, and *Porphyrie* Urnes, wherein *Severus* lay, after a serious view and sentence on that which should contain him.⁴⁰ Some of these Urnes were thought to have been silvered over, from sparklings in several pots, with small Tinsel parcels; uncertain whether from the earth, or the first mixture in them.

Among these Urnes we could obtain no good account of their coverings; only one seemed arched over with some kinde of brickwork. Of those found at *Buxton* some were covered with flints, some in other parts with Tiles, those at *Yarmouth Caster*, were closed with *Romane* bricks. And some have proper earthen covers adapted and fitted to them. But in the *Homerical* Urne of *Patroclus*, whatever was the solid Tegument, we finde the immediate covering to be a purple peece of silk: And such as had no covers might have the earth closely pressed into them, after which disposure were probably some of these, wherein we found the bones and ashes half mortered unto the sand and sides of the Urne; and some long roots of Quich, or Dogs-grass wreathed about the bones.

No Lamps, included Liquors, Lachrymatories, or Tear-Bottles attended these rural Urnes, either as sacred unto the *Manes*, or passionate expressions of their surviving friends. While with rich flames, and hired teares they solemnized their Obsequies, and in the most lamented Monuments made one part of their Inscriptions.⁴¹ Some finde sepulchral Vessels containing liquors, which time hath incassated into gellies. For beside these Lachrymatories, notable Lamps, with Vessels of Oyles and Aromatical Liquors attended noble Ossuaries. And some yet retaining a Vinosity⁴² and spirit in them, which if any have tasted they have far exceeded the Palats of Antiquity. Liquors not to be computed by years of annual Magistrates, but by great conjunctions and the fatal periods of Kingdoms.⁴³ The draughts of Consulary date, were but crude unto these, and *Opimian*⁴⁴ Wine but in the muste unto them.

In sundry graves and Sepulchres, we meet with Rings, Coynes, and Chalicees; Ancient frugality was so severe, that they allowed no gold to attend the Corps, but onely that which served to fasten their teeth.⁴⁵ Whether the *Opaline* stone in this Urne were burnt upon the finger of the dead, or cast into the fire by some affectionate friend, it will consist with either custome. But other incinerable substances were found so fresh, that they could feel no sindge from fire. These upon view were judged to be wood, but sinking in water and tried by the fire, we found them to be bone or Ivory. In their hardnesse and yellow colour they most resembled Box, which in old expressions found the Epithete⁴⁶ of Eternal, and perhaps in such conservatories might have passed uncorrupted.

That Bay-leaves were found green in the Tomb of S. *Humbert*,⁴⁷ after an hundred and fifty years, was looked upon as miraculous. Remarkable it was unto old Spectators, that the Cypresse of the Temple of *Diana*, lasted so many hundred years: The wood of the Ark and Olive Rod of *Aaron* were older at the Captivity. But the Cypresse of the Ark of *Noah*, was the greatest vegetable Antiquity, if *Josephus* were not deceived, by some fragments of it in his dayes. To omit the Moore-logs, and Firre-trees found underground in some parts of *England*; the undated ruines of winds, floods or earthquakes; and which in *Flanders* still shew from what quarter they fell, as generally lying in the North-East position.⁴⁸

But though we found not these peeces to be Wood, according to first apprehension, yet we missed not altogether of some woody substance; for the bones were not so clearly pickt, but some

⁴⁰ Χωρήσεις τον άνθρωπον ὃν ἡ οἰκουμένη οὐκ ἠχώρησεν. Dion.

⁴¹ Cum lacrymis posuere.

⁴² Lazius.

⁴³ About five hundred years. Plato.

⁴⁴ Vinum Opimianum annorum centum. Petron.

⁴⁵ 12. Tabul. l. xi. de Jure sacro. Neve aurum addito, ast quoi auro dentes vincti erunt, im cum illo sepelire et utere, se fraude esto.

⁴⁶ Plin. 1. xvi. Inter ξύλα ἀσαπή numerat Theophrastus.

⁴⁷ Surius.

