overthrow? He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

This is true, that the wisdom of all these latter times in princes' affairs is rather fine deliveries and shiftings of dangers and mischiefs when they are near, than solid and grounded courses to keep them aloof. But this is but to try masteries with fortune. And let men beware how they neglect and suffer matter of trouble to be prepared; for no man can forbid the spark, nor tell whence it may come. The difficulties in princes' business are many and great; but the greatest difficulty is often in their own mind. For it is common with princes (saith Tacitus [28]) to will contradictories, *Sunt plerumque regum voluntates vehementes, et inter se contrariæ* [Their desires are commonly vehement and incompatible one with another]. For it is the solecism of power, to think to command the end, and yet not to endure the mean.

Kings have to deal with their neighbours, their wives, their children, their prelates or clergy, their nobles, their second nobles or gentlemen, their merchants, their commons, and their men of war; and from all these arise dangers, if care and circumspection be not used.

First for their neighbours; there can no general rule be given (the occasions are so variable), save one, which ever holdeth; which is, that princes do keep due sentinel, that none of their neighbours do overgrow so (by increase of territory, by embracing of trade, by approaches, or the like), as they become more able to annoy them than they were. And this is generally the work of standing counsels to foresee and to hinder it. During that triumvirate of kings, King Henry the Eighth of England, Francis the First King of France, and Charles the Fifth Emperor, there was such a watch kept, that none of the three could win a palm of ground, but the other two would straightways balance it, either by confederation, or, if need were, by a war; and would not in any wise take up peace at interest. And the like was done by that league (which Guicciardine saith was the security of Italy) made between Ferdinando King of Naples, Lorenzius Medices, and Ludovicus Sforza, potentates, the one of Florence, the other of Milan. Neither is the opinion of some of the schoolmen to be received, *that a war cannot justly be made but upon a precedent injury or provocation.* For there is no question but a just fear of an imminent danger, though there be no blow given, is a lawful cause of a war.

For their wives; there are cruel examples of them. Livia is infamed for the poisoning of her husband; Roxalana, Solyman's wife, was the destruction of that renowned prince Sultan Mustapha, and otherwise troubled his house and succession; Edward the Second of England his queen had the principal hand in the deposing and murder of her husband. This kind of danger is then to be feared chiefly, when the wives have plots for the raising of their own children; or else that they be advoutresses.

For their children; the tragedies likewise of dangers from them have been many. And generally, the entering of fathers into suspicion of their children hath been ever unfortunate. The destruction of Mustapha (that we named before) was so fatal to Solyman's line, as the succession of the Turks from Solyman until this day is suspected to be untrue, and of strange blood; for that Selymus the Second was thought to be suppositious. The destruction of Crispus, a young prince of rare towardness, by Constantinus the Great, his father, was in like manner fatal to his house; for both Constantinus and Constance, his sons, died violent deaths; and Constantius, his other son, did little better; who died indeed of sickness, but after that Julianus had taken arms against him. The destruction of Demetrius, son to Philip the Second of Macedon, turned upon the father, who died of repentance. And many like examples there are; but few or none where the fathers had good by such distrust; except it were where the sons were up in open arms against them; as was Selymus the First against Bajazet; and the three sons of Henry the Second, King of England.

[28] Not Tacitus, but Sallust. *Bell. Jug.* 113

For their prelates; when they are proud and great, there is also danger from them; as it was in the times of Anselmus and Thomas Becket, Archbishops of Canterbury; who with their crosiers did almost try it with the king's sword; and yet they had to deal with stout and haughty kings; William Rufus, Henry the First, and Henry the Second. The danger is not from that state, but where it hath a dependance of foreign authority; or where the churchmen come in and are elected, not by the collation of the king, or particular patrons, but by the people.

For their nobles; to keep them at a distance, it is not amiss; but to depress them may make a king more absolute, but less safe; and less able to perform any thing that he desires. I have noted it in my History of King Henry the Seventh of England, who depressed his nobility; whereupon it came to pass that his times were full of difficulties and troubles; for the nobility, though they continued loyal unto him, yet did they not co-operate with him in his business. So that in effect he was fain to do all things himself.

For their second-nobles; there is not much danger from them, being a body dispersed. They may sometimes discourse high, but that doth little hurt; besides, they are a counterpoise to the higher nobility, that they grow not too potent; and, lastly, being the most immediate in authority with the common people, they do best temper popular commotions.

For their merchants; they are *vena porta*[29]; and if they flourish not, a kingdom may have good limbs, but will have empty veins, and nourish little. Taxes and imposts upon them do seldom good to the king's revenue; for that that he wins in the hundred he leeseth in the shire; the particular rates being increased, but the total bulk of trading rather decreased.

For their commons; there is little danger from them, except it be where they have great and potent heads; or where you meddle with the point of religion, or their customs, or means of life.

For their men of war; it is a dangerous state where they live and remain in a body, and are used to donatives; whereof we see examples in the janizaries, and pretorian bands of Rome; but trainings of men, and arming them in several places, and under several commanders, and without donatives, are things of defence, and no danger.

Princes are like to heavenly bodies, which cause good or evil times; and which have much veneration, but no rest. All precepts concerning kings are in effect comprehended in those two remembrances; *memento quod es homo*; and *memento quod es Deus*, or *vice Dei* [Remember that you are a man; and remember that you are a God, or God's lieutenant]: the one bridleth their power, and the other their will.

XX. Of Counsel.

The greatest trust between man and man is the trust of giving counsel. For in other confidences men commit the parts of life; their lands, their goods, their

[29] Upon this phrase, which recurs two or three times in Bacon (see for instance the History of Henry VII.: "being a king that loved wealth and treasure, he could not endure to have trade sick, nor any obstruction to continue *in the gate-vein, which disperseth that blood*)," I am indebted to Mr. Ellis for the following characteristic note. "The metaphor," he writes "is historically curious; for no one would have used it since the discovery of the circulation of the blood and of the lacteals. But in Bacon's time it was supposed that the chyle was taken up by the veins which converge to the *vena porta*. The latter immediately divides into branches, and ultimately into four ramifications, which are distributed throughout the substance of the liver, so that it has been compared to the trunk of a tree giving off roots at one extremity and branches at the other. Bacon's meaning therefore is, that commerce concentrates the resources of a country in order to their redistribution. The *heart*, which receives blood from all parts of the body and brings it into contact with the external air, and then redistributes it everywhere, would I think have taken the place of the *vena porta*, after Harvey's discovery had become known; especially as the latter is a mere conduit, and not a source of motion."

child [30], their credit, some particular affair; but to such as they make their counsellors, they commit the whole: by how much the more they are obliged to all faith and integrity. The wisest princes need not think it any diminution to their greatness, or derogation to their sufficiency, to rely upon counsel. God himself is not without, but hath made it one of the great names of his blessed Son; *The Counsellor*. Salomon hath pronounced that *in counsel is stability*. Things will have their first or second agitation: if they be not tossed upon the arguments of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune; and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man. Salomon's son found the force of counsel, as his father saw the necessity of it. For the beloved kingdom of God was first rent and broken by ill counsel; upon which counsel there are set for our instruction the two marks whereby bad counsel is for ever best discerned; that it was young counsel, for the persons; and violent counsel, for the matter.

The ancient times do set forth in figure both the incorporation and inseparable conjunction of counsel with kings, and the wise and politic use of counsel by kings: the one, in that they say Jupiter did marry Metis, which signifieth counsel; whereby they intend that Sovereignty is married to Counsel: the other in that which followeth, which was thus: They say, after Jupiter was married to Metis, she conceived by him and was with child, but Jupiter suffered her not to stay till she brought forth, but eat her up; whereby he became himself with child, and was delivered of Pallas armed, out of his head. Which monstrous fable containeth a secret of empire; how kings are to make use of their counsel of state. That first they ought to refer matters unto them, which is the first begetting or impregnation; but when they are elaborate, moulded, and shaped in the womb of their counsel, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their counsel to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them; but take the matter back into their own hands, and make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions (which, because they come forth with prudence and power, are resembled to Pallas armed) proceeded from themselves; and not only from their authority, but (the more to add reputation to themselves) from their head and device.

Let us now speak of the inconveniences of counsel, and of the remedies. The inconveniences that have been noted in calling and using counsel, are three. First, the revealing of affairs, whereby they become less secret. Secondly, the weakening of the authority of princes, as if they were less of themselves. Thirdly, the danger of being unfaithfully counselled, and more for the good of them that counsel than of him that is counselled. For which inconveniences, the doctrine of Italy [31], and practice of France, in some kings' times, hath introduced *cabinet* counsels; a remedy worse than the disease [32].

As to secrecy; princes are not bound to communicate all matters with all counsellors; but may extract and select. Neither is it necessary that he that consulteth what he should do, should declare what he will do. But let princes beware that the unsecreting of their affairs comes not from themselves. And as for cabinet counsels, it may be their motto, *plenus rimarum sum* [they are full of leaks]: one futile person that maketh it his glory to tell, will do more hurt than many that know it their duty to conceal. It is true there be some affairs which require extreme secrecy, which will hardly go beyond one or two persons besides the king: neither are those counsels unprosperous; for, besides the

[30] So edd. 1612 and 1625. Ed. 1639 has *children*.

[31] *doctrina quorundam ex Italis*. The Italian translation has *l'uso d'Italia e di Francia*.

[32] The sentence ends here in both the printed editions. But in a manuscript copy, with alterations in Bacon's own hand, and which appears to have been written a little earlier than 1612, the following clause is added: "which hath turned Metis the wife to Metis the mistress; that is counsels of state, to which princes are married, to counsels of favoured persons, recommended chiefly by flattery and affection". *Cabinet Counsels* therefore (translated *concilia interiora quæ vulgo vocantur* Cabinetti) are not to be understood in the modern sense. What we call the Cabinht answers exactly to what Bacon calls a Counsel of State.

secrecy, they commonly go on constantly in one spirit of direction, without distraction. But then it must be a prudent king, such as is able to grind with a hand-mill; and those inward counsellors had need also be wise men, and especially true and trusty to the king's ends; as it was with King Henry the Seventh of England, who in his greatest business imparted himself to none, except it were to Morton and Fox.

For weakening of authority; the fable[33] showeth the remedy. Nay, the majesty of kings is rather exalted than diminished when they are in the chair of counsel; neither was there ever prince bereaved of his dependances by his counsel; except where there hath been either an over-greatness in one counsellor or an over-strict combination in divers; which are things soon found and holpen.

For the last inconvenience, that men will counsel with an eye to themselves; certainly, *non inveniet fidem super terram* [he will not find faith on the earth], is meant of the nature of times, and not of all particular persons. There be that are in nature faithful, and sincere, and plain, and direct; not crafty and involved; let princes, above all, draw to themselves such natures. Besides, counsellors are not commonly so united, but that one counsellor keepeth sentinel over another; so that if any do counsel out of faction or private ends, it commonly comes to the king's ear. But the best remedy is, if princes know their counsellors as well as their counsellors know them:

Principis est virtus maxima nosse suos.

And on the other side, counsellors should not be too speculative into their sovereign's person. The true composition of a counsellor is rather to be skilful in their master's business, than in his nature; for then he is like to advise him and not feed his humour. It is of singular use to princes if they take the opinions of their counsel both separately and together. For private opinion is more free; but opinion before others is more reverent. In private, men are more bold in their own humours; and in consort, men are more obnoxious to others' humours; therefore it is good to take both; and of the inferior sort rather in private, to preserve freedom; of the greater rather in consort, to preserve respect. It is in vain for princes to take counsel concerning matters, if they take no counsel likewise concerning persons; for all matters are as dead images; and the life of the execution of affairs resteth in the good choice of persons. Neither is it enough to consult concerning persons *secundum genera*, as in an idea, or mathematical description, what the kind and character of the person should be; for the greatest errors are committed, and the most judgment is shown, in the choice of individuals. It was truly said, *optimi consiliarii mortui* [the best counsellors are the dead]: books will speak plain when counsellors blanch. Therefore it is good to be conversant in them, specially the books of such as themselves have been actors upon the stage.

The counsels at this day in most places are but familiar meetings, where matters are rather talked on than debated. And they run too swift to the order or act of counsel. It were better that in causes of weight, the matter were propounded one day and not spoken to till the next day; *in nocte consilium* [night is the season for counsel]. So was it done in the Commission of Union between England and Scotland; which was a grave and orderly assembly. I commend set days for petitions; for both it gives the suitors more certainty for their attendance, and it frees the meetings for matters of estate, that they may *hoc agere*. In choice of committees for ripening business for the counsel, it is better to choose indifferent persons, than to make an indifferency by putting in those that are strong on both sides. I commend also standing commissions; as for trade, for treasure, for war, for suits, for some provinces; for where there be divers particular counsels and but one counsel of estate (as it is in Spain), they are, in effect, no more than standing commissions: save that they have greater authority. Let such as are to inform counsels out of their particular professions, (as lawyers, seamen, mintmen, and the like), be first heard before committees; and then, as occasion serves, before the counsel. And let them not come in

[33] That is, the fable of Jupiter and Metis.

multitudes, or in a tribunitious manner; for that is to clamour counsels, not to inform them. A long table and a square table, or seats about the walls, seem things of form, but are things of substance; for at a long table a few at the upper end, in effect, sway all the business; but in the other form there is more use of the counsellors' opinions that sit lower. A king, when he presides in counsel, let him beware how he opens his own inclination too much in that which he propoundeth; for else counsellors will but take the wind of him, and instead of giving free counsel, sing him a song of *placebo*.

XXI. Of Delays.

Fortune is like the market; where many times, if you can stay a little, the price will fall. And again, it is sometimes like Sibylla's offer; which at first offereth the commodity at full, then consumeth part and part, and still holdeth up the price. For occasion (as it is in the common verse) *turneth a bald noddle, after she hath presented her locks in front, and no hold taken;* or at least turneth the handle of the bottle first to be received, and after the belly, which is hard to clasp. There is surely no greater wisdom than well to time the beginnings and onsets of things. Dangers are no more light, if they once seem light; and more dangers have deceived men than forced them. Nay, it were better to meet some dangers half way, though they come nothing near, than to keep too long a watch upon their approaches; for if a man watch too long, it is odds he will fall asleep. On the other side, to be deceived with too long shadows (as some have been when the moon was low and shone on their enemies' back), and so to shoot off before the time; or to teach dangers to come on, by over early buckling towards them; is another extreme. The ripeness or unripeness of the occasion (as we said) must ever be well weighed; and generally it is good to commit the beginnings of all great actions to Argos with his hundred eyes, and the ends to Briareus with his hundred hands; first to watch, and then to speed. For the helmet of Pluto, which maketh the politic man go invisible, is secrecy in the counsel and celerity in the execution. For when things are once come to the execution, there is no secrecy comparable to celerity; like the motion of a bullet in the air, which flieth so swift as it outruns the eye.

XXII. Of Cunning.

We take Cunning for a sinister or crooked wisdom. And certainly there is a great difference between a cunning man and a wise man; not only in point of honesty, but in point of ability. There be that can pack the cards, and yet cannot play well; so there are some that are good in canvasses and factions that are otherwise weak men. Again, it is one thing to understand persons and another thing to understand matters; for many are perfect in men's humours that are not greatly capable of the real part of business, which is the constitution of one that hath studied men more than books. Such men are fitter for practice than for counsel; and they are good but in their own alley: turn them to new men, and they have lost their aim; so as the old rule to know a fool from a wise man, *Mitte ambos nudos ad ignotos, et videbis* [Send them both naked to those they know not], doth scarce hold for them. And because these cunning men are like haberdashers of small wares, it is not amiss to set forth their shop.

It is a point of cunning, to wait upon him with whom you speak, with your eye; as the Jesuits give it in precept: for there be many wise men that have secret hearts and transparent countenances. Yet this would be done with a demure abasing of your eye sometimes, as the Jesuits also do use.

Another is, that when you have any thing to obtain of present despatch, you entertain and amuse the party with whom you deal with some other discourse, that he be not too much awake to make objections. I knew a counsellor and secretary, that never came to Queen Elizabeth of England with bills to sign, but he would always first put her into some discourse of estate, that she mought the less mind the bills.

The like surprise may be made by moving things when the party is in haste, and cannot stay to consider advisedly of that is moved.

If a man would cross a business that he doubts some other would handsomely and effectually move, let him pretend to wish it well, and move it himself in such sort as may foil it.

The breaking off in the midst of that one was about to say, as if he took himself up, breeds a greater appetite in him with whom you confer to know more.

And because it works better when any thing seemeth to be gotten from you by question, than if you offer it of yourself, you may lay a bait for a question by showing another visage and countenance than you are wont; to the end to give ocasion for the party to ask what the matter is of the change? As Nehemias did; *And I had not before that time been sad before the king.*

In things that are tender and unpleasing, it is good to break the ice by some whose words are of less weight, and to reserve the more weighty voice to come in as by chance, so that he may be asked the question upon the other's speech; as Narcissus did, in relating to Claudius the marriage of Messalina and Silius.

In things that a man would not be seen in himself, it is a point of cunning to borrow the name of the world; as to say, *The world says*, or *There is a speech abroad.*

I knew one that, when he wrote a letter, he would put that which was most material in the postscript, as if it had been a bye-matter.

I knew another that, when he came to have speech, he would pass over that that he intended most; and go forth, and come back again, and speak of it as of a thing that he had almost forgot.

Some procure themselves to be surprised at such times as it is like the party that they work upon will suddenly come upon them; and to be found with a letter in their hand, or doing somewhat which they are not accustomed; to the end they may be apposed of those things which of themselves they are desirous to utter.

It is a point of cunning, to let fall those words in a man's own name, which he would have another man learn and use, and thereupon take advantage. I knew two that were competitors for the secretary's place in queen Elizabeth's time, and yet kept good quarter between themselves; and would confer one with another upon the business; and the one of them said, That to be a secretary *in the declination of a monarchy* was a ticklish thing, and that he did not affect it: the other straight caught up those words, and discoursed with divers of his friends, that he had no reason to desire to be secretary in the declination of a monarchy. The first man took hold of it, and found means it was told the Queen; who hearing of *a declination of a monarchy*, took it so ill, as she would never after hear of the other's suit.

There is a cunning, which we in England call *The turning of the cat in the pan* which is, when that which a man says to another, he lays it as if another had said it to him. And to say truth, it is not easy, when such a matter passed between two, to make it appear from which of them it first moved and began.