⁴⁸ Gorop. Becanus in Niloscopio.

coals were found amongst them; A way to make wood perpetual, and a fit associat for metal, whereon was laid the foundation of the great *Ephesian* Temple, and which were made the lasting tests of old boundaries, and Landmarks; Whilest we look on these we admire not observations of Coals found fresh, after four hundred years.⁴⁹ In a long deserted habitation,⁵⁰ even Egge-shels have been found fresh, not tending to corruption.

In the Monument of King *Childerick*, the Iron Reliques were found all rusty and crumbling into peeces. But our little Iron pins which fastened the ivory works, held well together, and lost not their Magneticall quality, though wanting a tenacious moisture for the firmer union of parts, although it be hardly drawn into fusion, yet that metal soon submitteth unto rust and dissolution. In the brazen peeces we admired not the duration but the freedom from rust, and ill savour; upon the hardest attrition, but now exposed unto the piercing Atomes of aire; in the space of a few moneths, they begin to spot and betray their green entrals. We conceive not these Urns to have descended thus naked as they appear, or to have entred their graves without the old habit of flowers. The Urne of *Philopæmen* was so laden with flowers and ribbons, that it afforded no sight of it self. The rigid *Lycurgus* allowed Olive and Myrtle. The *Athenians* might fairely except against the practise of *Democritus* to be buried up in honey; as fearing to embezzle a great commodity of their Countrey, and the best of that kinde in *Europe*. But *Plato* seemed too frugally politick, who allowed no larger monument then would contain four Heroick verses, and designed the most barren ground for sepulture: Though we cannot commend the goodnesse of that sepulchral ground, which was set at no higher rate then the mean salary of *Judas*. Though the earth had confounded the ashes of these Ossuaries, yet the bones were so smartly burnt, that some thin plates of brasse were found half melted among them: whereby we apprehended they were not of the meanest carcasses, perfunctorily fired as sometimes in military, and commonly in pestilence, burnings; or after the manner of abject corps, hudled forth and carelessly burnt, without the Esquiline Port at *Rome*; which was an affront continued upon *Tiberius*, while they but half burnt his body,⁵¹ and in the Amphitheatre, according to the custome in notable Malefactors; whereas *Nero* seemed not so much to fear his death, as that his head should be cut off and his body not burnt entire.

Some finding many fragments of sculs in these Urnes, suspected a mixture of bones; In none we searched was there cause of such conjecture, though sometimes they declined not that practise; The ashes of *Domitian*⁵² were mingled with those of *Julia*, of *Achilles* with those of *Patroclus*: All Urnes contained not single ashes; Without confused burnings they affectionately compounded their bones; passionately endeavouring to continue their living Unions. And when distance of death denied such conjunctions, unsatisfied affections conceived some satisfaction to be neighbours in the grave, to lye Urne by Urne, and touch but in their names. And many were so curious to continue their living relations, that they contrived large, and family Urnes, wherein the Ashes of their nearest friends and kindred might successively be received,⁵³ at least some parcels thereof, while their collateral memorials lay in *minor* vessels about them.

Antiquity held too light thoughts from Objects of mortality, while some drew provocatives of mirth from Anatomies,⁵⁴ and Juglers shewed tricks with Skeletons. When Fidlers made not so pleasant mirth as Fencers, and men could sit with quiet stomachs while hanging was plaid before them.⁵⁵ Old considerations made few *memento's* by sculs and bones upon their monuments. In the

⁴⁹ *Of Beringuccio nella pyrotechnia.*

⁵⁰ *At Elmeham.*

⁵¹ *Sueton. in vitâ Tib. et in Amphitheatro semiustulandum, not. Casaub.*

⁵² *Sueton. in vitâ Domitian*

⁵³ *S. the most learned and worthy Mr. M. Casaubon upon Antoninus.*

⁵⁴ *Sic erimus cuncti, etc. Ergo dum vivimus vivamus.*

⁵⁵ Ἀγχόνην παίζειν. *A barbarous pastime at Feasts, when men stood upon a rolling Globe, with their necks in a Rope, and a knife in their hands, ready to cut it when the stone was rolled away, wherein if they failed, they lost their lives to the laughter of their spectators. Athenæus.*