It is a way that some men have, to glance and dart at others by justifying themselves by negatives; as to say *This I do not;* as Tigellinus did, towards Burrhus; *Se non diversas spes, sed incolumitatem imperatoris simpliciter spectare* [That he had not several hopes to rest on, but looked simply to the safety of the Emperor].

Some have in readiness so many tales and stories, as there is nothing they would insinuate, but they can wrap it into a tale; which serveth both to keep themselves more in guard, and to make others carry it with more pleasure.

It is a good point of cunning, for a man to shape the answer he would have in his own words and propositions; for it makes the other party stick the less.

It is strange how long some men will lie in wait to speak somewhat they desire to say; and how far about they will fetch; and how many other matters they will beat over, to come near it. It is a thing of great patience, but yet of much use.

A sudden, bold, and unexpected question doth many times surprise a man, and lay him open. Like to him that, having changed his name, and walking in Paul's, another suddenly came behind him and called him by his true name, whereat straightways he looked back.

But these small wares and petty points of cunning are infinite; and it were a good deed to make a list of them, for that nothing doth more hurt in a state than that cunning men pass for wise.

But certainly some there are that know the resorts and falls of business, that cannot sink into the main of it; like a house that hath convenient stairs and entries, but never a fair room. Therefore you shall see them find out pretty looses in the conclusion, but are no ways able to examine or debate matters. And yet commonly they take advantage of their inability, and would be thought wits of direction. Some build rather upon the abusing of others, and (as we now say) *putting tricks upon them*, than upon soundness of their own proceedings. But Salomon saith, *Prudens advertit ad gressus suos: stultus divertit ad dolos* [The wise man taketh heed to his steps: the fool turneth aside to deceits].

XXIII. Of Wisdom for a Man's Self.

An ant is a wise creature for itself, but it is a shrewd thing in an orchard or garden. And certainly men that are great lovers of themselves waste the public. Divide with reason between self-love and society; and be so true to thyself, as thou be not false to others; specially to thy king and country. It is a poor centre of a man's actions, *himself*. It is right earth. For that only stands fast upon his own centre; whereas all things that have affinity with the heavens move upon the centre of another, which they benefit. The referring of all to a man's self is more tolerable in a sovereign prince; because themselves are not only themselves, but their good and evil is at the peril of the public fortune. But it is a desperate evil in a servant to a prince, or a citizen in a republic. For whatsoever affairs pass such a man's hands, he crooketh them to his own ends; which must needs be often eccentric to the ends of his master or state. Therefore let princes, or states, choose such servants as have not this mark; except they mean their service should be made but the accessary. That which maketh the effect more pernicious is that all proportion is lost. It were disproportion enough for the servant's good to be preferred before the master's; but yet it is a greater extreme, when a little good of the servant shall carry things against a great good of the master's. And yet that is the case of bad officers, treasurers, ambassadors, generals, and other false and corrupt servants; which set a bias upon their bowl, of their own petty ends and envies, to the overthrow of their master's great and important affairs. And for the most part, the good such servants receive is after the model of their own fortune; but the hurt they sell for that good is after the model of their master's fortune. And certainly it is the nature of extreme self-lovers, as they will set an house on fire, and it were but to roast their eggs; and yet these men many times hold credit with their masters, because their study is but to please them and profit themselves; and for either respect they will abandon the good of their affairs.

Wisdom for a man's self is, in many branches thereof, a depraved thing. It is the wisdom of rats, that will be sure to leave a house somewhat before it falls. It is the wisdom of the fox, that thrusts out the badger, who digged and made room for him. It is the wisdom of crocodiles, that shed tears when they would devour. But that which is specially to be noted is, that those which (as Cicero says of Pompey) are *sui amantes, sine rivali* [lovers of themselves without rival], are many times unfortunate. And whereas they have all their times sacrificed to themselves, they become in the end themselves sacrifices to the inconstancy of fortune; whose wings they thought by their self-wisdom to have pinioned.

XXIV. Of Innovations.

As the births of living creatures at first are ill-shapen, so are all Innovations which are the births of time. Yet notwithstanding, as those that first bring honour into their family are commonly more worthy than most that succeed, so the first precedent (if it be good) is seldom attained by imitation. For Ill, to man's nature as it stands perverted, hath a natural motion, strongest in continuance; but Good, as a forced motion, strongest at first. Surely every medicine is an innovation; and he that will not apply new remedies must expect

new evils; for time is the greatest innovator; and if time of course alter things to the worse, and wisdom and counsel shall not alter them to the better, what shall be the end? It is true, that what is settled by custom, though it be not good, yet at least it is fit; and those things which have long gone together, are as it were confederate within themselves; whereas new things piece not so well; but though they help by their utility, yet they trouble by their inconformity. Besides, they are like strangers; more admired and less favoured. All this is true, if time stood still; which contrariwise moveth so round, that a froward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as an innovation; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new. It were good therefore that men in their innovations would follow the example of time itself; which indeed innovateth greatly, but quietly, and by degrees scarce to be perceived. For otherwise, whatsoever is new is unlooked for; and ever it mends some, and pairs other; and he that is holpen takes it for a fortune, and thanks the time; and he that is hurt, for a wrong, and imputeth it to the author. It is good also not to try experiments in states, except the necessity be urgent, or the utility evident; and well to beware that it be the reformation that draweth on the change, and not the desire of change that pretendeth the reformation. And lastly, that the novelty, though it be not rejected, yet be held for a suspect; and, as the Scripture saith, *that we make a stand upon the ancient way, and then look about us, and discover what is the straight and right way, and so to walk in it.*

XXV. Of Dispatch.

Affected dispatch is one of the most dangerous things to business that can be. It is like that which the physicians call *predigestion*, or hasty digestion; which is sure to fill the body full of crudities and secret seeds of diseases. Therefore measure not dispatch by the times of sitting, but by the advancement of the business. And as in races it is not the large stride or high lift that makes the speed; so in business, the keeping close to the matter, and not taking of it too much at once, procureth dispatch. It is the care of some only to come off speedily for the time; or to contrive some false periods of business, because they may seem men of dispatch. But it is one thing to abbreviate by contracting, another by cutting off. And business so handled at several sittings or meetings goeth commonly backward and forward in an unsteady manner. I knew a wise man that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

On the other side, true dispatch is a rich thing. For time is the measure of business, as money is of wares; and business is bought at a dear hand where there is small dispatch. The Spartans and Spaniards have been noted to be of small dispatch; *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna; Let my death come from Spain;* for then it will be sure to be long in coming.

Give good hearing to those that give the first information in business; and rather direct them in the beginning, than interrupt them in the continuance of their speeches; for he that is put out of his own order will go forward and backward, and be more tedious while he waits upon his memory, than he could have been if he had gone on in his own course. But sometimes it is seen that the moderator is more troublesome than the actor.

Iterations are commonly loss of time. But there is no such gain of time as to iterate often the state of the question; for it chaseth away many a frivolous speech as it is coming forth. Long and curious speeches are as fit for dispatch as a robe or mantle with a long train is for race. Prefaces and passages, and excusations, and other speeches of reference to the person, are great wastes of time; and though they seem to proceed of modesty, they are bravery. Yet beware of being too material[34] when there is an impediment or obstruction in men's wills; for pre-occupation of mind ever requireth preface of speech; like a fomentation to make the unguent enter.

Above all things, order, and distribution, and singling out of parts, is the life

[34] That is, of keeping too close to the matter. *Cave ne in rem ipsam ab initio descendas.*

of dispatch; so as the distribution be not too subtle: for he that doth not divide will never enter well into business; and he that divideth too much will never come out of it clearly. To choose time is to save time; and an unseasonable motion is but beating the air. There be three parts of business; the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection. Whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few. The proceeding upon somewhat conceived in writing doth for the most part facilitate dispatch: for though it should be wholly rejected, yet that negative is more pregnant of direction than an indefinite; as ashes are more generative than dust.

XXVI. Of Seeming Wise.

It hath been an opinion, that the French are wiser than they seem, and the Spaniards seem wiser than they are. But howsoever it be between nations, certainly it is so between man and man. For as the Apostle saith of godliness, *Having a shew of godliness, but denying the power thereof*; so certainly there are in point of wisdom and sufficiency, that do nothing or little very solemnly: *magno conatu nugas*. It is a ridiculous thing and fit for a satire to persons of judgment, to see what shifts these formalists have, and what prospectives to make *superficies* to seem body that hath depth and bulk. Some are so close and reserved, as they will not shew their wares but by a dark light; and seem always to keep back somewhat; and when they know within themselves they speak of that they do not well know, would nevertheless seem to others to know of that which they may not well speak. Some help themselves with countenance and gesture, and are wise by signs; as Cicero saith of Piso, that when he answered him, he fetched one of his brows up to his forehead, and bent the other down to his chin; *Respondes, altero ad frontem sublato, altero ad mentum depresso supercilio, crudelitatem tibi non placere*. Some think to bear it by speaking a great word, and being peremptory; and go on, and take by admittance that which they cannot make good. Some, whatsoever is beyond their reach, will seem to despise or make light of it as impertinent or curious; and so would have their ignorance seem judgment. Some are never without a difference, and commonly by amusing men with a subtilty, blanch the matter; of whom A. Gellius saith, *Hominem delirum, qui verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera* [a trifler, that with verbal points and niceties breaks up the mass of matter]. Of which kind also, Plato in his Protagoras bringeth in Prodicus in scorn, and maketh him make a speech that consisteth of distinctions from the beginning to the end. Generally, such men in all deliberations find ease to be of the negative side, and affect a credit to object and foretell difficulties; for when propositions are denied there is an end of them; but if they be allowed, it requireth a new work; which false point of wisdom is the bane of business. To conclude, there is no decaying merchant, or inward beggar, hath so many tricks to uphold the credit of their wealth, as these empty persons have to maintain the credit of their sufficiency. Seeming wise men may make shift to get opinion; but let no man choose them for employment for certainly you were better take for business a man somewhat absurd than over-formal.

XXVII. Of Friendship.

It had been hard for him that spake it to have put more truth and untruth together in few words, than in that speech, *Whosoever is delighted in solitude is either a wild beast or a god*. For it is most true that a natural and secret hatred and aversation towards society in any man, hath somewhat of the savage beast; but it is most untrue that it should have any character at all of the divine nature except it proceed, not out of a pleasure in solitude, but out of a love and desire to sequester a man's self for a higher conversation: such as is found to have been falsely and feignedly in some of the heathen; as Epimenides the Candian, Numa the Roman, Empedocles the Sicilian, and Apollonius of Tyana; and truly and really in divers of the ancient hermits and holy fathers of the church. But little do men perceive what solitude is, and how far it extendeth. For a crowd is not company; and faces are but a gallery of pictures; and talk but a tinkling

cymbal, where there is no love. The Latin adage meeteth with it a little: *Magna civitas, magna solitudo* [a great town is a great solitude]; because in a great town friends are scattered; so that there is not that fellowship, for the most part, which is in less neighbourhoods. But we may go further, and affirm most truly that it is a mere and miserable solitude to want true friends; without which the world is but a wilderness; and even in this sense also of solitude, whosoever in the frame of his nature and affections is unfit for friendship, he taketh it of the beast, and not from humanity.

A principal fruit of friendship is the ease and discharge of the fulness and swellings of the heart, which passions of all kinds do cause and induce. We know diseases of stoppings and suffocations are the most dangerous in the body; and it is not much otherwise in the mind; you may take sarza to open the liver, steel to open the spleen, flower[35] of sulphur for the lungs, castoreum for the brain; but no receipt openeth the heart, but a true friend; to whom you may impart griefs, joys, fears, hopes, suspicions, counsels, and whatsoever lieth upon the heart to oppress it, in a kind of civil shrift or confession.

It is a strange thing to observe how high a rate great kings and monarchs do set upon this fruit of friendship whereof we speak: so great, as they purchase it many times at the hazard of their own safety and greatness. For princes, in regard of the distance of their fortune from that of their subjects and servants, cannot gather this fruit, except (to make themselves capable thereof) they raise some persons to be as it were companions and almost equals to themselves, which many times sorteth to inconvenience. The modern languages give unto such persons the name of favourites, or privadoes; as if it were matter of grace or conversation. But the Roman name attaineth the true use and cause thereof, naming them *participes curarum;* for it is that which tieth the knot. And we see plainly that this hath been done, not by weak and passionate princes only, but by the wisest and most politic that ever reigned; who have oftentimes joined to themselves some of their servants; whom both themselves have called friends, and allowed others likewise to call them in the same manner; using the word which is received between private men.

L. Sylla, when he commanded Rome, raised Pompey (after surnamed the Great) to that height, that Pompey vaunted himself for Sylla's over-match. For when he had carried the consulship for a friend of his[36], against the pursuit of Sylla, and that Sylla did a little resent thereat, and began to speak great, Pompey turned upon him again, and in effect bade him be quiet; *for that more men adored the sun rising than the sun setting.* With Julius Cæsar, Decimus Brutus had obtained that interest, as he set him down in his testament for heir in remainder after his nephew. And this was the man that had power with him to draw him forth to his death. For when Cæsar would have discharged the senate, in regard of some ill presages, and specially a dream of Calpurnia; this man lifted him gently by the arm out of his chair, telling him he hoped he would not dismiss the senate till his wife had dreamt a better dream. And it seemeth his favour was so great, as Antonius, in a letter which is recited *verbatim* in one of Cicero's Philippics, calleth him *venefica, witch;* as if he had enchanted Cæsar. Augustus raised Agrippa (though of mean birth) to that height, as when he consulted with Mæcenas about the marriage of his daughter Julia, Mæcenas took the liberty to tell him, *that he must either marry his daughter to Agrippa, or take away his life: there was no third way, he had made him so great.* With Tiberius Cæsar, Sejanus had ascended to that height, as they two were termed and reckoned as a pair of friends. Tiberius in a letter to him saith, *hæc pro amicitiâ nostrâ non occultavi* [these things, as our friendship required, I have not concealed from you]; and the whole senate dedicated an altar to Friendship as to a goddess, in respect of the great dearness of friendship between them two. The like or more was between Septimius Severus and Plautianus[37]. For he

[35] So Ed. 1639. The original edition has *flowers.*

[36] Lepidus. See Plutarch in Pompey. But the occasion on which Pompey made the remark in question was Sylla's opposition to his triumph.

[37] *Plantianus* in the original, and also in Ed. 1639, and in the Latin translation, in all the places.

forced his eldest son to marry the daughter of Plautianus; and would often maintain Plautianus in doing affronts to his son; and did write also in a letter to the senate, by these words: *I love the man so well, as I wish he may over-live me.* Now if these princes had been as a Trajan or a Marcus Aurelius, a man might have thought that this had proceeded of an abundant goodness of nature; but being men so wise, of such strength and severity of mind, and so extreme lovers of themselves, as all of these were, it proveth most plainly that they found their own felicity (though as great as ever happened to mortal men) but as an half piece, except they mought have a friend to make it entire; and yet, which is more, they were princes that had wives, sons, nephews; and yet all these could not supply the comfort of friendship.

It is not to be forgotten what Comineus observeth of his first master, Duke Charles the Hardy; namely, that he would communicate his secrets with none; and least of all, those secrets which troubled him most. Whereupon he goeth on and saith that towards his latter time *that closeness did impair and a little perish his understanding.* Surely Comineus mought have made the same judgment also, if it had pleased him, of his second master Lewis the Eleventh, whose closeness was indeed his tormentor. The parable of Pythagoras is dark, but true: *Cor ne edito; Eat not the heart.* Certainly, if a man would give it a hard phrase, those that want friends to open themselves unto are cannibals of their own hearts. But one thing is most admirable (wherewith I will conclude this first fruit of friendship), which is, that this communicating of a man's self to his friend works two contrary effects; for it redoubleth joys, and cutteth griefs in halfs. For there is no man that imparteth his joys to his friend but he joyeth the more: and no man that imparteth his griefs to his friend, but he grieveth the less. So that it is in truth of operation upon a man's mind, of like virtue as the alchymists use to attribute to their stone for man's body; that it worketh all contrary effects, but still to the good and benefit of nature. But yet without praying in aid of alchymists, there is a manifest image of this in the ordinary course of nature. For in bodies, union strengtheneth and cherisheth any natural action; and on the other side weakeneth and dulleth any violent impression; and even so it is of minds.

The second fruit of friendship is healthful and sovereign for the understanding, as the first is for the affections. For friendship maketh indeed a fair day in the affections, from storm and tempests; but it maketh daylight in the understanding, out of darkness and confusion of thoughts. Neither is this to be understood only of faithful counsel, which a man receiveth from his friend; but before you come to that, certain it is that whosoever hath his mind fraught with many thoughts, his wits and understanding do clarify and break up, in the communicating and discoursing with another; he tosseth his thoughts more easily; he marshalleth them more orderly; he seeth how they look when they are turned into words: finally, he waxeth wiser than himself; and that more by an hour's discourse than by a day's meditation. It was well said by Themistocles to the king of Persia, *That speech was like cloth of Arras, opened and put abroad; whereby the imagery doth appear in figure; whereas in thoughts they lie but as in packs.* Neither is this second fruit of friendship, in opening the understanding, restrained only to such friends as are able to give a man counsel; (they indeed are best); but even without that, a man learneth of himself, and bringeth his own thoughts to light, and whetteth his wits as against a stone, which itself cuts not. In a word, a man were better relate himself to a statua or picture, than to suffer his thoughts to pass in smother.

Add now, to make this second fruit of friendship complete, that other point which lieth more open and falleth within vulgar observation; which is faithful counsel from a friend. Heraclitus saith well in one of his enigmas, *Dry light is ever the best.* And certain it is, that the light that a man receiveth by counsel from another, is drier and purer than that which cometh from his own understanding and judgment; which is ever infused and drenched in his affections and customs. So as there is as much difference between the counsel that a friend giveth, and that a man giveth himself, as there is between the counsel of a friend and of a flatterer. For there is no such flatterer as is a man's self; and

there is no such remedy against flattery of a man's self as the liberty of a friend. Counsel is of two sorts; the one concerning manners, the other concerning business. For the first, the best preservative to keep the mind in health is the faithful admonition of a friend. The calling of a man's self to a strict account is a medicine, sometime, too piercing and corrosive. Reading good books of morality is a little flat and dead. Observing our faults in others is sometimes improper for our case. But the best receipt (best, I say, to work, and best to take) is the admonition of a friend. It is a strange thing to behold what gross errors and extreme absurdities many (especially of the greater sort) do commit, for want of a friend to tell them of them; to the great damage both of their fame and fortune: for, as St. James saith, they are as men *that look sometimes into a glass, and presently forget their own shape and favour.* As for business, a man may think, if he will, that two eyes see no more than one; or that a gamester seeth always more than a looker-on; or that a man in anger is as wise as he that hath said over the four and twenty letters; or that a musket may be shot off as well upon the arm as upon a rest; and such other fond and high imaginations, to think himself all in all. But when all is done, the help of good counsel is that which setteth business straight. And if any man think that he will take counsel, but it shall be by pieces; asking counsel in one business of one man, and in another business of another man; it is well (that is to say, better perhaps than if he asked none at all); but he runneth two dangers; one, that he shall not be faithfully counselled; for it is a rare thing, except it be from a perfect and entire friend, to have counsel given, but such as shall be bowed and crooked to some ends which he hath that giveth it. The other, that he shall have counsel given, hurtful and unsafe (though with good meaning), and mixed partly of mischief and partly of remedy; even as if you would call a physician that is thought good for the cure of the disease you complain of, but is unacquainted with your body; and therefore may put you in way for a present cure, but overthroweth your health in some other kind; and so cure the disease and kill the patient. But a friend that is wholly acquainted with a man's estate will beware, by furthering any present business, how he dasheth upon other inconvenience. And therefore rest not upon scattered counsels; they will rather distract and mislead, than settle and direct.

After these two noble fruits of friendship (peace in the affections, and support of the judgment), followeth the last fruit; which is like the pomegranate, full of many kernels; I mean aid and bearing a part in all actions and occasions. Here the best way to represent to life the manifold use of friendship, is to cast and see how many things there are which a man cannot do himself; and then it will appear that it was a sparing speech of the ancients, to say *that a friend is another himself*; for that a friend is far more than himself. Men have their time, and die many times in desire of some things which they principally take to heart; the bestowing of a child, the finishing of a work, or the like. If a man have a true friend he may rest almost secure that the care of those things will continue after him. So that a man hath, as it were, two lives in his desires. A man hath a body, and that body is confined to a place; but where friendship is, all offices of life are as it were granted to him and his deputy. For he may exercise them by his friend. How many things are there which a man cannot, with any face or comeliness, say or do himself? A man can scarce allege his own merits with modesty, much less extol them; a man cannot sometimes brook to supplicate or beg; and a number of the like. But all these things are graceful in a friend's mouth, which are blushing in a man's own. So again, a man's person hath many proper relations which he cannot put off. A man cannot speak to his son but as a father; to his wife but as a husband; to his enemy but upon terms; whereas a friend may speak as the case requires, and not as it sorteth with the person. But to enumerate these things were endless; I have given the rule, where a man cannot fitly play his own part; if he have not a friend, he may quit the stage.

XXVIII. Of Expense.

Riches are for spending, and spending for honour and good actions. Therefore extraordinary expense must be limited by the worth of the occasion; for voluntary undoing may be as well for a man's country as for the kingdom of heaven. But ordinary expense ought to be limited by a man's estate; and governed with such regard, as it be within his compass; and not subject to deceit and abuse of servants; and ordered to the best shew, that the bills may be less than the estimation abroad. Certainly, if a man will keep but of even hand, his ordinary expenses ought to be but to the half of his receipts; and if he think to wax rich, but to the third part. It is no baseness for the greatest to descend and look into their own estate. Some forbear it, not upon negligence alone, but doubting to bring themselves into melancholy, in respect they shall find it broken. But wounds cannot be cured without searching. He that cannot look into his own estate at all, had need both choose well those whom he employeth, and change them often; for new are more timorous and less subtle. He that can look into his estate but seldom, it behoveth him to turn all to certainties. A man had need, if he be plentiful in some kind of expense, to be as saving again in some other. As if he be plentiful in diet, to be saving in apparel; if he be plentiful in the hall, to be saving in the stable; and the like. For he that is plentiful in expenses of all kinds will hardly be preserved from decay. In clearing of a man's estate, he may as well hurt himself in being too sudden, as in letting it run on too long. For hasty selling is commonly as disadvantageable as interest. Besides, he that clears at once will relapse; for finding himself out of straits, he will revert to his customs: but he that cleareth by degrees induceth a habit of frugality, and gaineth as well upon his mind as upon his estate. Certainly, who hath a state to repair, may not despise small things; and commonly it is less dishonourable to abridge petty charges than to stoop to petty gettings. A man ought warily to begin charges which once begun will continue: but in matters that return not he may be more magnificent.

XXIX. Of the True Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates.

The speech of Themistocles the Athenian, which was haughty and arrogant in taking so much to himself, had been a grave and wise observation and censure, applied at large to others. Desired at a feast to touch a lute, he said, *He could not fiddle, but yet he could make a small town a great city.* These words (holpen a little with a metaphor) may express two differing abilities in those that deal in business of estate. For if a true survey be taken of counsellors and statesmen, there may be found (though rarely) those which can make a small state great, and yet cannot fiddle: as on the other side, there will be found a great many that can fiddle very cunningly, but yet are so far from being able to make a small state great, as their gift lieth the other way; to bring a great and flourishing estate to ruin and decay. And, certainly those degenerate arts and shifts, whereby many counsellors and governors gain both favour with their masters and estimation with the vulgar, deserve no better name than fiddling; being things rather pleasing for the time, and graceful to themselves only, than tending to the weal and advancement of the state which they serve. There are also (no doubt) counsellors and governors which may be held sufficient (*negotiis pares*), able to manage affairs, and to keep them from precipices and manifest inconveniences; which nevertheless are far from the ability to raise and amplify an estate in power, means, and fortune. But be the workmen what they may be, let us speak of the work; that is, the true Greatness of Kingdoms and Estates, and the means thereof. An argument fit for great and mighty princes to have in their hand; to the end that neither by over-measuring their forces, they leese themselves in vain enterprises; nor on the other side, by undervaluing them, they descend to fearful and pusillanimous counsels.

The greatness of an estate in bulk and territory, doth fall under measure; and the greatness of finances and revenew doth fall under computation. The population may appear by musters; and the number and greatness of cities and towns by cards and maps. But yet there is not any thing amongst civil

affairs more subject to error, than the right valuation and true judgment concerning the power and forces of an estate. The kingdom of heaven is compared, not to any great kernel or nut, but to a grain of mustard-seed; which is one of the least grains, but hath in it a property and spirit hastily to get up and spread. So are there states great in territory, and yet not apt to enlarge or command; and some that have but a small dimension of stem, and yet apt to be the foundations of great monarchies.

Walled towns, stored arsenals and armories, goodly races of horse, chariots of war, elephants, ordnance, artillery, and the like; all this is but a sheep in a lion's skin, except the breed and disposition of the people be stout and warlike. Nay, number (itself) in armies importeth not much, where the people is of weak courage; for (as Virgil saith) *It never troubles a wolf how many the sheep be.* The army of the Persians in the plains of Arbela was such a vast sea of people, as it did somewhat astonish the commanders in Alexander's army; who came to him, therefore, and wished him to set upon them by night; but he answered, *He would not pilfer the victory.* And the defeat was easy. When Tigranes, the Armenian, being encamped upon a hill with four hundred thousand men, discovered the army of the Romans, being not above fourteen thousand, marching towards him, he made himself merry with it and said, *Yonder men are too many for an ambassage, and too few for a fight.* But, before the sun set, he found them enow to give him the chase with infinite slaughter. Many are the examples of the great odds between number and courage: so that a man may truly make a judgment, that the principal point of greatness in any state is to have a race of military men. Neither is money the sinews of war (as it is trivially said), where the sinews of men's arms, in base and effeminate people, are failing. For Solon said well to Crœsus (when in ostentation he showed him his gold), *Sir, if any other come that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.* Therefore let any prince or state think soberly of his forces, except his militia of natives be of good and valiant soldiers. And let princes, on the other side, that have subjects of martial disposition, know their own strength; unless they be otherwise wanting unto themselves. As for mercenary forces (which is the help in this case), all examples show that whatsoever estate or prince doth rest upon them, *he may spread his feathers for a time, but he will mew them soon after.*

The blessing of Judah and Issachar will never meet; *that the same people or nation should be both the lion's whelp and the ass between burthens;* neither will it be, that a people overlaid with taxes should ever become valiant and martial. It is true that taxes levied by consent of the estate do abate men's courage less: as it hath been seen notably in the excises of the Low Countries; and, in some degree, in the subsidies of England. For you must note that we speak now of the heart, and not of the purse. So that although the same tribute and tax, laid by consent or by imposing, be all one to the purse, yet it works diversely upon the courage. So that you may conclude, *that no people over-charged with tribute is fit for empire.*

Let states that aim at greatness, take heed how their nobility and gentlemen do multiply too fast. For that maketh the common subject grow to be a peasant and base swain, driven out of heart, and in effect but the gentleman's labourer. Even as you may see in coppice woods; if you leave your staddles too thick, you shall never have clean underwood, but shrubs and bushes. So in countries, if the gentlemen be too many, the commons will be base; and you will bring it to that, that not the hundred poll will be fit for an helmet; especially as to the infantry, which is the nerve of an army; and so there will be great population and little strength. This which I speak of hath been no where better seen than by comparing of England and France; whereof England, though far less in territory and population, hath been (nevertheless) an over-match; in regard the middle people of England make good soldiers, which the peasants of France do not. And herein the device of king Henry the Seventh (whereof I have spoken largely in the history of his life) was profound and admirable; in making farms and houses of husbandry of a standard; that is, maintained with such a proportion of land unto them, as may breed a subject to live in convenient plenty, and no servile condition; and to keep the plough in the

hands of the owners, and not mere hirelings. And thus indeed you shall attain to Virgil's character which he gives to ancient Italy :

Terra potens armis atque ubere glebæ :

[A land powerful in arms and in productiveness of soil]. Neither is that state (which, for any thing I know, is almost peculiar to England, and hardly to be found any where else, except it be perhaps in Poland) to be passed over ; I mean the state of free servants and attendants upon noblemen and gentlemen ; which are no ways inferior unto the yeomanry for arms. And therefore out of all question, the splendour and magnificence and great retinues and hospitality of noblemen and gentlemen, received into custom, doth much conduce unto martial greatness. Whereas, contrariwise, the close and reserved living of noblemen and gentlemen causeth a penury of military forces.

By all means it is to be procured, that the trunk of Nebuchadnezzar's tree of monarchy be great enough to bear the branches and the boughs ; that is, that the natural subjects of the crown or state bear a sufficient proportion to the stranger subjects that they govern. Therefore all states that are liberal of naturalisation towards strangers are fit for empire. For to think that an handful of people can, with the greatest courage and policy in the world, embrace too large extent of dominion, it may hold for a time, but it will fail suddenly. The Spartans were a nice people in point of naturalisation ; whereby, while they kept their compass, they stood firm ; but when they did spread, and their boughs were becomen too great for their stem, they became a windfall upon the sudden. Never any state was in this point so open to receive strangers into their body as were the Romans. Therefore it sorted with them accordingly ; for they grew to the greatest monarchy. Their manner was to grant naturalisation (which they called *jus civitatis*), and to grant it in the highest degree ; that is, not only *jus commercii, jus connubii, jus hæreditatis ;* but also *jus suffragii*, and *jus honorum*. And this not to singular persons alone, but likewise to whole families ; yea to cities, and sometimes to nations. Add to this their custom of plantation of colonies ; whereby the Roman plant was removed into the soil of other nations. And putting both constitutions together, you will say that it was not the Romans that spread upon the world, but it was the world that spread upon the Romans ; and that was the sure way of greatness. I have marvelled sometimes at Spain, how they clasp and contain so large dominions with so few natural Spaniards ; but sure the whole compass of Spain is a very great body of a tree ; far above Rome and Sparta at the first. And besides, though they have not had that usage to naturalise liberally, yet they have that which is next to it ; that is, to employ almost indifferently all nations in their militia of ordinary soldiers ; yea and sometimes in their highest commands. Nay it seemeth at this instant they are sensible of this want of natives ; as by the Pragmatical Sanction, now published [38], appeareth.

It is certain, that sedentary and within-door arts, and delicate manufactures (that require rather the finger than the arm), have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition. And generally, all warlike people are a little idle, and love danger better than travail. Neither must they be too much broken of it, if they shall be preserved in vigour. Therefore it was great advantage in the ancient states of Sparta, Athens, Rome, and others, that they had the use of slaves, which commonly did rid those manufactures. But that is abolished, in greatest part, by the Christian law. That which cometh nearest to it, is to leave those arts chiefly to strangers (which for that purpose are the more easily to be received), and to contain the principal bulk of the vulgar natives within those three kinds,— tillers of the ground ; free servants ; and handicraftsmen of strong and manly arts, as smiths, masons, carpenters, etc. : not reckoning professed soldiers.

But above all, for empire and greatness, it importeth most, that a nation do profess arms as their principal honour, study, and occupation. For the things

[38] *hoc anno promulgata.* A royal decree, or *pragmatica*, was published in the summer of 1622, which gave certain privileges to persons who married, and further immunities to those who had six children. See Mr. Ellis's note, pp. 609–610.

which we formerly have spoken of are but habilitations towards arms; and what is habilitation without intention and act? Romulus, after his death (as they report or feign), sent a present to the Romans, that above all they should intend arms; and then they should prove the greatest empire of the world. The fabric of the state of Sparta was wholly (though not wisely) framed and composed to that scope and end. The Persians and Macedonians had it for a flash. The Gauls, Germans, Goths, Saxons, Normans, and others, had it for a time. The Turks have it at this day, though in great declination. Of Christian Europe, they that have it are, in effect, only the Spaniards. But it is so plain *that every man profiteth in that he most intendeth*, that it needeth not to be stood upon. It is enough to point at it; that no nation which doth not directly profess arms, may look to have greatness fall into their mouths. And on the other side, it is a most certain oracle of time, that those states that continue long in that profession (as the Romans and Turks principally have done) do wonders. And those that have professed arms but for an age, have notwithstanding commonly attained that greatness in that age which maintained them long after, when their profession and exercise of arms hath grown to decay.

Incident to this point is, for a state to have those laws or customs which may reach forth unto them just occasions (as may be pretended) of war. For there is that justice imprinted in the nature of men, that they enter not upon wars (whereof so many calamities do ensue) but upon some, at the least specious, grounds and quarrels. The Turk hath at hand, for cause of war, the propagation of his law or sect; a quarrel that he may always command. The Romans, though they esteemed the extending the limits of their empire to be great honour to their generals when it was done, yet they never rested upon that alone to begin a war. First therefore, let nations that pretend to greatness have this; that they be sensible of wrongs, either upon borderers, merchants, or politic ministers; and that they sit not too long upon a provocation. Secondly, let them be prest and ready to give aids and succours to their confederates; as it ever was with the Romans; insomuch as, if the confederates had leagues defensive with divers other states, and, upon invasion offered, did implore their aids severally, yet the Romans would ever be the foremost, and leave it to none other to have the honour. As for the wars which were anciently made on the behalf of a kind of party, or tacit conformity of estate, I do not see how they may be well justified: as when the Romans made a war for the liberty of Græcia; or when the Lacedæmonians and Athenians made wars to set up or pull down democracies and oligarchies; or when wars were made by foreigners, under the pretence of justice or protection, to deliver the subjects of others from tyranny and oppression; and the like. Let it suffice, that no estate expect to be great, that is not awake upon any just occasion of arming.

No body can be healthful without exercise, neither natural body nor politic; and certainly to a kingdom or estate, a just and honourable war is the true exercise. A civil war indeed is like the heat of a fever; but a foreign war is like the heat of exercise, and serveth to keep the body in health; for in a slothful peace, both courages will effeminate and manners corrupt. But howsoever it be for happiness, without all question, for greatness it maketh, to be still for the most part in arms; and the strength of a veteran army (though it be a chargeable business) always on foot, is that which commonly giveth the law, or at least the reputation, amongst all neighbour states; as may well be seen in Spain, which hath had, in one part or other, a veteran army almost continually, now by the space of six score years.

To be master of the sea is an abridgment of a monarchy. Cicero, writing to Atticus of Pompey his preparation against Cæsar, saith, *Consilium Pompeii plane Themistocleum est; putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri* [Pompey is going upon the policy of Themistocles; thinking that he who commands the sea commands all]. And, without doubt, Pompey had tired out Cæsar, if upon vain confidence he had not left that way. We see the great effects of battles by sea. The battle of Actium decided the empire of the world. The battle of Lepanto arrested the greatness of the Turk. There be many examples where sea-fights have been final to the war; but this is when princes or states have set up their

rest upon the battles. But thus much is certain, that he that commands the sea is at great liberty, and may take as much and as little of the war as he will. Whereas those that be strongest by land are many times nevertheless in great straits. Surely, at this day, with us of Europe, the vantage of strength at sea (which is one of the principal dowries of this kingdom of Great Britain) is great; both because most of the kingdoms of Europe are not merely inland, but girt with the sea most part of their compass; and because the wealth of both Indies seems in great part but an accessary to the command of the seas.

The wars of latter ages seem to be made in the dark, in respect of the glory and honour which reflected upon men from the wars in ancient time. There be now for martial encouragement, some degrees and orders of chivalry; which nevertheless are conferred promiscuously upon soldiers and no soldiers; and some remembrance perhaps upon the scutcheon; and some hospitals for maimed soldiers; and such like things. But in ancient times, the trophies erected upon the place of the victory; the funeral laudatives and monuments for those that died in the wars; the crowns and garlands personal; the style of Emperor, which the great kings of the world after borrowed; the triumphs of the generals upon their return; the great donatives and largesses upon the disbanding of the armies; were things able to inflame all men's courages. But above all, that of the Triumph, amongst the Romans, was not pageants or gaudery, but one of the wisest and noblest institutions that ever was. For it contained three things; honour to the general; riches to the treasury out of the spoils; and donatives to the army. But that honour perhaps were not fit for monarchies; except it be in the person of the monarch himself, or his sons, as it came to pass in the times of the Roman emperors, who did impropriate the actual triumphs to themselves and their sons, for such wars as they did achieve in person; and left only, for wars achieved by subjects, some triumphal garments and ensigns to the general.

To conclude: no man can *by care taking* (as the Scripture saith) *add a cubit to his stature*, in this little model of a man's body; but in the great frame of kingdoms and commonwealths, it is in the power of princes or estates to add amplitude and greatness to their kingdoms; for by introducing such ordinances, constitutions, and customs, as we have now touched, they may sow greatness to their posterity and succession. But these things are commonly not observed, but left to take their chance.