Ægyptian Obelisks and Hieroglyphical figures, it is not easie to meet with bones. The sepulchral Lamps speak nothing lesse then sepulture; and in their literal draughts prove often obscene and antick peeces: Where we finde *D. M.*⁵⁶ it is obvious to meet with sacrificing *patera*'s, and vessels of libation, upon old sepulchral Monuments. In the Jewish *Hypogæum*⁵⁷ and subterranean Cell at *Rome*, was little observable beside the variety of Lamps, and frequent draughts of the holy Candlestick. In authentick draughts of *Anthony* and *Jerome*, we meet with thigh-bones and deaths heads; but the cemiterial Cels of ancient Christians and Martyrs, were filled with draughts of Scripture Stories; not declining the flourishes of Cypresse, Palms, and Olive; and the mystical Figures of Peacocks, Doves and Cocks. But iterately affecting the pourtraits of *Enoch*, *Lazarus*, *Jonas*, and the vision of *Ezechiel*, as hopeful draughts, and hinting imagery of the Resurrection; which is the life of the grave, and sweetens our habitations in the Land of *Moles* and *Pismires*.

Gentile inscriptions precisely delivered the extent of mens lives, seldome the manner of their deaths, which history it self so often leaves obscure in the records of memorable persons. There is scarce any Philosopher but dies twice or thrice in *Laertius*; Nor almost any life without two or three deaths in *Plutarch*; which makes the tragical ends of noble persons more favourably resented by compassionate Readers, who finde some relief in the Election of such differences.

The certainty of death is attended with uncertainties, in time, manner, places. The variety of Monuments hath often obscured true graves: and *Cenotaphs* confounded Sepulchres. For beside their real Tombs, many have found honorary and empty Sepulchres. The variety of *Homers* Monuments made him of various Countreys. *Euripides*⁵⁸ had his Tomb in *Africa*, but his sepulture in *Macedonia*. And *Severus*⁵⁹ found his real Sepulchre in *Rome*, but his empty grave in *Gallia*.

He that lay in a golden Urne⁶⁰ eminently above the earth, was not like to finde the quiet of these bones. Many of these Urnes were broke by a vulgar discoverer in hope of inclosed treasure. The ashes of *Marcellus*⁶¹ were lost above ground, upon the like account. Where profit hath prompted, no age hath wanted such miners. *The Commission of the Gothish King Theodoric for finding out sepulchrall treasure*. Cassiodor. Var. l. 4. For which the most barbarous Expilators found the most civil Rhetorick. Gold once out of the earth is no more due unto it; What was unreasonably committed to the ground is reasonably resumed from it: Let Monuments and rich Fabricks, not Riches adorn mens ashes. The commerce of the living is not to be transferred unto the dead: It is no injustice to take that which none complains to lose, and no man is wronged where no man is possessor.

What virtue yet sleeps in this *terra damnata* and aged cinders, were petty magick to experiment; These crumbling reliques and long-fired particles superannate such expectations: Bones, hairs, nails, and teeth of the dead, were the treasures of old Sorcerers. In vain we revive such practices; Present superstition too visibly perpetuates the folly of our fore-fathers, wherein unto old Observation this Island was so compleat, that it might have instructed *Persia*.⁶²

Plato's historian of the other world, lies twelve dayes incorrupted, while his soul was viewing the large stations of the dead. How to keep the corps seven dayes from corruption by anointing and washing, without exenteration, were an hazardable peece of art, in our choisest practise. How they made distinct separation of bones and ashes from fiery admixture, hath found no historical solution. Though they seemed to make a distinct collection, and overlooked not *Pyrrhus* his toe. Some provision they might make by fictile Vessels, Coverings, Tiles, or flat stones, upon and about the body. And in the same Field, not far from these Urnes, many stones were found under ground, as also by careful

⁵⁶ Diis manibus.

⁵⁷ Bosio.

⁵⁸ Pausan. in Atticis.

⁵⁹ *Lamprid.* in vit. Alexand. Severi.

⁶⁰ *Trajanus.* Dion.

⁶¹ *Plut.* in vit. Marcelli.