XXX. Of Regiment of Health.

There is a wisdom in this beyond the rules of physic: a man's own observation, what he finds good of, and what he finds hurt of, is the best physic to preserve health. But it is a safer conclusion to say, *This agreeth not well with me, therefore I will not continue it*; than this, *I find no offence of this, therefore I may use it*. For strength of nature in youth passeth over many excesses, which are owing a man till his age. Discern of the coming on of years, and think not to do the same things still; for age will not be defied. Beware of sudden change in any great point of diet, and if necessity enforce it, fit the rest to it. For it is a secret both in nature and state, that it is safer to change many things than one. Examine thy customs of diet, sleep, exercise, apparel, and the like; and try, in any thing thou shalt judge hurtful, to discontinue it by little and little; but so, as if thou dost find any inconvenience by the change, thou come back to it again: for it is hard to distinguish that which is generally held good and wholesome, from that which is good particularly, and fit for thine own body. To be free-minded and cheerfully disposed at hours of meat and of sleep and of exercise, is one of the best precepts of long lasting. As for the passions and studies of the mind; avoid envy; anxious fears; anger fretting inwards; subtle and knotty inquisitions; joys and exhilarations in excess; sadness not communicated. Entertain hopes; mirth rather than joy; variety of delights, rather than surfeit of them; wonder and admiration, and therefore novelties; studies that fill the mind with splendid and illustrious objects, as histories, fables, and contemplations of nature. If you fly physic in health altogether, it will be too strange for your body when you shall need it. If you make it too familiar, it will work no extraordinary effect when sickness cometh. I commend rather some diet for certain seasons, than frequent

use of physic, except it be grown into a custom. For those diets alter the body more, and trouble it less. Despise no new accident in your body, but ask opinion of it. In sickness, respect health principally; and in health, action. For those that put their bodies to endure in health, may in most sicknesses which are not very sharp be cured only with diet and tendering. Celsus could never have spoken it as a physician, had he not been a wise man withal, when he giveth it for one of the greatest precepts of health and lasting, that a man do vary and interchange contraries, but with an inclination to the more benign extreme: use fasting and full eating, but rather full eating; watching and sleep, but rather sleep; sitting and exercise, but rather exercise; and the like. So shall nature be cherished, and yet taught masteries. Physicians are some of them so pleasing and conformable to the humour of the patient, as they press not the true cure of the disease; and some other are so regular in proceeding according to art for the disease, as they respect not sufficiently the condition of the patient. Take one of a middle temper; or if it may not be found in one man, combine two of either sort; and forget not to call as well the best acquainted with your body, as the best reputed of for his faculty.

XXXI. Of Suspicion.

Suspicions amongst thoughts are like bats amongst birds, they ever fly by twilight. Certainly they are to be repressed, or at the least well guarded: for they cloud the mind; they leese friends; and they check with business, whereby business cannot go on currently and constantly. They dispose kings to tyranny, husbands to jealousy, wise men to irresolution and melancholy. They are defects, not in the heart, but in the brain; for they take place in the stoutest natures: as in the example of Henry the Seventh of England. There was not a more suspicious man, nor a more stout. And in such a composition they do small hurt. For commonly they are not admitted, but with examination, whether they be likely or no. But in fearful natures they gain ground too fast. There is nothing makes a man suspect much, more than to know little; and therefore men should remedy suspicion by procuring to know more, and not to keep their suspicions in smother. What would men have? Do they think those they employ and deal with are saints? Do they not think they will have their own ends, and be truer to themselves than to them? Therefore there is no better way to moderate suspicions, than to account upon such suspicions as true and yet to bridle them as false. For so far a man ought to make use of suspicions, as to provide, as if that should be true that he suspects, yet it may do him no hurt. Suspicions that the mind of itself gathers are but buzzes; but suspicions that are artificially nourished, and put into men's heads by the tales and whisperings of others, have stings. Certainly, the best mean to clear the way in this same wood of suspicions, is frankly to communicate them with the party that he suspects; for thereby he shall be sure to know more of the truth of them than he did before; and withal shall make that party more circumspect not to give further cause of suspicion. But this would not be done to men of base natures; for they, if they find themselves once suspected, will never be true. The Italian says, *Sospetto licentia fede;* as if suspicion did give a passport to faith; but it ought rather to kindle it to discharge itself.

XXXII. Of Discourse.

Some in their discourse desire rather commendation of wit, in being able to hold all arguments, than of judgment, in discerning what is true; as if it were a praise to know what might be said, and not what should be thought. Some have certain common places and themes wherein they are good, and want variety; which kind of poverty is for the most part tedious, and when it is once perceived, ridiculous. The honourablest part of talk is to give the occasion; and again to moderate and pass to somewhat else; for then a man leads the dance. It is good, in discourse and speech of conversation, to vary and intermingle speech of the present occasion with arguments, tales with reasons, asking of questions with telling of opinions, and jest with earnest: for it is a dull thing to tire, and, as we say now, to jade, any thing too far. As for jest, there be certain things which ought to be pri-

vileged from it ; namely, religion, matters of state, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity. Yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep, except they dart out somewhat that is piquant, and to the quick. That is a vein which would be bridled ;

Parce, puer, stimulis, et fortius utere loris.

And generally, men ought to find the difference between saltness and bitterness Certainly, he that hath a satirical vein, as he maketh others afraid of his wit, so he had need be afraid of other's memory. He that questioneth much, shall learn much, and content much ; but especially if he apply his questions to the skill of the persons whom he asketh ; for he shall give them occasion to please themselves in speaking, and himself shall continually gather knowledge. But let his questions not be troublesome ; for that is fit for a poser [39]. And let him be sure to leave other men their turns to speak. Nay, if there be any that would reign and take up all the time, let him find means to take them off, and to bring others on ; as musicians use to do with those that dance too long galliards. If you dissemble sometimes your knowledge of that you are thought to know, you shall be thought another time to know that you know not. Speech of a man's self ought to be seldom, and well chosen. I knew one was wont to say in scorn, *He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself :* and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace ; and that is in commending virtue in another ; especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth. Speech of touch towards others should be sparingly used ; for discourse ought to be as a field, without coming home to any man. I knew two noblemen, of the West part of England, whereof the one was given to scoff, but kept ever royal cheer in his house ; the other would ask of those that had been at the other's table, *Tell truly, was there never a flout or dry blow given ?* to which the guest would answer, *Such and such a thing passed.* The lord would say, *I thought he would mar a good dinner.* Discretion of speech is more than eloquence ; and to speak agreeably to him with whom we deal, is more than to speak in good words or in good order. A good continued speech, without a good speech of interlocution, shews slowness ; and a good reply or second speech, without a good settled speech, sheweth shallowness and weakness. As we see in beasts, that those that are weakest in the course, are yet nimblest in the turn ; as it is betwixt the greyhound and the hare. To use too many circumstances ere one come to the matter, is wearisome ; to use none at all, is blunt.

XXXIII. Of Plantations [40].

Plantations are amongst ancient, primitive, and heroical works. When the world was young it begat more children ; but now it is old it begets fewer : for I may justly account new plantations to be the children of former kingdoms. I like a plantation in a pure soil ; that is, where people are not displanted to the end to plant in others. For else it is rather an extirpation than a plantation. Planting of countries is like planting of woods ; for you must make account to leese almost twenty years profit, and expect your recompense in the end. For the principal thing that hath been the destruction of most plantation, hath been the base and hasty drawing of profit in the first years. It is true, speedy profit is not to be neglected, as far as may stand with the good of the plantation, but no further. It is a shameful and unblessed thing to take the scum of people, and wicked condemned men, to be the people with whom you plant ; and not only so, but it spoileth the plantation ; for they will ever live like rogues, and not fall to work, but be lazy, and do mischief, and spend victuals, and be quickly weary, and then certify over to their country to the discredit of the plantation. The people wherewith you plant ought to be gardeners, ploughmen, labourers, smiths, carpenters, joiners, fishermen, fowlers, with some few apothecaries, surgeons, cooks, and

[39] That is, an examiner. *Id enim examinatori convenit.*

[40] *De Plantationibus populorum et coloniis.* This Essay seems to have been carefully translated ; and revised in the translation, probably by Bacon himself.

bakers [41]. In a country of plantation, first look about what kind of victual the country yields of itself to hand ; as chesnuts, wallnuts, pine-apples, olives, dates, plums, cherries, wild honey, and the like ; and make use of them. Then consider what victual or esculent things there are, which grow speedily, and within the year ; as parsnips, carrots, turnips, onions, radish [42], artichokes of Hierusalem, maize, and the like. For wheat [43], barley, and oats, they ask too much labour ; but with pease and beans you may begin, both because they ask less labour, and because they serve for meat as well as for bread. And of rice likewise cometh a great increase, and it is a kind of meat. Above all, there ought to be brought store of biscuit, oat-meal, flour, meal, and the like, in the beginning, till bread may be had. For beasts, or birds, take chiefly such as are least subject to diseases, and multiply fastest ; as swine, goats, cocks, hens, turkeys, geese, house-doves [44], and the like. The victual in plantations ought to be expended almost as in a besieged town ; that is, with certain allowance. And let the main part of the ground employed to gardens or corn, be to a common stock ; and to be laid in, and stored up, and then delivered out in proportion ; besides some spots of ground that any particular person will manure for his own private. Consider likewise what commodities the soil where the plantation is doth naturally yield, that they may some way help to defray the charge of the plantation (so it be not, as was said, to the untimely prejudice of the main business), as it hath fared with tobacco in Virginia [45]. Wood commonly aboundeth but too much [46] ; and therefore timber is fit to be one. If there be iron ore [47], and streams whereupon to set the mills, iron is a brave commodity where wood aboundeth. Making of bay-salt, if the climate be proper for it, would be put in experience. Growing silk likewise, if any be, is a likely commodity. Pitch and tar, where store of fires and pines are, will not fail. So drugs and sweet woods, where they are, cannot but yield great profit. Soap-ashes likewise, and other things that may be thought of. But moil not too much under ground ; for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the planters lazy in other things. For government, let it be in the hands of one, assisted with some counsel ; and let them have commission to exercise martial laws, with some limitation. And above all, let men make that profit of being in the wilderness, as they have God always, and his service, before their eyes. Let not the government of the plantation depend upon too many counsellors and undertakers in the country that planteth, but upon a temperate number ; and let those be rather noblemen and gentlemen, than merchants ; for they look ever to the present gain. Let there be freedoms from customs, till the plantation be of strength ; and not only freedom from custom, but freedom to carry their commodities where they may make their best of them, except there be some special cause of caution. Cram not in people, by sending too fast company after company ; but rather hearken how they waste, and send supplies proportionably ; but so as the number may live well in the plantation, and not by surcharge be in penury. It hath been a great endangering to the health of some plantations, that they have built along the sea and rivers, in marish and unwholesome grounds. Therefore, though you begin there, to avoid carriage and other like discommodities, yet build still rather upwards from the streams than along. It concerneth likewise the health of the plantation that they have good store of salt with them, that they may use it in their victuals when it shall be necessary. If you plant where savages are, do not only entertain them with trifles and gingles ; but use them justly and graciously, with sufficient guard nevertheless ; and do

[41] The translation adds, *cervisiarii, et hujusmodi.*

[42] The translation adds, *melones, pepones, cucumeres.*

[43] The translation adds *siliquam.*

[44] The translation adds, rabbits : *cuniculi.*

[45] *ut exportatio eorum in loca ubi maxime in pretio sunt sumptus levet ; ut usuvenit in Nicotiano apud Virginiam ; modo non sit,* etc. I have inserted the marks of parenthesis, which are not in the original ; the construction being ambiguous without them.

[46] The words "but too much", are omitted in the translation.

[47] Spelt *ure* in the original ; as the same word is in one place in the manuscript of the History of Henry VII. The translation has *vena ferri.*

not win their favour by helping them to invade their enemies, but for their defence it is not amiss ; and send oft of them over to the country that plants, that they may see a better condition than their own, and commend it when they return. When the plantation grows to strength, then it is time to plant with women as well as with men ; that the plantation may spread into generations and not be ever pieced from without. It is the sinfullest thing in the world, to forsake or destitute a plantation once in forwardness ; for besides the dishonour, it is the guiltiness of blood of many commiserable persons.

XXXIV. Of Riches.

I CANNOT call Riches better than the baggage of virtue. The Roman word is better, *impedimenta*. For as the baggage is to an army, so is riches to virtue. It cannot be spared nor left behind, but it hindereth the march ; yea and the care of it sometimes loseth or disturbeth the victory. Of great riches there is no real use, except it be in the distribution ; the rest is but conceit. So saith Salomon, *Where much is, there are many to consume it ; and what hath the owner but the sight of it with his eyes ?* The personal fruition in any man cannot reach to feel great riches : there is a custody of them ; or a power of dole and donative of them ; or a fame of them ; but no solid use to the owner. Do you not see what feigned prices are set upon little stones and rarities ? and what works of ostentation are undertaken, because there might seem to be some use of great riches ? But then you will say, they may be of use to buy men out of dangers or troubles. As Salomon saith, *Riches are as a strong hold, in the imagination of the rich man.* But this is excellently expressed, that it is in imagination, and not always in fact. For certainly great riches have sold more men than they have bought out. Seek not proud riches, but such as thou mayest get justly, use soberly, distribute cheerfully, and leave contentedly. Yet have no abstract nor friarly contempt of them. But distinguish, as Cicero saith well of Rabirius Posthumus, *In studio rei amplificandæ apparebat, non avaritiæ prædam, sed instrumentum bonitati quæri ;* [In seeking to increase his estate it was apparent that he sought not a prey for avarice to feed on but an instrument for goodness to work with]. Hearken also to Salomon, and beware of hasty gathering of riches ; *Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons* [He that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent]. The poets feign, that when Plutus (which is Riches) is sent from Jupiter, he limps and goes slowly ; but when he is sent from Pluto, he runs and is swift of foot. Meaning that riches gotten by good means and just labour pace slowly ; but when they come by the death of others (as by the course of inheritance, testaments, and the like), they come tumbling upon a man. But it mought be applied likewise to Pluto, taking him for the devil. For when riches come from the devil (as by fraud and oppression and unjust means), they come upon speed. The ways to enrich are many, and most of them foul. Parsimony is one of the best, and yet is not innocent, for it withholdeth men from works of liberality and charity. The improvement of the ground is the most natural obtaining of riches ; for it is our great mother's blessing, the earth's ; but it is slow. And yet where men of great wealth do stoop to husbandry, it multiplieth riches exceedingly. I knew a nobleman in England, that had the greatest audits of any man in my time ; a great grazier, a great sheep-master, a great timber man, a great collier, a great corn-master, a great lead-man, and so of iron, and a number of the like points of husbandry. So as the earth seemed a sea to him, in respect of the perpetual importation. It was truly observed by one, that himself came very hardly to a little riches, and very easily to great riches. For when a man's stock is come to that, that he can expect the prime of markets, and overcome those bargains which for their greatness are few men's money, and be partner in the industries of younger men, he cannot but increase mainly. The gains of ordinary trades and vocations are honest ; and furthered by two things chiefly, by diligence, and by a good name for good and fair dealing. But the gains of bargains are of a more doubtful nature ; when men shall wait upon others' necessity, broke by servants and intruments to draw them on, put off others cunningly that would be better chapmen, and the like practices, which are crafty and naught. As for the chopping of bargains, when a

man buys not to hold but to sell over again, that commonly grindeth double, both upon the seller and upon the buyer. Sharings do greatly enrich, if the hands be well chosen that are trusted. Usury is the certainest means of gain, though one of the worst; as that whereby a man doth eat his bread *in sudore vultus alieni* [in the sweat of another man's face]; and besides, doth plough upon Sundays. But yet certain though it be, it hath flaws; for that the scriveners and brokers do value unsound men to serve their own turn. The fortune in being the first in an invention or in a privilege, doth cause sometimes a wonderful overgrowth in riches; as it was with the first sugar man in the Canaries. Therefore if a man can play the true logician, to have as well judgment as invention, he may do great matters; especially if the times be fit. He that resteth upon gains certain, shall hardly grow to great riches; and he that puts all upon adventures, doth oftentimes break and come to poverty: it is good therefore to guard adventures with certainties, that may uphold losses. Monopolies, and coemption of wares for resale, where they are not restrained, are great means to enrich; especially if the party have intelligence what things are like to come into request, and so store himself beforehand. Riches gotten by service, though it be of the best rise, yet when they are gotten by flattery, feeding humours, and other servile conditions, they may be placed amongst the worst. As for fishing for testaments and executorships (as Tacitus saith of Seneca, *testamenta et orbos tamquam indagine capi*), it is yet worse; by how much men submit themselves to meaner persons than in service. Believe not much them that seem to despise riches; for they despise them that despair of them; and none worse when they come to them. Be not penny-wise; riches have wings, and sometimes they fly away of themselves, sometimes they must be set flying to bring in more. Men leave their riches either to their kindred, or to the public; and moderate portions prosper best in both. A great state left to an heir, is as a lure to all the birds of prey round about to seize on him, if he be not the better stablished in years and judgment. Likewise glorious gifts and foundations are like *sacrifices without salt*; and but the painted sepulchres of alms, which soon will putrefy and corrupt inwardly. Therefore measure not thine advancements by quantity, but frame them by measure: and defer not charities till death; for, certainly, if a man weigh it rightly, he that doth so is rather liberal of another man's than of his own.