⁶² Britannia hodie eam attonitè celebrat tantis ceremoniis, ut dedisse Persis videri possit. *Plin. l. 29.*

separation of extraneous matter, composing and raking up the burnt bones with forks, observable in that notable lamp of *Galuanus. Martianus*,⁶³ who had the sight of the *Vas Ustrinum*, or vessel wherein they burnt the dead, found in the Esquiline Field at *Rome*, might have afforded clearer solution. But their insatisfaction herein begat that remarkable invention in the Funeral Pyres of some Princes, by incombustible sheets made with a texture of *Asbestos*, incremable flax, or Salamanders wool, which preserved their bones and ashes⁶⁴ incommixed.

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

Some bones make best Skeletons,⁶⁵ some bodies quick and speediest ashes: Who would expect a quick flame from Hydropical *Heraclitus*? The poisoned Souldier when his Belly brake, put out two pyres in *Plutarch*.⁶⁶ But in the plague of *Athens*,⁶⁷ one private pyre served two or three Intruders; and the *Saracens* burnt in large heaps, by the King of *Castile*,⁶⁸ shewed how little Fuel sufficeth. Though the Funeral pyre of *Patroclus* took up an hundred foot,⁶⁹ a peece of an old boat burnt *Pompey*; And if the burthen of *Isaac* were sufficient for an holocaust, a man may carry his own pyre.

From animals are drawn good burning lights, and good medicines⁷⁰ against burning; Though the seminal humor seems of a contrary nature to fire, yet the body compleated proves a combustible lump, wherein fire findes flame even from bones, and some fuel almost from all parts. Though the Metropolis⁷¹ of humidity seems least disposed unto it, which might render the skulls of these Urnes less burned then other bones. But all flies or sinks before fire almost in all bodies. When the common ligament is dissolved, the attenuable parts ascend, the rest subside in coal, calx or ashes.

To burn the bones of the King of *Edom*⁷² for Lyme, seems no irrational ferity; But to drink of the ashes of dead relations,⁷³ a passionate prodigality. He that hath the ashes of his friend, hath an everlasting treasure: where fire taketh leave, corruption slowly enters; In bones well burnt, fire makes a wall against it self, experimented in copels, and tests of metals, which consist of such ingredients. What the Sun compoundeth, fire analyseth, not transmutheth. That devouring agent leaves almost alwayes a morsel for the Earth, whereof all things are but a colony; and which, if time permits, the mother Element will have in their primitive mass again.

He that looks for Urnes and old sepulchral reliques, must not seek them in the ruines of Temples: where no Religion anciently placed them. These were found in a Field, according to ancient custome, in noble or private burial; the old practise of the *Canaanites*, the Family of *Abraham*, and the burying place of *Josua*, in the borders of his possessions; and also agreeable unto *Romane* practise to bury by highwayes, whereby their Monuments were under eye: Memorials of themselves, and *memento's* of mortality into living passengers; whom the Epitaphs of great ones were fain to beg to stay and

⁶³ Topographiæ Roma ex Martiano. Erat et vas ustrinum appellatum quod in eo cadavera comburerentur. *Cap. de Campo Esquilino.*

⁶⁴ *To be seen in Licet. de reconditis veterum lucernis.*

⁶⁵ *Old bones according to Lyserus. Those of young persons not tall nor fat according to Columbus.*

⁶⁶ *In vita. Gracc.*

⁶⁷ *Thucydides.*

⁶⁸ *Laurent. Valla.*

⁶⁹ Ἐκατόμπεδον ἔνθα ἦ ἔνθα.

⁷⁰ *Sperm ran. Alb. Ovor.*

⁷¹ *The brain. Hippocrates.*

⁷² *Amos 2. 1.*

⁷³ *As Artemisia of her Husband Mausolus.*

look upon them. A language though sometimes used, not so proper in Church-Inscriptions.⁷⁴ The sensible Rhetorick of the dead, to exemplarity of good life, first admitted the bones of pious men, and Martyrs within Church-wals; which in succeeding ages crept into promiscuous practise. While *Constantine* was peculiarly favoured to be admitted unto the Church Porch; and the first thus buried in *England* was in the dayes of *Cuthred*.