XXXV. Of Prophecies [48].

I MEAN not to speak of divine prophecies; nor of heathen oracles; nor of natural predictions; but only of prophecies that have been of certain memory, and from hidden causes. Saith the Pythonissa to Saul, *To-morrow thou and thy son shall be with me.* Homer hath these verses:

> At domus Æneæ cunctis dominabitur oris,
> Et nati natorum, et qui nascentur ab illis

[The house of Æneas shall reign in all lands, and his children's children, and their generations]. A prophecy, as it seems, of the Roman empire. Seneca the tragedian hath these verses:

> ——— Venient annis
> Sæcula seris, quibus Oceanus
> Vincula rerum laxet, et ingens
> Pateat Tellus, Tiphysque novos
> Detegat orbes; nec sit terris
> Ultima Thule

[There shall come a time when the bands of ocean shall be loosened, and the vast earth shall be laid open; another Tiphys shall disclose new worlds, and lands shall be seen beyond Thule]: a prophecy of the discovery of America. The daughter of Polycrates dreamed that Jupiter bathed her father, and Apollo anointed him; and it came to pass that he was crucified in an open place, where

[48] There is no Latin translation of this Essay.

the sun made his body run with sweat, and the rain washed it. Philip of Macedon dreamed he sealed up his wife's belly; whereby he did expound it, that his wife should be barren; but Aristander the soothsayer told him his wife was with child, because men do not use to seal vessels that are empty. A phantasm that appeared to M. Brutus in his tent, said to him, *Philippis iterum me videbis* [Thou shalt see me again at Philippi]. Tiberius said to Galba, *Tu quoque, Galba, degustabis imperium* [Thou likewise shall taste of empire]. In Vespasian's time, there went a prophecy in the East, that those that should come forth of Judea should reign over the world: which though it may be was meant of our Saviour, yet Tacitus expounds it of Vespasian. Domitian dreamed the night before he was slain, that a golden head was growing out of the nape of his neck: and indeed the succession that followed him, for many years, made golden times. Henry the Sixth of England said of Henry the Seventh, when he was a lad, and gave him water, *This is the lad that shall enjoy the crown for which we strive.* When I was in France, I heard from one Dr. Pena, that the Queen mother, who was given to curious arts, caused the King her husband's nativity to be calculated, under a false name; and the astrologer gave a judgment, that he should be killed in a duel; at which the Queen laughed, thinking her husband to be above challenges and duels: but he was slain upon a course at tilt, the splinters of the staff of Montgomery going in at his beaver. The trivial prophecy, which I heard when I was a child, and queen Elizabeth was in the flower of her years, was,

When hempe is sponne
England's done:

whereby it was generally conceived, that after the princes had reigned which had the principial letters of that word *hempe* (which were Henry, Edward, Mary, Philip, and Elizabeth) England should come to utter confusion; which thanks be to God, is verified only in the change of the name; for that the King's style is now no more of England, but of Britain. There was also another prophecy, before the year of eighty-eight, which I do not well understand.

There shall be seen upon a day,
Between the Baugh and the May,
The black fleet of Norway.
When that that is come and gone,
England build houses of lime and stone,
For after wars shall you have none.

It was generally conceived to be meant of the Spanish fleet that came in eighty-eight: for that the king of Spain's surname, as they say, is Norway. The prediction of Regiomontanus,

Octogesimus octavus mirabilis annus,

was thought likewise accomplished in the sending of that great fleet, being the greatest in strength, though not in number, of all that ever swam upon the sea. As for Cleon's dream, I think it was a jest. It was, that he was devoured of a long dragon; and it was expounded of a maker of sausages, that troubled him exceedingly. There are numbers of the like kind; especially if you include dreams and predictions of astrology. But I have set down these few only of certain credit, for example. My judgment is, that they ought all to be despised; and ought to serve but for winter talk by the fireside. Though when I say *despised*, I mean it as for belief; for otherwise, the spreading or publishing of them is in no sort to be despised. For they have done much mischief; and I see many severe laws made to suppress them. That that hath given them grace, and some credit, consisteth in three things. First that men mark when they hit, and never mark when they miss; as they do generally also of dreams. The second is, that probable conjectures, or obscure traditions, many times turn themselves into prophecies; while the nature of man, which coveteth divination, thinks it no peril to foretell that which indeed they do but collect. As that

of Seneca's verse. For so much was then subject to demonstration, that the globe of the earth had great parts beyond the Atlantic, which mought be probably conceived not to be all sea: and adding thereto the tradition in Plato's Timæus and his Atlanticus [49], it mought encourage one to turn it to a prediction. The third and last (which is the great one) is, that almost all of them, being infinite in number, have been impostures, and by idle and crafty brains merely contrived and feigned after the event past.

XXXVI. Of Ambition.

Ambition is like choler; which is an humour that maketh men active, earnest, full of alacrity, and stirring, if it be not stopped. But if it be stopped, and cannot have his way, it becometh adust, and thereby malign and venomous. So ambitious men, if they find the way open for their rising, and still get forward, they are rather busy than dangerous; but if they be checked in their desires, they become secretly discontent, and look upon men and matters with an evil eye, and are best pleased when things go backward; which is the worst property in a servant of a prince or state. Therefore it is good for princes, if they use ambitious men, to handle it so as they be still progressive and not retrogade; which because it cannot be without inconvenience, it is good not to use such natures at all. For if they rise not with their service, they will take order to make their service fall with them. But since we have said it were good not to use men of ambitious natures, except it be upon necessity, it is fit we speak in what cases they are of necessity. Good commanders in the wars must be taken, be they never so ambitious; for the use of their service dispenseth with the rest; and to take a soldier without ambition is to pull off his spurs. There is also great use of ambitious men in being screens to princes in matters of danger and envy; for no man will take that part, except he be like a seeled dove, that mounts and mounts because he cannot see about him. There is use also of ambitious men in pulling down the greatness of any subject that overtops; as Tiberius used Macro in the pulling down of Sejanus. Since therefore they must be used in such cases, there resteth to speak how they are to be bridled, that they may be less dangerous. There is less danger of them if they be of mean birth, than if they be noble; and if they be rather harsh of nature, than gracious and popular: and if they be rather new raised, than grown cunning and fortified in their greatness. It is counted by some a weakness in princes to have favourites; but it is of all others the best remedy against ambitious great-ones. For when the way of pleasuring and displeasuring lieth by the favourite, it is impossible any other should be over-great. Another means to curb them is to balance them by others as proud as they. But then there must be some middle counsellors, to keep things steady; for without that ballast the ship will roll too much. At the least, a prince may animate and inure some meaner persons, to be as it were scourges to ambitious men. As for the having of them obnoxious to ruin; if they be of fearful natures, it may do well; but if they be stout and daring, it may precipitate their designs, and prove dangerous. As for the pulling of them down, if the affairs require it, and that it may not be done with safety suddenly, the only way is, the interchange continually of favours and disgraces; whereby they may not know what to expect, and be as it were in a wood. Of ambitions, it is less harmful, the ambition to prevail in great things, than that other to appear in everything; for that breeds confusion, and mars business. But yet it is less danger to have an ambitious man stirring in business, than great in dependances. He that seeketh to be eminent amongst able men hath a great task; but that is ever good for the public. But he that plots to be the only figure amongst ciphers is the decay of a whole age. Honour hath three things in it; the vantage ground to do good; the approach to kings and principal persons; and the raising of a man's own fortunes. He that hath the best of these intentions when he aspireth, is an honest man; and that prince that can discern of these intentions in another that aspireth, is a wise

[49] That is the Critias.

prince. Generally, let princes and states choose such ministers as are more sensible of duty than of rising; and such as love business rather upon conscience than upon bravery; and let them discern a busy nature from a willing mind.

XXXVII. Of Masques and Triumphs [50].

These things are but toys, to come amongst such serious observations. But yet, since princes will have such things, it is better they should be graced with elegancy than daubed with cost. Dancing to song, is a thing of great state and pleasure. I understand it, that the song be in quire, placed aloft, and accompanied with some broken music; and the ditty fitted to the device. Acting in song, especially in dialogues, hath an extreme good grace; I say acting, not dancing (for that is a mean and vulgar thing); and the voices of the dialogue would be strong and manly (a base and a tenor; no treble); and the ditty high and tragical; not nice or dainty. Several quires, placed one over against another, and taking the voice by catches, anthem-wise, give great pleasure. Turning dances into figure is a childish curiosity. And generally let it be noted, that those things which I here set down are such as do naturally take the sense, and not respect petty wonderments. It is true, the alterations of scenes, so it be quietly and without noise, are things of great beauty and pleasure; for they feed and relieve the eye, before it be full of the same object. Let the scenes abound with light, specially coloured and varied; and let the masquers, or any other, that are to come down from the scene, have some motions upon the scene itself before their coming down; for it draws the eye strangely, and makes it with great pleasure to desire to see that it cannot perfectly discern. Let the songs be loud and cheerful, and not chirpings or pulings. Let the music likewise be sharp and loud, and well placed. The colours that shew best by candlelight, are white, carnation, and a kind of sea-water-green; and oes, or spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory. As for rich embroidery, it is lost and not discerned. Let the suits of the masquers be graceful, and such as become the person when the vizards are off; not after examples of known attires; Turks, soldiers, mariners, and the like. Let antimasques not be long; they have been commonly of fools, satyrs, baboons, wild-men, antics, beasts, sprites, witches, Ethiops, pigmies, turquets, nymphs, rustics, Cupids, statua's moving, and the like. As for angels, it is not comical enough to put them in anti-masques; and any thing that is hideous, as devils, giants, is on the other side as unfit. But chiefly, let the music of them be recreative, and with some strange changes. Some sweet odours suddenly coming forth, without any drops falling, are, in such a company as there is steam and heat, things of great pleasure and refreshment. Double masques, one of men, another of ladies, addeth state and variety. But all is nothing except the room be kept clear and neat.

For justs and tourneys and barriers; the glories of them are chiefly in the chariots wherein the challengers make their entry; especially if they be drawn with strange beasts: as lions, bears, camels, and the like; or in the devices of their entrance; or in the bravery of their liveries; or in the goodly furniture of their horses and armour. But enough of these toys.

XXXVIII. Of Nature in Men.

Nature is often hidden; sometimes overcome; seldom extinguished. Force maketh nature more violent in the return; doctrine and discourse maketh nature less importune; but custom only doth alter and subdue nature. He that seeketh victory over his nature, let him not set himself too great nor too small tasks; for the first will make him dejected by often failings; and the second will make him a small proceeder, though by often prevailings. And at the first let him practise with helps, as swimmers do with bladders or rushes; but after a time let him practise with disadvantages, as dancers do with thick shoes. For it breeds great perfection, if the practice be harder than the use.

[50] This Essay is not translated.

Where nature is mighty, and therefore the victory hard, the degrees had need be, first to stay and arrest nature in time; like to him that would say over the four and twenty letters when he was angry; then to go less in quantity; as if one should, in forbearing wine, come from drinking healths to a draught at a meal; and lastly, to discontinue altogether. But if a man have the fortitude and resolution to enfranchise himself at once, that is the best:

Optimus ille animi vindex lædentia pectus
Vincula qui rupit, dedoluitque semel.

[Wouldst thou be free? The chains that gall thy breast
With one strong effort burst, and be at rest].

Neither is the ancient rule amiss, to bend nature as a wand to a contrary extreme, whereby to set it right; understanding it, where the contrary extreme is no vice. Let not a man force a habit upon himself with a perpetual continuance, but with some intermission. For both the pause reinforceth the new onset; and if a man that is not perfect be ever in practice, he shall as well practise his errors as his abilities, and induce one habit of both; and there is no means to help this but by seasonable intermissions. But let not a man trust his victory over his nature too far; for nature will lay [51] buried a great time, and yet revive upon the occasion or temptation. Like as it was with Æsop's damsel, turned from a cat to a woman, who sat very demurely at the board's end, till a mouse ran before her. Therefore let a man either avoid the occasion altogether; or put himself often to it, that he may be little moved with it. A man's nature is best perceived in privateness, for there is no affectation; in passion, for that putteth a man out of his precepts; and in a new case or experiment, for there custom leaveth him. They are happy men whose natures sort with their vocations; otherwise they may say, *multum incola fuit anima mea* [my soul hath been a stranger and a sojourner]; when they converse in those things they do not affect [52]. In studies, whatsoever a man commandeth upon himself, let him set hours for it; but whatsoever is agreeable to his nature, let him take no care for any set times; for his thoughts will fly to it of themselves; so as the spaces of other business or studies will suffice. A man's nature runs either to herbs or weeds; therefore let him seasonably water the one, and destroy the other.

XXXIX. Of Custom and Education.

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are after as they have been accustomed. And therefore as Machiavel well noteth (though in an ill-favoured instance), there is no trusting to the force of nature nor to the bravery of words, except it be corroborate by custom. His instance is, that for the achieving of a desperate conspiracy, a man should not rest upon the fierceness of any man's nature, or his resolute undertakings; but take such an one as hath had his hands formerly in blood. But Machiavel knew not of a friar Clement, nor a Ravillac, nor a Jaureguy, nor a Baltazar Gerard [53]; yet his rule holdeth still, that nature, nor the engagement of words, are not so forcible as custom. Only superstition is now so well advanced, that men of the first blood [54] are as firm as butchers by occupation; and votary resolution is made equipollent to custom even in matter of blood. In other things the predomi-

[51] So in original, and also in Ed. 1639. I have not thought it right to substitute *lie*, as has been usually done; because it may be that the form of the word was not settled in Bacon's time; and the correction of obsolete forms tends to conceal the history of the language.

[52] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[53] The translation adds: *aut Guidone Faulxio.*

[54] The translation has *primæ classis sicarii* (murderers of the first class): which seems to me to miss the meaning of the English. "Men of the first blood" must mean here, *men whose hands have not been in blood before.*

nancy of custom is every where visible ; insomuch as a man would wonder to hear men profess, protest, engage, give great words, and then do just as they have done before ; as if they were dead images, and engines moved only by the wheels of custom. We see also the reign or tyranny of custom, what it is. The Indians (I mean the sect of their wise men) lay themselves quietly upon a stack of wood, and so sacrifice themselves by fire. Nay the wives strive to be burned with the corpses of their husbands. The lads of Sparta, of ancient time, were wont to be scourged upon the altar of Diana, without so much as quecching [55]. I remember, in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's time of England, an Irish rebel condemned, put up a petition to the Deputy that he might be hanged in a with, and not in an halter ; because it had been so used with former rebels. There be monks in Russia, for penance, that will sit a whole night in a vessel of water, till they be engaged with hard ice. Many examples may be put of the force of custom both upon mind and body. Therefore, since custom is the principal magistrate of man's life, let men by all means endeavour to obtain good customs. Certainly custom is most perfect when it beginneth in young years : this we call education ; which is, in effect, but an early custom. So we see, in languages the tongue is more pliant to all expressions and sounds, the joints are more supple to all feats of activity and motions, in youth than afterwards. For it is true that late learners cannot so well take the ply ; except it be in some minds that have not suffered themselves to fix, but have kept themselves open and prepared to receive continual amendment, which is exceeding rare. But if the force of custom simple and separate be great, the force of custom copulate and conjoined and collegiate is far greater. For there example teacheth, company comforteth, emulation quickeneth, glory raiseth : so as in such places the force of custom is in his exaltation. Certainly the great multiplication of virtues upon human nature resteth upon societies well ordained and disciplined. For commonwealths and good governments do nourish virtue grown, but do not much mend the seeds. But the misery is, that the most effectual means are now applied to the ends least to be desired.

XL. Of Fortune.

It cannot be denied, but outward accidents conduce much to fortune ; favour, opportunity, death of others, occasion fitting virtue. But chiefly, the mould of a man's fortune is in his own hands. *Faber quisque fortunæ suæ*, saith the poet [56]. And the most frequent of external causes is, that the folly of one man is the fortune of another. For no man prospers so suddenly as by others' errors. *Serpens nisi serpentem comederit non fit draco* [A serpent must have eaten another serpent, before he can become a dragon]. Overt and apparent virtues bring forth praise ; but there be secret and hidden virtues that bring forth fortune ; certain deliveries of a man's self, which have no name. The Spanish name *desemboltura*, partly expresseth them ; when there be not stonds nor restiveness in a man's nature ; but that the wheels of his mind keep way with the wheels of his fortune. For so Livy (after he had described Cato Major in these words, *In illo viro tantum robur corporis et animi fuit, ut quocunque loco natus esset, fortunam sibi facturus videretur*) [Such was his strength of body and mind, that wherever he had been born he could have made himself a fortune] ; falleth upon that, that he had *versatile ingenium* [a wit that could turn well]. Therefore if a man look sharply and attentively, he shall see Fortune : for though she be blind, yet she is not invisible. The way of fortune is like the milken way in the sky ; which is a meeting or knot of a number of small stars ; not seen asunder, but giving light together. So are there a number of little and scarce discerned virtues, or rather faculties and customs, that make men fortunate. The Italians note some of them, such as a man would little think. When they speak of one that cannot do amiss, they will throw in into his other conditions, that he hath *Poco di matto*. And certainly there be not two more fortunate

[55] *Quech*, according to Dr. Whately, means to *move* or *stir*.

[56] *inquit Comicus*. The poet is Plautus, *Trinum*. ii. 2. 34.

properties, than to have a little of the fool, and not too much of the honest. Therefore extreme lovers of their country or masters were never fortunate, neither can they be. For when a man placeth his thoughts without himself, he goeth not his own way. An hasty fortune maketh an enterpriser and remover (the French hath it better, *entreprenant*, or *remuant*); but the exercised fortune maketh the able man. Fortune is to be honoured and respected, and it be but for her daughters, Confidence and Reputation. For those two felicity breedeth; the first within a man's self, the latter in others towards him [57]. All wise men, to decline the envy of their own virtues, use to ascribe them to Providence and Fortune; for so they may the better assume them: and, besides, it is greatness in a man to be the care of the higher powers. So Cæsar said to the pilot in the tempest, *Cæsarem portas, et fortunam ejus* [You carry Cæsar and his fortune]. So Sylla chose the name of *Felix*, and not of *Magnus*. And it hath been noted, that those who ascribe openly too much to their own wisdom and policy, end infortunate. It is written that Timotheus the Athenian, after he had, in the account he gave to the state of his government, often interlaced this speech, *and in this Fortune had no part*, never prospered in any thing he undertook afterwards. Certainly there be, whose fortunes are like Homer's verses, that have a slide and easiness more than the verses of other poets; as Plutarch saith of Timoleon's fortune, in respect of that of Agesilaus or Epaminondas. And that this should be, no doubt it is much in a man's self.

XLI. Of Usury.

Many have made witty invectives against Usury. They say that it is a pity the devil should have God's part, which is the tithe. That the usurer is the greatest sabbath breaker, because his plough goeth every Sunday. That the usurer is the drone that Virgil speaketh of:

Ignavum fucos pecus a præsepibus arcent.

That the usurer breaketh the first law that was made for mankind after the fall, which was, *in sudore vultûs tui comedes panem tuum*; not, *in sudore vultûs alieni* [in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread—not in the sweat of another's face]. That usurers should have orange-tawny bonnets, because they do judaize. That it is against nature for money to beget money; and the like. I say this only, that usury is a *concessum propter duritiem cordis* [a thing allowed by reason of the hardness of men's hearts]: for since there must be borrowing and lending, and men are so hard of heart as they will not lend freely, usury must be permitted. Some others have made suspicious and cunning propositions of banks, discovery of men's estates, and other inventions. But few have spoken of usury usefully. It is good to set before us the incommodities and commodities of usury, that the good may be either weighed out or culled out; and warily to provide, that while we make forth to that which is better, we meet not with that which is worse.

The discommodities of usury are, First, that it makes fewer merchants. For were it not for this lazy trade of usury, money would not lie still, but would in great part be employed upon merchandizing; which is the *vena porta* [58] of wealth in a state. The second, that it makes poor merchants. For as a farmer cannot husband his ground so well if he sit at a great rent; so the merchant cannot drive his trade so well, if he sit at great usury. The third is incident to the other two; and that is the decay of customs of kings or states, which ebb or flow with merchandizing. The fourth, that it bringeth the treasure of a realm or state into a few hands. For the usurer being at certainties, and others at uncertainties, at the end of the game [59] most of the money will be in the box; and ever a state flourisheth when wealth is more equally spread. The fifth, that it beats down the price of land; for the employment of money is chiefly either merchandizing or purchasing; and usury waylays both. The sixth, that it

[57] The translation adds. *Æque vicissim pariunt animos et auctoritatem.*

[58] See p. 759, note.

[59] So Ed. 1639. The original has *gaine*; the translation, *in fine ludi.*

doth dull and damp all industries, improvements, and new inventions, wherein money would be stirring, if it were not for this slug. The last, that it is the canker and ruin of many men's estates; which in process of time breeds a public poverty.

On the other side the commodities of usury are, first, that howsoever usury in some respect hindereth merchandizing, yet in some other it advanceth it; for it is certain that the greatest part of trade is driven by young merchants, upon borrowing at interest; so as if the usurer either call in or keep back his money there will ensue presently a great stand of trade. The second is, that were it not for this easy borrowing upon interest, men's necessities would draw upon them a most sudden undoing; in that they would be forced to sell their means (be it lands or goods) far under foot; and so, whereas usury doth but gnaw upon them, bad markets would swallow them quite up. As for mortgaging or pawning, it will little mend the matter, for either men will not take pawns without use; or if they do, they will look precisely for the forfeiture. I remember a cruel monied man in the country, that would say, The devil take this usury, it keeps us from forfeitures of mortgages and bonds. The third and last is, that it is a vanity to conceive that there would be ordinary borrowing without profit; and it is impossible to conceive the number of inconveniences that will ensue, if borrowing be cramped. Therefore to speak of the abolishing of usury is idle. All states have ever had it, in one kind or rate, or other. So as that opinion must be sent to Utopia.

To speak now of the reformation and reiglement of usury; how the discommodities of it may be best avoided, and the commodities retained. It appears by the balance of commodities and discommodities of usury two things are to be reconciled. The one, that the tooth of usury be grinded, that it bite not too much; the other, that there be left open a means to invite monied men to lend to the merchants, for the continuing and quickening of trade. This cannot be done, except you introduce two several sorts of usury, a less and a greater. For if you reduce usury to one low rate, it will ease the common borrower, but the merchant will be to seek for money. And it is to be noted, that the trade of merchandize, being the most lucrative, may bear usury at a good rate: other contracts not so.

To serve both intentions, the way would be briefly thus. That there be two rates of usury; the one free, and general for all; the other under licence only, to certain persons and in certain places of merchandizing. First therefore let usury in general be reduced to five in the hundred; and let that rate be proclaimed to be free and current; and let the state shut itself out to take any penalty for the same. This will preserve borrowing from any general stop or dryness. This will ease infinite borrowers in the country. This will, in good part, raise the price of land, because land purchased at sixteen years' purchase will yield six in the hundred, and somewhat more; whereas this rate of interest yields but five. This by like reason will encourage and edge industrious and profitable improvements; because many will rather venture in that kind than take five in the hundred, especially having been used to greater profit. Secondly let there be certain persons licensed to lend to known merchants upon usury at a higher rate; and let it be with the cautions following. Let the rate be, even with the merchant himself, somewhat more easy than that he used formerly to pay; for by that means all borrowers shall have some ease by this reformation, be he merchant, or whosoever. Let it be no bank or common stock, but every man be master of his own money. Not that I altogether mislike banks, but they will hardly be brooked, in regard of certain suspicions[60]. Let the state be answered some small matter for the licence, and the rest left to the lender; for if the abatement be but small, it will no whit discourage the lender. For he, for example, that took before ten or nine in the hundred, will sooner descend to eight in the hundred, than give over his trade of usury, and go from certain gains to gains of hazard. Let these licensed lenders be in number indefinite, but

[60] These two sentences are omitted in the translation.

restrained to certain principal cities and towns of merchandizing; for then they will be hardly able to colour other men's monies in the country: so as the licence of nine will not suck away the current rate of five [61]; for no man will lend his monies far off, nor put them into unknown hands.

If it be objected that this doth in a sort authorize usury, which before was in some places but permissive; the answer is, that it is better to mitigate usury by declaration, than to suffer it to rage by connivance [62].

XLII. Of Youth and Age.

A man that is young in years may be old in hours, if he have lost no time. But that happeneth rarely. Generally, youth is like the first cogitations, not so wise as the second. For there is a youth in thoughts, as well as in ages. And yet the invention of young men is more lively than that of old; and imaginations stream into their minds better, and as it were more divinely. Natures that have much heat and great and violent desires and perturbations, are not ripe for action till they have passed the meridian of their years; as it was with Julius Cæsar, and Septimius Severus. Of the latter of whom it is said, *Juventutem egit erroribus, imo furoribus, plenam* [He passed a youth full of errors, yea of madnesses]. And yet he was the ablest emperor, almost, of all the list. But reposed natures may do well in youth. As it is seen in Augustus Cæsar, Cosmus Duke of Florence, Gaston de Fois, and others. On the other side, heat and vivacity in age is an excellent composition for business. Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business. For the experience of age in things that fall within the compass of it, directeth them; but in new things, abuseth them. The errors of young men are the ruin of business; but the errors of aged men amount but to this, that more might have been done, or sooner. Young men, in the conduct and manage of actions, embrace more than they can hold; stir more than they can quiet; fly to the end, without consideration of the means and degrees; pursue some few principles which they have chanced upon absurdly; care not to innovate, which draws unknown inconveniences [63]; use extreme remedies at first; and that which doubleth all errors, will not acknowledge or retract them; like an unready horse, that will neither stop nor turn. Men of age object too much, consult too long, adventure too little, repent too soon, and seldom drive business home to the full period, but content themselves with a mediocrity of success. Certainly it is good to compound employments of both; for that will be good for the present, because the virtues of either age may correct the defects of both; and good for succession, that young men may be learners, while men in age are actors; and, lastly, good for extern accidents, because authority followeth old men, and favour and popularity youth. But for the moral part, perhaps youth will have the pre-eminence, as age hath for the politic. A certain rabbin, upon the text, *Your young men shall see visions, and your old men shall dream dreams*, inferreth that young men are admitted nearer to God than old, because vision is a clearer revelation than a dream. And certainly, the more a man drinketh of the world, the more it intoxicateth: and age doth profit rather in the powers of understanding, than in the virtues of the will and affections. There be some have an over-early ripeness in their years, which fadeth betimes. These are, first, such as have brittle wits, the edge whereof is soon turned; such as was Hermogenes the rhetorician, whose books are exceeding subtle; who afterwards waxed stupid. A second sort is of those that have some natural dispositions which have better grace in youth than in age; such as is a fluent and luxuriant speech; which becomes youth well, but not age: so Tully saith of Hortensius, *Idem manebat, neque idem decebat* [He continued the same, when

[61] To "colour another man's money" is to pass it for one's own. See Whateley's edition of Bacon's Essays, p. 382.

[62] The last paragraph is omitted in the translation.

[63] This clause is omitted in the translation.

the same was not becoming]. The third is of such as take too high a strain at the first, and are magnanimous more than tract of years can uphold. As was Scipio Africanus, of whom Livy saith in effect, *Ultima primis cedebant* [His last actions were not equal to his first].

XLIII. Of Beauty.

Virtue is like a rich stone, best plain set; and surely virtue is best in a body that is comely, though not of delicate features; and that hath rather dignity of presence, than beauty of aspect. Neither is it almost seen, that very beautiful persons are otherwise of great virtue; as if nature were rather busy not to err, than in labour to produce excellency. And therefore they prove accomplished, but not of great spirit; and study rather behaviour than virtue. But this holds not always: for Augustus Cæsar, Titus Vespasianus, Philip le Bel of France, Edward the Fourth of England, Alcibiades of Athens, Ismael the Sophy of Persia, were all high and great spirits; and yet the most beautiful men of their times. In beauty, that of favour is more than that of colour; and that of decent and gracious motion more than that of favour. That is the best part of beauty, which a picture cannot express; no nor the first sight of life. There is no excellent beauty that hath not some strangeness in the proportion. A man cannot tell whether Apelles or Albert Durer were the more trifler; whereof the one would make a personage by geometrical proportions; the other, by taking the best parts out of divers faces, to make one excellent. Such personages, I think, would please nobody but the painter that made them. Not but I think a painter may make a better face than ever was; but he must do it by a kind of felicity [64], (as a musician that maketh an excellent air in music), and not by rule. A man shall see faces, that if you examine them part by part, you shall find never a good; and yet altogether do well. If it be true that the principal part of beauty is in decent motion, certainly it is no marvel though persons in years seem many times more amiable [65], *pulchrorum autumnus pulcher* [beautiful persons have a beautiful Autumn]; for no youth can be comely but by pardon, and considering the youth as to make up the comeliness. Beauty is as summer fruits, which are easy to corrupt, and cannot last; and for the most part it makes a dissolute youth, and an age a little out of countenance; but yet certainly again, if it light well, it maketh virtue shine, and vices blush.

XLIV. Of Deformity.

Deformed persons are commonly even with nature; for as nature hath done ill by them, so do they by nature; being for the most part (as the Scripture saith) *void of natural affection*; and so they have their revenge of nature [66]. Certainly there is a consent between the body and the mind; and where nature erreth in the one, she ventureth in the other. *Ubi peccat in uno, periclitatur in altero.* But because there is in man an election touching the frame of his mind, and a necessity in the frame of his body, the stars of natural inclination are sometimes obscured by the sun of discipline and virtue. Therefore it is good to consider of deformity, not as a sign, which is more deceivable; but as a cause, which seldom faileth of the effect. Whosoever hath any thing fixed in his person that doth induce contempt, hath also a perpetual spur in himself to rescue and deliver himself from scorn. Therefore all deformed persons are extreme bold. First, as in their own defence, as being exposed to scorn; but in process

[64] Keats seems to have felt that this is true also with regard to his own art:—

"When I behold upon the night's starred face
Huge cloudy symbols of a high romance,
And think that I may never live to trace
Their shadows, *with the magic hand of chance.*"

Life, Letters, etc., of John Keats, vol. ii. p. 293.

[65] The translation adds: *Secundum illud Euripidis.*

[66] This clause is omitted in the translation.

of time by a general habit. Also it stirreth in them industry, and especially of this kind to watch and observe the weakness of others, that they may have somewhat to repay. Again, in their superiors, it quencheth jealousy towards them, as persons that they think they may at pleasure despise: and it layeth their competitors and emulators asleep; as never believing they should be in possibility of advancement, till they see them in possession. So that upon the matter, in a great wit, deformity is an advantage to rising. Kings in ancient times (and at this present in some countries) were wont to put great trust in eunuchs, because they that are envious towards all are more obnoxious and officious towards one. But yet their trust towards them hath rather been as to good spials and good whisperers than good magistrates and officers. And much like is the reason of deformed persons. Still the ground is, they will, if they be of spirit, seek to free themselves from scorn; which must be either by virtue or malice; and therefore let it not be marvelled if sometimes they prove excellent persons; as was Agesilaus, Zanger the son of Solyman, Æsop, Gasca President of Peru; and Socrates may go likewise amongst them; with others.

XLV. Of Building.

Houses are built to live in, and not to look on; therefore let use be preferred before uniformity, except where both may be had. Leave the goodly fabrics of houses, for beauty only, to the enchanted palaces of the poets; who build them with small cost. He that builds a fair house upon an ill seat, committeth himself to prison. Neither do I reckon it an ill seat only where the air is unwholesome; but likewise where the air is unequal; as you shall see many fine seats set upon a knap of ground, environed with higher hills round about it, whereby the heat of the sun is pent in, and the wind gathereth as in troughs; so as you shall have, and that suddenly, as great diversity of heat and cold as if you dwelt in several places. Neither is it ill air only that maketh an ill seat, but ill ways, ill markets: and, if you will consult with Momus [67], ill neighbours. I speak not of many more; want of water; want of wood, shade, and shelter; want of fruitfulness and mixture [68] of grounds of several natures; want of prospect; want of level grounds; want of places at some near distance for sports of hunting, hawking, and races; too near the sea, too remote; having the commodity of navigable rivers [69], or the discommodity of their overflowing; too far off from great cities, which may hinder business, or too near them, which lurcheth all provisions, and maketh every thing dear; where a man hath a great living laid together, and where he is scanted: all which, as it is impossible perhaps to find together, so it is good to know them, and think of them, that a man may take as many as he can; and if he have several dwellings, that he sort them so, that what he wanteth in the one he may find in the other. Lucullus answered Pompey well; who, when he saw his stately galleries, and rooms so large and lightsome, in one of his houses, said, *Surely an excellent place for summer, but how do you in winter?* Lucullus answered, *Why, do you not think me as wise as some fowl are, that ever change their abode towards the winter?*

To pass from the seat to the house itself; we will do as Cicero doth in the orator's art; who writes books *De Oratore*, and a book he entitles *Orator*; whereof the former delivers the precepts of the art, and the latter the perfection. We will therefore describe a princely palace, making a brief model thereof. For it is strange to see, now in Europe, such huge buildings as the Vatican and Escurial and some others be, and yet scarce a very fair room in them.

First therefore, I say you cannot have a perfect palace, except you have two several sides; a side for the banquet, as is spoken of in the book of Hester, and

[67] For an explanation of this allusion to Momus, about which there has been some controversy of late, I am indebted to Mr. Ellis. "In one of Æsop's fables," he writes, "Minerva makes a house; and Momus says it should have been on wheels, to get away from bad neighbours."

[68] That is, *want of* mixture.

[69] So in the original, and also in Ed. 1639. It seems as if *not* had dropped out: or as if *the* should be *no*. The translation has *commoditas nulla fluviorum navigabilium*.

a side for the household; the one for feasts and triumphs, and the other for dwelling. I understand both these sides to be not only returns, but parts of the front; and to be uniform without, though severally partitioned within; and to be on both sides of a great and stately tower in the midst of the front, that, as it were, joineth them together on either hand. I would have on the side of the banquet, in front, one only goodly room above stairs of some forty foot high [70]; and under it a room for a dressing or preparing place at times of triumphs. On the other side, which is the household side, I wish it divided at the first into a hall and a chapel, (with a partition between); both of good state and bigness; and those not to go all the length, but to have at the further end a winter and a summer parlour, both fair. And under these rooms, a fair and large cellar sunk under ground; and likewise some privy kitchens, with butteries and pantries, and the like. As for the tower, I would have it two stories, of eighteen foot high a piece, above the two wings; and a goodly leads upon the top, railed with statua's interposed; and the same tower to be divided into rooms, as shall be thought fit [71]. The stairs likewise to the upper rooms, let them be upon a fair open newel, and finely railed in with images of wood cast into a brass colour; and a very fair landing-place at the top. But this to be, if you do not point any of the lower rooms for a dining place of servants. For otherwise you shall have the servants' dinner after your own: for the steam of it will come up as in a tunnel. And so much for the front. Only I understand the height of the first stairs to be sixteen foot, which is the height of the lower room.

Beyond this front is there to be a fair court, but three sides of it, of a far lower building than the front. And in all the four corners of that court fair staircases, cast into turrets, on the outside, and not within the row of buildings themselves. But those towers are not to be of the height of the front, but rather proportionable to the lower building. Let the court not be paved, for that striketh up a great heat in summer, and much cold in winter. But only some side alleys, with a cross and the quarters to graze, being kept shorn, but not too near shorn. The row of return on the banquet side, let it be all stately galleries: in which galleries let there be three, or five, fine cupolas in the length of it, placed at equal distance; and fine coloured windows of several works. On the household side, chambers of presence and ordinary entertainments, with some bedchambers; and let all three sides be a double house, without thorough lights on the sides, that you may have rooms from the sun both for forenoon and afternoon. Cast it also, that you may have rooms both for summer and winter; shady for summer, and warm for winter. You shall have sometimes fair houses so full of glass, that one cannot tell where to become to be out of the sun or cold. For in bowed windows, I hold them of good use (in cities, indeed, upright do better, in respect of the uniformity towards the street); for they be pretty retiring places for conference; and besides they keep both the wind and sun off; for that which would strike almost thorough the room doth scarce pass the window. But let them be but few, four in the court, on the sides only.

Beyond this court let there be an inward court, of the same square and height: which is to be environed with the garden on all sides; and in the inside, cloistered on all sides, upon decent and beautiful arches, as high as the first story. On the under story, towards the garden, let it be turned to a grotta, or place of shade, or estivation. And only have opening and windows towards the garden; and be level upon the floor, no whit sunken under ground, to avoid all dampishness. And let there be a fountain, or some fair work of statua's in the midst of this court; and to be paved as the other court was. These buildings to be for privy lodgings on both sides; and the end for privy galleries. Whereof you must foresee that one of them be for an infirmary, if the prince or any special person should be sick, with chambers, bed-chamber, antecamera, and recamera, joining to it. This upon the second story. Upon the ground story, a fair gallery, open, upon pillars; and upon the third story likewise, an open gallery, upon pillars, to take the prospect and freshness of the garden. At both corners of the further

[70] The translation raises it to fifty feet. *Eamque supra gradus ad quinquaginta pedes ad minus altam.*

[71] This clause is omitted in the translation.

side, by way of return, let there be two delicate or rich cabinets, daintily paved, richly hanged, glazed with crystalline glass, and a rich cupola in the midst; and all other elegancy that may be thought upon. In the upper gallery too, I wish that there may be, if the place will yield it, some fountains running in divers places from the wall, with some fine avoidances [72]. And thus much for the model of the palace [73]; save that you must have before you come to the front, three courts. A green court plain, with a wall about it; a second court of the same, but more garnished, with little turrets, or rather embellishments, upon the wall; and a third court, to make a square with the front, but not to be built, nor yet enclosed with a naked wall, but enclosed with tarrasses, leaded aloft, and fairly garnished, on the three sides; and cloistered on the inside, with pillars, and not with arches below. As for offices, let them stand at distance, with some low galleries, to pass from them to the palace itself.