Christians dispute how their bodies should lye in the grave.⁷⁵ In urnal enterrment they clearly escaped this Controversie: Though we decline the Religious consideration, yet in cemiterial and narrower burying places, to avoid confusion and crosse position, a certain posture were to be admitted; which even Pagan civility observed, The *Persians* lay North and South, The *Megarians* and *Phœnicians* placed their heads to the East: The *Athenians*, some think, towards the West, which Christians still retain. And *Beda* will have it to be the posture of our Saviour. That he was crucified with his face towards the West, we will not contend with tradition and probable account; But we applaud not the hand of the Painter, in exalting his Cross so high above those on either side; since hereof we finde no authentick account in history, and even the crosses found by *Helena* pretend no such distinction from longitude or dimension.

To be gnawd out of our graves, to have our sculs made drinking-bowls, and our bones turned into Pipes, to delight and sport our Enemies, are Tragical abominations, escaped in burning Burials.

Urnal enterrments, and burnt Reliques lye not in fear of worms, or to be an heritage for Serpents; In carnal sepulture, corruptions seem peculiar unto parts, and some speak of snakes out of the spinal marrow. But while we suppose common wormes in graves, 'tis not easie to finde any there; few in Church-yards above a foot deep, fewer or none in Churches, though in fresh decayed bodies. Teeth, bones, and hair, give the most lasting defiance to corruption. In an Hydropical body ten years buried in a Church yard, we met with a fat concretion, where the nitre of the Earth, and the salt and lixivious liquor of the body, had coagulated large lumps of fat, into the consistence of the hardest castle-soap; whereof part remaineth with us. After a battle with the *Persians*, the *Romane* Corps decayed in few dayes, while the *Persian* bodies remained dry and uncorrupted. Bodies in the same ground do not uniformly dissolve, nor bones equally moulder; whereof in the opprobrious disease we expect no long duration. The body of the Marquess of *Dorset* seemed sound and handsomely cereclothed, that after seventy eight years was found uncorrupted.⁷⁶ Common Tombs preserve not beyond powder: A firmer consistence and compage of parts might be expected from Arefaction, deep burial or Charcoal. The greatest Antiquities of mortal bodies may remain in petrified bones, whereof, though we take not in the pillar of *Lots* wife, or Metamorphosis of *Ortelius*,⁷⁷ some may be older then Pyramids, in the petrified Reliques of the general inundation. When *Alexander* opened the Tomb of *Cyrus*, the remaining bones discovered his proportion, whereof urnal fragments afford but a bad conjecture, and have this disadvantage of grave enterrments, that they leave us ignorant of most personal discoveries. For since bones afford not only rectitude and stability, but figure unto the body; It is no impossible Physiognomy to conjecture at fleshly appendencies; and after what shape the muscles and carnous parts might hang in their full consistences. A full spread *Cariola* shews a well-shaped horse behinde, handsome formed sculls, give some analogy of flesh resemblance. A critical view of bones makes a good distinction of sexes. Even colour is not beyond conjecture, since it is hard to be deceived in the distinction of *Negro's* sculls. *Dantes*⁷⁸ Characters are to be found in sculls as well as faces. *Hercules* is

⁷⁴ Siste viator.

⁷⁵ Kirckmannus de funer.

⁷⁶ Of Thomas Marquesse of Dorset, whose body being buried 1530, was 1608 upon the cutting open of the Cerecloth found perfect and nothing corrupted, the flesh not hardened, but in colour, proportion, and softnesse like an ordinary corps newly to be interred. Burtons descript. of Leicestershire.

⁷⁷ In his Map of Russia.

⁷⁸ The Poet Dante in his view of Purgatory, found gluttons so meagre, and extenuated, that he conceived them to have been in the siege of Jerusalem, and that it was easie to have discovered Homo or Omo in their faces: M being made by the two lines of their cheeks,

not onely known by his foot. Other parts make out their comproportions, and inferences upon whole, or parts. And since the dimensions of the head measure the whole body, and the figure thereof gives conjecture of the principal faculties; Physiognomy out-lives our selves, and ends not in our graves.