XLVI. Of Gardens.

God Almighty first planted a Garden. And indeed it is the purest of human pleasures. It is the greatest refreshment to the spirits of man; without which buildings and palaces are but gross handyworks: and a man shall ever see that when ages grow to civility and elegancy, men come to build stately sooner than to garden finely; as if gardening were the greater perfection. I do hold it, in the royal ordering of gardens, there ought to be gardens for all the months in the year; in which severally things of beauty may be then in season [74]. For December, and January, and the latter part of November, you must take such things as are green all winter [75]: holly; ivy; bays; juniper; cypress-trees; yew; pine-apple-trees [76]; fir-trees; rosemary; lavender; periwinkle, the white, the purple, and the blue; germander; flags; orange-trees; lemon-trees; and myrtles, if they be stoved; and sweet marjoram, warm set. There followeth for the latter part of January and February, the mezereon-tree, which then blossoms; crocus vernus, both the yellow and the grey; primroses; anemones; the early tulippa; hyacinthus orientalis; chamaïris; fritellaria. For March, there come violets, specially the single blue, which are the earliest; the yellow daffodil; the daisy; the almond-tree in blossom; the peach-tree in blossom; the cornelian-tree in blossom; sweet-briar. In April follow, the double white violet; the wall-flower; the stock-gilliflower; the cowslip; flower-de-lices, and lilies of all natures [77]; rosemary-flowers; the tulippa; the double-

[72] *qui per secretos tubos iterum transeant.* The following sentence is inserted here in the translation: *Interior autem pars in solario superiore, versus aream, formetur in porticus et ambulacra, bene munita et obducta, ad usum convalescentium.*

[73] The translation adds: *nam de balneis et piscinis non loquor.*

[74] *in quibus separatim plantæ quæ illo mense florent et vigent producantur.* The scene in the "Winter's Tale," where Perdita presents the guests with flowers suited to their ages, has some expressions which, if this Essay had been contained in the earlier edition, would have made me suspect that Shakespeare had been reading it. As I am not aware that the resemblance has been observed, I will quote the passages to which I allude in connexion with those which remind me of them.

[75]
> Reverend Sirs,
> For you there's Rosemary and Rue; these keep
> Seeming and savour all the winter long.
> Grace and Remembrance be to you both,
> And welcome to our shearing.
>
> *Pol.* Shepherdess,
> (A fair one are you) well you fit our ages
> With flowers of winter.

[76] In place of "pine-apple-trees," the translation has *buxus, pinus, abies.*

[77]
> Now, my fair'st friend,
> I would I had some flowers o' the Spring, that might
> Become your time of day . . .

piony; the pale daffodil; the French honeysuckle; the cherry-tree in blossom; the dammasin and plum-trees in blossom; the white thorn in leaf; the lilac-tree. In May and June come pinks of all sorts, specially the blush-pink; roses of all kinds, except the musk, which comes later; honey-suckles; strawberries; bugloss; columbine; the French marigold; flos Africanus [78]; cherry-tree in fruit; ribes; figs in fruit; rasps; vine flowers; lavender in flowers; the sweet satyrian, with the white flower; herba muscaria; lilium convallium; the apple-tree in blossom [79]. In July come gilliflowers of all varieties [80]; musk roses; the lime-tree in blossom; early pears and plums in fruit; genitings, quadlins. In August come plums of all sorts in fruit; pears; apricocks; berberries; filberds; musk-melons; monks-hoods, of all colours. In September come grapes; apples; poppies of all colours; peaches; melocotones; nectarines; cornelians; wardens; quinces. In October and the beginning of November come services; medlars; bullaces; roses cut or removed to come late; holly-oaks; and such like. These particulars are for the climate of London; but my meaning is perceived, that you may have *ver perpetuum*, as the place affords.

And because the breath of flowers is far sweeter in the air (where it comes and goes like the warbling of music) than in the hand, therefore nothing is more fit for that delight, than to know what be the flowers and plants that do best perfume the air. Roses, damask and red, are fast flowers of their smell; so that you may walk by a whole row of them, and find nothing of their sweetness; yea though it be in a morning's dew. Bays likewise yield no smell as they grow. Rosemary little; nor sweet marjoram. That which above all others yields the sweetest smell in the air, is the violet, specially the white double violet, which comes twice a year; about the middle of April, and about Bartholomew-tide. Next to that is the musk-rose. Then the strawberry-leaves dying, with a most excellent cordial smell [81]. Then the flower of the vines; it is a little dust, like the dust of a bent, which grows upon the cluster in the first coming forth. Then sweet-briar. Then wall-flowers, which are very delightful to be set under a palour or lower chamber window. Then pinks and gilliflowers [82], specially the

> Daffodils,
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty: Violets (dim
> But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes,
> Or Cytherea's breath): pale Prime-roses,
> That die unmarried, ere they can behold
> Bright Phœbus in his strength . . .
> bold Oxlips, and
> The Crown Imperial: Lilies of all kinds,
> (The Flower-de-Luce being one).

[78] *Flos Africanus, simplex et multiplex.* The "French Marigold" is omitted in the translation.

[79] The translation adds; *flos cyaneus*: [the corn-cockle].

[80]
> Sir, the year growing ancient,
> Not yet on Summer's death, nor on the birth
> Of trembling Winter, the fairest flowers o' the season
> Are our Carnations and streaked Gilly-vors
> (Which some call Nature's bastards) . . .
> Here's flowers for you:
> Hot Lavender, Mints, Savory, Marjoram,
> The Mary-gold, that goes to bed wi' the Sun,
> And with him rises, weeping; These are flowers
> Of middle Summer, and I think they are given
> To men of middle age.

[81] So Ed. 1639. The original has "which a most excellent cordialsmell". Possibly it should be *which yield*. The translation has *quæ halitum emittunt plane cardiacum.*

[82] The British Museum copy (see note at the end) omits *and gilliflowers*. The translation has *tum cariophyllatæ tam minores quam majores.*

matted pink and clove gilliflower. Then the flowers of the lime-tree. Then the honeysuckles, so they be somewhat afar off[83]. Of bean-flowers I speak not, because they are field flowers. But those which perfume the air most delightfully, not passed by as the rest, but being trodden upon and crushed, are three; that is, burnet, wild-thyme, and watermints. Therefore you are to set whole alleys of them, to have the pleasure when you walk or tread.

For gardens (speaking of those which are indeed prince-like, as we have done of buildings), the contents ought not well to be under thirty acres of ground; and to be divided into three parts; a green in the entrance; a heath or desert in the going forth; and the main garden in the midst; besides alleys on both sides. And I like well that four acres of ground be assigned to the green; six to the heath; four and four to either side; and twelve to the main garden. The green hath two pleasures: the one, because nothing is more pleasant to the eye than green grass kept finely shorn; the other, because it will give you a fair alley in the midst, by which you may go in front upon a stately hedge, which is to enclose the garden. But because the alley will be long, and, in great heat of the year or day, you ought not to buy the shade in the garden by going in the sun thorough the green, therefore you are, of either side the green, to plant a covert alley, upon carpenter's work, about twelve foot in height, by which you may go in shade into the garden. As for the making of knots or figures with divers coloured earths, that they may lie under the windows of the house on that side which the garden stands[84]; they be but toys: you may see as good sights many times in tarts. The garden is best to be square, encompassed on all the four sides with a stately arched hedge. The arches to be upon pillars of carpenter's work, of some ten foot high, and six foot broad; and the spaces between of the same dimension with the breadth of the arch. Over the arches let there be an entire hedge of some four foot high, framed also upon carpenter's work; and upon the upper hedge, over every arch, a little turret, with a belly, enough to receive a cage of birds: and over every space between the arches some other little figure, with broad plates of round coloured glass gilt, for the sun to play upon. But this hedge I intend to be raised upon a bank, not steep, but gently slope, of some six foot, set all with flowers. Also I understand, that this square of the garden should not be the whole breadth of the ground, but to leave on either side ground enough for diversity of side alleys; unto which the two covert alleys of the green may deliver you. But there must be no alleys with hedges at either end of this great enclosure; not at the hither end, for letting your prospect upon this fair hedge from the green; nor at the further end, for letting your prospect from the hedge through the arches upon the heath.

For the ordering of the ground within the great hedge, I leave it to variety of device; advising nevertheless that whatsoever form you cast it into, first[85], it be not too busy, or full of work. Wherein I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper or other garden stuff; they be for children. Little low hedges, round, like welts, with some pretty pyramides, I like well; and in some places, fair columns upon frames of carpenter's work. I would also have the alleys spacious and fair. You may have closer alleys upon the side grounds, but none in the main garden. I wish also, in the very middle, a fair mount, with three ascents, and alleys, enough for four to walk abreast; which I would have to be perfect circles, without any bulwarks or embossments; and the whole mount to be thirty foot high; and some fine banqueting house; with some chimneys neatly cast, and without too much glass.

[83] The translation adds *tum flores lavendulæ*.

[84] This clause is omitted in the translation.

[85] My copy of Ed. 1625 has a comma after *first* and no comma after *into*. The copy in the British Museum has a comma after *into*, and no comma after *first*. So also Ed. 1639. The translation has *quæcunque ea tandem sit, nimis curiosa et operosa ne sit*. I suspect that the direction was to add the second comma and leave the first, and that it was misunderstood, or imperfectly executed; an accident which may easily happen, and would account for the occasional introduction of a change which could not have been intended.

For fountains, they are a great beauty and refreshment; but pools mar all and make the garden unwholesome, and full of flies and frogs. Fountains intend to be of two natures: the one that sprinkleth or spouteth water; the other a fair receipt of water, of some thirty or forty foot square, but without fish, or slime, or mud. For the first, the ornaments of images gilt, or of marble, which are in use, do well: but the main matter is so to convey the water, as it never stay, either in the bowls or in the cistern; that the water be never by rest discoloured, green or red or the like; or gather any mossiness or putrefaction. Besides that, it is to be cleansed every day by the hand. Also some steps up to it, and some fine pavement about it, doth well. As for the other kind of fountain, which we may call a bathing pool, it may admit much curiosity[86] and beauty; wherewith we will not trouble ourselves; as, that the bottom be finely paved, and with images; the sides likewise; and withal embellished with coloured glass, and such things of lustre; encompassed also with fine rails of low statua's. But the main point is the same which we mentioned in the former kind of fountain; which is, that the water be in perpetual motion, fed by a water higher than the pool, and delivered into it by fair spouts, and then discharged away under ground, by some equality of bores, that it stay little. And for fine devices, of arching water without spilling, and making it rise in several forms (of feathers, drinking glasses, canopies, and the like), they be pretty things to look on, but nothing to health and sweetness.

For the heath, which was the third part of our plot, I wish it to be framed, as much as may be, to a natural wildness. Trees I would have none in it, but some thickets made only of sweet-briar and honeysuckle, and some wild vine amongst; and the ground set with violets, strawberries, and primroses. For these are sweet, and proper in the shade. And these to be in the heath, here and there, not in any order. I like also little heaps, in the nature of mole-hills (such as are in wild heaths), to be set, some with wild thyme; some with pinks; some with germander, that gives a good flower to the eye; some with periwinkle; some with violets; some with strawberries; some with cowslips; some with daisies; some with red roses; some with lilium convallium; some with sweet-williams red; some with bear's-foot: and the like low flowers, being withal sweet and sightly. Part of which heaps are to be with standards of little bushes pricked upon their top, and part without. The standards to be roses; juniper; holly; berberries (but here and there, because of the smell of their blossom[87]); red currants; gooseberry; rosemary; bays; sweet-briar, and such like. But these standards to be kept with cutting, that they grow not out of course.

For the side grounds, you are to fill them with variety of alleys, private, to give a full shade, some of them, wheresoever the sun be. You are to frame some of them likewise for shelter, that when the wind blows sharp, you may walk as in a gallery. And those alleys must be likewise hedged at both ends, to keep out the wind; and these closer alleys must be ever finely gravelled, and no grass, because of going wet. In many of these alleys likewise, you are to set fruit-trees of all sorts; as well upon the walls as in ranges. And this would be generally observed, that the borders wherein you plant your fruit-trees be fair and large, and low, and not steep; and set with fine flowers, but thin and sparingly, lest they deceive the trees. At the end of both the side grounds, I would have

[86] The copy in the British Museum has a semicolon after *curiosity*: my copy has a comma. And as it has certainly been a change in the type, and not a variety in the impression or an alteration made by the hand, I am inclined to think that the Museum copy was a proof in which corrections were afterwards made.

[87] *sed hæc rarior, propter odoris gravitatem dum floret.* The British Museum copy has a semicolon after *blossom* and no stop after *berberries* (or *beare-berries* as it is spelt): my copy has a semicolon after *beare-berries* and no stop after blossom. It is difficult to say which has been the alteration: for in the original setting of the type room for a semicolon does not seem to have been left in either place. Here (as before) I suspect the intention of the corrector was to insert the first without removing the second. The parenthesis certainly refers to the berberry; the blossom of which has an offensive smell, when too near.

a mount of some pretty height, leaving the wall of the enclosure breast high, to look abroad into the fields.

For the main garden, I do not deny but there should be some fair alleys ranged on both sides, with fruit trees; and some pretty tufts of fruit trees, and arbours with seats, set in some decent order; but these to be by no means set too thick; but to leave the main garden so as it be not close, but the air open and free. For as for shade, I would have you rest upon the alleys of the side grounds, there to walk, if you be disposed, in the heat of the year or day; but to make account that the main garden is for the more temperate parts of the year; and in the heat of summer, for the morning and the evening, or overcast days.

For aviaries, I like them not, except they be of that largeness as they may be turfed, and have living plants and bushes set in them: that the birds may have more scope, and natural nestling, and that no foulness appear in the floor of the aviary. So I have made a platform of a princely garden, partly by precept, partly by drawing, not a model, but some general lines of it; and in this I have spared for no cost. But it is nothing for great princes, that for the most part taking advice with workmen, with no less cost set their things together; and sometimes add statua's, and such things for state and magnificence, but nothing to the true pleasure of a garden.

XLVII. Of Negociating.

It is generally better to deal by speech than by letter; and by the mediation of a third than by a man's self. Letters are good, when a man would draw an answer by letter back again; or when it may serve for a man's justification afterwards to produce his own letter; or where it may be danger to be interrupted, or heard by pieces. To deal in person is good, when a man's face breedeth regard, as commonly with inferiors; or in tender cases, where a man's eye upon the countenance of him with whom he speaketh may give him a direction how far to go; and generally, where a man will reserve to himself liberty either to disavow or to expound. In choice of instruments, it is better to choose men of a plainer sort, that are like to do that that is committed to them, and to report back again faithfully the success, than those that are cunning to contrive out of other men's business somewhat to grace themselves, and will help the matter in report for satisfaction sake. Use also such persons as affect the business wherein they are employed; for that quickeneth much; and such as are fit for the matter; as bold men for expostulation, fair-spoken men for persuasion, crafty men for inquiry and observation, froward and absurd men for business that doth not well bear out itself. Use also such as have been lucky and prevailed before in things wherein you have employed them; for that breeds confidence, and they will strive to maintain their prescription. It is better to sound a person with whom one deals afar off, than to fall upon the point at first; except you mean to surprise him by some short question. It is better dealing with men in appetite, than with those that are where they would be. If a man deal with another upon conditions, the start or first performance is all; which a man cannot reasonably demand, except either the nature of the thing be such, which must go before; or else a man can persuade the other party that he shall still need him in some other thing; or else that he be counted the honester man. All practice is to discover, or to work. Men discover themselves in trust, in passion, at unawares, and of necessity, when they would have somewhat done and cannot find an apt pretext. If you would work any man, you must either know his nature and fashions, and so lead him; or his ends, and so persuade him; or his weakness and disadvantages, and so awe him; or those that have interest in him, and so govern him. In dealing with cunning persons, we must ever consider their ends, to interpret their speeches; and it is good to say little to them, and that which they least look for. In all negociations of difficulty, a man may not look to sow and reap at once; but must prepare business, and so ripen it by degrees.

XLVIII. Of Followers and Friends.

Costly followers are not to be liked; lest while a man maketh his train longer, he make his wings shorter. I reckon to be costly, not them alone which charge the purse, but which are wearisome and importune in suits. Ordinary followers ought to challenge no higher conditions than countenance, recommendation, and protection from wrongs. Factious followers are worse to be liked, which follow not upon affection to him with whom they range themselves, but upon discontentment conceived against some other; whereupon commonly ensueth that ill intelligence that we many times see between great personages. Likewise glorious followers, who make themselves as trumpets of the commendation of those they follow, are full of inconvenience; for they taint business through want of secrecy; and they export honour from a man, and make him a return in envy. There is a kind of followers likewise which are dangerous, being indeed espials; which inquire the secrets of the house, and bear tales of them to others. Yet such men, many times, are in great favour; for they are officious, and commonly exchange tales. The following by certain estates of men, answerable to that which a great person himself professeth (as of soldiers to him that hath been employed in the wars, and the like), hath ever been a thing civil, and well taken even in monarchies; so it be without too much pomp or popularity. But the most honourable kind of following is to be followed as one that apprehendeth to advance virtue and desert in all sorts of persons. And yet, where there is no eminent odds in sufficiency, it is better to take with the more passable, than with the more able. And besides, to speak truth, in base times active men are of more use than virtuous. It is true that in government it is good to use men of one rank equally: for to countenance some extraordinarily, is to make them insolent, and the rest discontent; because they may claim a due. But contrariwise, in favour, to use men with much difference and election is good; for it maketh the persons preferred more thankful, and the rest more officious: because all is of favour. It is good discretion not to make too much of any man at the first; because one cannot hold out that proportion. To be governed (as we call it) by one, is not safe; for it shews softness, and gives a freedom to scandal and disreputation; for those that would not censure or speak ill of a man immediately, will talk more boldly of those that are so great with them, and thereby wound their honour. Yet to be distracted with many is worse; for it makes men to be of the last impression [88], and full of change. To take advice of some few friends is ever honourable; *for lookers-on many times see more than gamesters; and the vale best discovereth the hill.* There is little friendship in the world, and least of all between equals, which was wont to be magnified. That that is, is between superior and inferior, whose fortunes may comprehend the one the other.