Severe contemplators observing these lasting reliques, may think them good monuments of persons past, little advantage to future beings. And considering that power which subdueth all things unto it self, that can resume the scattered Atomes, or identifie out of any thing, conceive it superfluous to expect a resurrection out of Reliques. But the soul subsisting, other matter clothed with due accidents, may salve the individuality: Yet the Saints we observe arose from graves and monuments, about the holy City. Some think the ancient Patriarchs so earnestly desired to lay their bones in *Canaan*, as hoping to make a part of that Resurrection, and though thirty miles from Mount *Calvary*, at least to lie in that Region, which should produce the first-fruits of the dead. And if according to learned conjecture, the bodies of men shall rise where their greatest Reliques remain, many are not like to erre in the Topography of their Resurrection, though their bones or bodies be after translated by Angels into the field of *Ezechiels* vision, or as some will order it, into the Valley of Judgement, or *Jehosaphat*.⁷⁹

CHAPTER IV

Christians have handsomely glossed the deformity of death, by careful consideration of the body, and civil rites which take off brutal terminations. And though they conceived all reparable by a resurrection, cast not off all care of enterrment. And since the ashes of Sacrifices burnt upon the Altar of God, were carefully carried out by the Priests, and deposited in a clean field; since they acknowledged their bodies to be the lodging of Christ, and temples of the holy Ghost, they devolved not all upon the sufficiency of soul existence; and therefore with long services and full solemnities concluded their last Exequies, wherein⁸⁰ to all distinctions the Greek devotion seems most pathetically ceremonious.

Christian invention hath chiefly driven at Rites, which speak hopes of another life, and hints of a Resurrection. And if the ancient Gentiles held not the immortality of their better part, and some subsistence after death; in several rites, customes, actions and expressions, they contradicted their own opinions: wherein *Democritus* went high, even to the thought of a resurrection,⁸¹ as scoffingly recorded by *Pliny*. What can be more express than the expression of *Phocyllides*?⁸² Or who would expect from *Lucretius*⁸³ a sentence of *Ecclesiastes*? Before *Plato* could speak, the soul had wings in *Homer*, which fell not, but flew out of the body into the mansions of the dead; who also observed that handsome distinction of *Demas* and *Soma*, for the body conjoynd to the soul and body separated from it. *Lucian* spoke much truth in jest, when he said, that part of *Hercules* which proceeded from *Alchmena* perished, that from *Jupiter* remained immortal. Thus *Socrates*⁸⁴ was content that his friends should bury his body, so they would not think they buried *Socrates*, and regarding only his immortal part, was indifferent to be burnt or buried. From such Considerations *Diogenes* might contemn Sepulture. And being satisfied that the soul could not perish, grow careless of corporal enterrment. The *Stoicks* who thought the souls of wise men had their habitation about the *Moon*, might make slight account

arching over the Eye-brows to the nose, and their sunk eyes making O O which makes up Omo. Parean l'occhiaie anella senza gemme che nel viso de gli huomini legge huomo Ben'hauria quiui conosciuto l'emme.

⁷⁹ Tirin. in *Ezek*.

⁸⁰ Rituale Græcum opera J. Goar in officio exequiarum.

⁸¹ Similis reviviscendi promissa Democrito vanitas, qui non revixit ipse. Quæ, malùm, ista dementia est; iterari vitam morte. *Plin.* l. 7 c. 55.

⁸² Καὶ τάχα δ' ἐκ γαίης ἐλπίζομεν ἐς φάος ἐλθεῖν λειψαν ἀποικομένων.

⁸³ Cedit enim retro de terra quod fuit ante In terram, etc. *Lucret.*

⁸⁴ Plato in *Phæd*.

of subterraneous deposition; whereas the *Pythagorians* and transcorporating Philosophers, who were to be often buried, held great care of their enterrment. And the Platonicks rejected not a due care of the grave, though they put their ashes to unreasonable expectations, in their tedious term of return and long set revolution.

Men have lost their reason in nothing so much as their Religion, wherein stones and clouts make Martyrs; and since the Religion of one seems madness unto another, to afford an account or rational of old Rites, requires no rigid Reader; That they kindled the pyre aversly, or turning their face from it, was an handsome Symbole of unwilling ministration; That they washed their bones with wine and milk, that the mother wrapt them in Linnen, and dryed them in her bosome, the first fostering part, and place of their nourishment; That they opened their eyes towards heaven, before they kindled the fire, as the place of their hopes or original, were no improper Ceremonies. Their last valediction⁸⁵

⁸⁵ Vale, vale, vale, nos te ordine quo natura permittet sequemur.

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