XLIX. Of Suitors.

Many ill matters and projects are undertaken; and private suits do putrefy the public good. Many good matters are undertaken with bad minds; I mean not only corrupt minds, but crafty minds, that intend not performance. Some embrace suits, which never mean to deal effectually in them; but if they see there may be life in the matter by some other means, they will be content to win a thank, or take a second reward, or at least to make use in the meantime of the suitor's hopes. Some take hold of suits only for an occasion to cross some other; or to make an information whereof they could not otherwise have apt pretext; without care what become of the suit when that turn is served; or, generally, to make other men's business a kind of entertainment to bring in their own. Nay some undertake suits, with a full purpose to let them fall; to the end to gratify the adverse party or competitor. Surely there is in some sort a right in every suit; either a right in equity, if it be a suit of controversy; or a right of desert, if it be a suit of petition. If affection lead a man to favour the wrong side in justice, let him rather use his countenance to compound the matter

[88] *postremæ (ut nunc loquuntur) editionis.* Whence it would appear that the metaphor is from the printing-press.

than to carry it. If affection lead a man to favour the less worthy in desert, let him do it without depraving or disabling the better deserver. In suits which a man doth not well understand, it is good to refer them to some friend of trust and judgment, that may report whether he may deal in them with honour: but let him choose well his referendaries, for else he may be led by the nose. Suitors are so distasted with delays and abuses, that plain dealing in denying to deal in suits at first, and reporting the success barely, and in challenging no more thanks than one hath deserved, is grown not only honourable, but also gracious. In suits of favour, the first coming ought to take little place: so far forth consideration may be had of his trust, that if intelligence of the matter could not otherwise have been had but by him, advantage be not taken of the note, but the party left to his other means; and in some sort recompensed for his discovery. To be ignorant of the value of a suit is simplicity; as well as to be ignorant of the right thereof is want of conscience. Secrecy in suits is a great mean of obtaining; for voicing them to be in forwardness may discourage some kind of suitors, but doth quicken and awake others. But timing of the suit is the principal. Timing, I say, not only in respect of the person that should grant it, but in respect of those which are like to cross it. Let a man, in the choice of his mean, rather choose the fittest mean than the greatest mean; and rather them that deal in certain things, than those that are general. The reparation of a denial is sometimes equal to the first grant; if a man shew himself neither dejected nor discontented. *Iniquum petas ut æquum feras* [Ask more than is reasonable, that you may get no less], is a good rule, where a man hath strength of favour: but otherwise a man were better rise in his suit; for he that would have ventured at first to have lost the suitor, will not in the conclusion lose both the suitor and his own former favour. Nothing is thought so easy a request to a great person, as his letter; and yet, if it be not in a good cause, it is so much out of his reputation. There are no worse instruments than these general controvers of suits; for they are but a kind of poison and infection to public proceedings.

L. Of Studies.

Studies serve for delight, for ornament, and for ability. Their chief use for delight, is in privateness and retiring; for ornament, is in discourse; and for ability, is in the judgment and disposition of business. For expert men can execute, and perhaps judge of particulars, one by one; but the general counsels, and the plots and marshalling of affairs, come best from those that are learned. To spend too much time in studies is sloth; to use them too much for ornament, is affectation; to make judgment wholly by their rules, is the humour of a scholar. They perfect nature, and are perfected by experience; for natural abilities are like natural plants, that need proyning[89] by study; and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience. Crafty men contemn studies, simple men admire them, and wise men use them; for they teach not their own use; but that is a wisdom without them, and above them, won by observation. Read not to contradict and confute; nor to believe and take for granted; nor to find talk and discourse; but to weigh and consider. Some books are to be tasted, others to be swallowed, and some few to be chewed and digested; that is, some books are to be read only in parts; others to be read, but not curiously; and some few to be read wholly, and with diligence and attention. Some books also may be read by deputy, and extracts made of them by others; but that would be only in the less important arguments, and the meaner sort of books; else distilled books are like common distilled waters, flashy things. Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man. And therefore, if a man

[89] So in the original. Compare *Sylva Sylvarum*, § 432: "the lower boughs only maintained, and the higher continually *proined* off:" and again § 823: "many birds do *proine* their feathers:" from which I suppose that it is not a misprint, but another form of the word.

write little, he had need have a great memory; if he confer little, he had need have a present wit: and if he read little, he had need have much cunning, to seem to know that he doth not. Histories make men wise; poets witty; the mathematics subtle; natural philosophy deep; moral grave; logic and rhetoric able to contend. *Abeunt studia in mores* [The studies pass into the manners]. Nay there is no stond or impediment in the wit, but may be wrought out by fit studies: like as diseases of the body may have appropriate exercises. Bowling is good for the stone and reins; shooting for the lungs and breast; gentle walking for the stomach; riding for the head; and the like. So if a man's wit be wandering, let him study the mathematics; for in demonstrations, if his wit be called away never so little, he must begin again. If his wit be not apt to distinguish or find differences, let him study the schoolmen; for they are *cymini sectores* [splitters of hairs]. If he be not apt to beat over matters, and to call up one thing to prove and illustrate another, let him study the lawyers' cases. So every defect of the mind may have a special receipt.

LI. Of Faction.

Many have an opinion not wise, that for a prince to govern his estate, or for a great person to govern his proceedings, according to the respect of factions, is a principal part of policy; whereas contrariwise, the chiefest wisdom is either in ordering those things which are general, and wherein men of several factions do nevertheless agree; or in dealing with correspondence to particular persons, one by one. But I say not that the consideration of factions is to be neglected. Mean men, in their rising, must adhere; but great men, that have strength in themselves, were better to maintain themselves indifferent and neutral. Yet even in beginners, to adhere so moderately, as he be a man of the one faction which is most passable with the other, commonly giveth best way. The lower and weaker faction is the firmer in conjunction; and it is often seen that a few that are stiff do tire out a greater number that are more moderate. When one of the factions is extinguished, the remaining subdivideth; as the faction between Lucullus and the rest of the nobles of the senate (which they called *Optimates*) held out awhile against the faction of Pompey and Cæsar; but when the senate's authority was pulled down, Cæsar and Pompey soon after brake. The faction or party of Antonius and Octavianus Cæsar against Brutus and Cassius, held out likewise for a time; but when Brutus and Cassius were overthrown, then soon after Antonius and Octavianus brake and subdivided. These examples are of wars, but the same holdeth in private factions. And therefore those that are seconds in factions do many times, when the faction subdivideth, prove principals; but many times also they prove cyphers and cashiered; for many a man's strength is in opposition; and when that faileth he groweth out of use. It is commonly seen that men once placed take in with the contrary faction to that by which they enter: thinking belike that they have the first sure, and now are ready for a new purchase. The traitor in faction lightly goeth away with it; for when matters have stuck long in balancing, the winning of some one man casteth them, and he getteth all the thanks. The even carriage between two factions proceedeth not always of moderation, but of a trueness to a man's self, with end to make use of both. Certainly in Italy they hold it a little suspect in popes, when they have often in their mouth *Padre commune:* and take it to be a sign of one that meaneth to refer all to the greatness of his own house. Kings had need beware how they side themselves, and make themselves as of a faction or party; for leagues within the state are ever pernicious to monarchies: for they raise an obligation paramount to obligation of sovereignty, and make the king *tanquam unus ex nobis* [like one of themselves]; as was to be seen in the League of France. When factions are carried too high and too violently, it is a sign of weakness in princes; and much to the prejudice both of their authority and business. The motions of factions under kings ought to be like the motions (as the astronomers speak) of the inferior orbs, which may have their proper motions, but yet still are quietly carried by the higher motion of *primum mobile.*

LII. Of Ceremonies and Respects.

He that is only real, had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil. But if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, *That light gains make heavy purses*; for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then. So it is true that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in use and in note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as queen Isabella said) *like perpetual letters commendatory*, to have good forms. To attain them it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest. For if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace; which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations? Not to use ceremonies at all, is to teach others not to use them again; and so diminisheth respect to himself; especially they be not to be omitted to strangers and formal natures; but the dwelling upon them, and exalting them above the moon, is not only tedious, but doth diminish the faith and credit of him that speaks. And certainly there is a kind of conveying of effectual and imprinting passages amongst compliments, which is of singular use, if a man can hit upon it. Amongst a man's peers a man shall be sure of familiarity; and therefore it is good a little to keep state. Amongst a man's inferiors one shall be sure of reverence; and therefore it is good a little to be familiar. He that is too much in anything, so that he giveth another occasion of satiety, maketh himself cheap. To apply one's self to others is good; so it be with demonstration that a man doth it upon regard, and not upon facility. It is a good precept generally in seconding another, yet to add somewhat of one's own: as if you will grant his opinion, let it be with some distinction; if you will follow his motion, let it be with condition; if you allow his counsel, let it be with alleging further reason. Men had need beware how they be too perfect in compliments; for be they never so sufficient otherwise, their enviers will be sure to give them that attribute to the disadvantage of their greater virtues. It is loss also in business to be too full of respects, or to be curious in observing times and opportunities. Salomon saith, *He that considereth the wind shall not sow, and he that looketh to the clouds shall not reap*. A wise man will make more opportunities than he finds. Men's behaviour should be like their apparel, not too strait or point device, but free for exercise or motion.

LIII. Of Praise.

Praise is the reflexion of virtue. But it is as the glass or body which giveth the reflexion. If it be from the common people, it is commonly false and naught; and rather followeth vain persons than virtuous. For the common people understand not many excellent virtues. The lowest virtues draw praise from them; the middle virtues work in them astonishment or admiration; but of the highest virtues they have no sense of perceiving at all. But shews, and *species virtutibus similes*, serve best with them. Certainly fame is like a river, that beareth up things light and swoln, and drowns things weighty and solid. But if persons of quality and judgment concur, then it is (as the Scripture saith) *Nomen bonum instar unguenti fragrantis* [a good name like unto a sweet ointment]. It filleth all round about, and will not easily away. For the odours of ointments are more durable than those of flowers. There be so many false points of praise, that a man may justly hold it a suspect. Some praises proceed merely of flattery; and if he be an ordinary flatterer, he will have certain common attributes, which may serve every man; if he be a cunning flatterer he will follow the arch-flatterer, which is a man's self; and wherein a man thinketh best of himself, therein the flatterer will uphold him most: but if he be an impudent flatterer, look wherein a man is conscious to himself that he is most defective, and is most out of countenance in himself, that will the flatterer

entitle him to perforce, *spretâ conscientiâ*. Some praises come of good wishes and respects, which is a form due in civility to kings and great persons, *laudando præcipere ;* when by telling men what they are, they represent to them what they should be. Some men are praised maliciously to their hurt, thereby to stir envy and jealousy towards them ; *pessimum genus inimicorum laudantium ;* [the worst kind of enemies are they that praise] ; insomuch as it was a proverb amongst the Grecians, that *he that was praised to his hurt, should have a push rise upon his nose ;* as we say, *that a blister will rise upon one's tongue that tells a lie.* Certainly moderate praise, used with opportunity, and not vulgar, is that which doth the good. Salomon saith, *He that praiseth his friend aloud, rising early, it shall be to him no better than a curse.* Too much magnifying of man or matter doth irritate contradiction, and procure envy and scorn. To praise a man's self cannot be decent, except it be in rare cases ; but to praise a man's office or profession, he may do it with good grace, and with a kind of magnanimity. The Cardinals of Rome, which are theologues, and friars, and schoolmen, have a phrase of notable contempt and scorn towards civil business : for they call all temporal business of wars, embassages, judicature, and other employments, *sbirrerie*, which is *under-sheriffries ;* as if they were but matters for under-sheriffs and catch-poles : though many times those under-sheriffries do more good than their high speculations. St. Paul, when he boasts of himself, he doth oft interlace, *I speak like a fool ;* but speaking of his calling, he saith, *magnificabo apostolatum meum* [I will magnify my mission].

LIV. Of Vain-Glory.

It was prettily devised of Æsop ; *the fly sat upon the axle-tree of the chariot wheel, and said, What a dust do I raise!* So are there some vain persons, that whatsoever goeth alone or moveth upon greater means, if they have never so little hand in it, they think it is they that carry it. They that are glorious must needs be factious ; for all bravery stands upon comparisons. They must needs be violent, to make good their own vaunts. Neither can they be secret, and therefore not effectual ; but according to the French proverb, *Beaucoup de bruit, peu de fruit ; Much bruit, little fruit.* Yet certainly there is use of this quality in civil affairs. Where there is an opinion and fame to be created either of virtue or greatness, these men are good trumpeters. Again, as Titus Livius noteth in the case of Antiochus and the Ætolians, *There are sometimes great effects of cross lies ;* as if a man that negotiates between two princes, to draw them to join in a war against the third, doth extol the forces of either of them above measure, the one to the other ; and sometimes he that deals between man and man, raiseth his own credit with both, by pretending greater interest than he hath in either. And in these and the like kinds, it often falls out that somewhat is produced of nothing ; for lies are sufficient to breed opinion, and opinion brings on substance. In militar [90] commanders and soldiers, vain-glory is an essential point ; for as iron sharpens iron, so by glory one courage sharpeneth another. In cases of great enterprise upon charge and adventure, a composition of glorious natures doth put life into business ; and those that are of solid and sober natures have more of the ballast than of the sail. In fame of learning, the flight will be slow without some feathers of ostentation. *Qui de contemnendâ gloriâ libros scribunt, nomen suum inscribunt* [They that write books on the worthlessness of glory, take care to put their names on the title page]. Socrates, Aristotle, Galen, were men full of ostentation. Certainly vain-glory helpeth to perpetuate a man's memory ; and virtue was never so beholding to human nature, as it received his due at the second hand. Neither had the fame of Cicero, Seneca, Plinius Secundus, borne her age so well, if it had not been joined with some vanity in themselves ; like unto varnish, that makes ceilings not only shine but last. But all this while, when I speak of vain-glory, I mean not of that property that Tacitus doth attribute to Mucianus ; *Omnium, quæ dixerat feceratque, arte quâdam ostentator* [A man that had a kind of art of setting forth to advantage

[90] So in the original. It is the form of the word which Bacon generally uses.

all that he had said or done] : for that proceeds not of vanity, but of natural magnanimity and discretion ; and in some persons is not only comely, but gracious. For excusations, cessions, modesty itself well governed, are but arts of ostentation. And amongst those arts there is none better than that which Plinius Secundus speaketh of, which is to be liberal of praise and commendation to others, in that wherein a man's self hath any perfection. For saith Pliny very wittily, *In commending another you do yourself right ; for he that you commend is either superior to you in that you commend, or inferior. If he be inferior, if he be to be commended, you much more ; if he be superior, if he be not to be commended, you much less.* Glorious men are the scorn of wise men, the admiration of fools, the idols of parasites, and the slaves of their own vaunts.

LV. Of Honour and Reputation.

The winning of Honour [91] is but the revealing of a man's virtue and worth without disadvantage. For some in their actions do woo and affect honour and reputation ; which sort of men are commonly much talked of, but inwardly little admired. And some, contrariwise, darken their virtue in the shew of it ; so as they be undervalued in opinion. If a man perform that which hath not been attempted before ; or attempted and given over ; or hath been achieved, but not with so good circumstance, he shall purchase more honour than by effecting a matter of greater difficulty or virtue, wherein he is but a follower. If a man so temper his actions, as in some one of them he doth content every faction or combination of people, the music will be the fuller. A man is an ill husband of his honour, that entereth into any action, the failing wherein may disgrace him more than the carrying of it through can honour him. Honour that is gained and broken upon another hath the quickest reflexion, like diamonds cut with fascets. And therefore let a man contend to excel any competitors of his in honour, in outshooting them, if he can, in their own bow. Discreet followers and servants help much to reputation. *Omnis fama a domesticis emanat.* Envy, which is the canker of honour, is best extinguished by declaring a man's self in his ends rather to seek merit than fame ; and by attributing a man's successes rather to divine Providence and felicity, than to his own virtue or policy. The true marshalling of degrees of sovereign honour are these. In the first place are *conditores imperiorum*, founders of states and commonwealths ; such as were Romulus, Cyrus, Cæsar, Ottoman, Ismael. In the second place are *legislatores*, lawgivers ; which are also called *second founders*, or *perpetui principes*, because they govern by their ordinances after they are gone ; such were Lycurgus, Solon, Justinian, Eadgar, Alphonsus of Castile, the Wise, that made the *Siete partidas*. In the third place are *liberatores*, or *salvatores*, such as compound the long miseries of civil wars, or deliver their countries from servitude of strangers or tyrants ; as Augustus Cæsar, Vespasianus, Aurelianus, Theodoricus, King Henry the Seventh of England, King Henry the Fourth of France. In the fourth place are *propagatores* or *propugnatores imperii ;* such as in honourable wars enlarge their territories, or make noble defence against invaders. And in the last place are *patres patriæ* [fathers of their country] ; which reign justly, and make the times good wherein they live. Both which last kinds need no examples, they are in such numbers. Degrees of honour in subjects are, first, *participes curarum*, those upon whom princes do discharge the greatest weight of their affairs ; their *right hands*, as we call them. The next are *duces belli*, great leaders ; such as are princes' lieutenants, and do them notable services in the wars. The third are *gratiosi*, favourites ; such as exceed not this scantling, to be solace to the sovereign, and harmless to the people. And the fourth, *negotiis pares ;* such as have great places under princes, and execute their places with sufficiency. There is an honour, likewise, which may be ranked amongst the greatest, which happeneth rarely ; that is, of such as sacrifice themselves to death or danger for the good of their country ; as was M. Regulus, and the two Decii.

[91] *Honoris et existimationis vera et jure optimo acquisitio ea est, ut quis*, etc. Harl. MS. 5106 (referred to above, p. 760) has "The true winning of honour :" which is probably the true reading.

LVI. Of Judicature.

Judges ought to remember that their office is *jus dicere*, and not *jus dare ;* to interpret law, and not to make law, or give law. Else will it be like the authority claimed by the church of Rome, which under pretext of exposition of Scripture doth not stick to add and alter ; and to pronounce that which they do not find ; and by shew of antiquity to introduce novelty. Judges ought to be more learned than witty, more reverend than plausible, and more advised than confident. Above all things, integrity is their portion and proper virtue. *Cursed* (saith the law) *is he that removeth the landmark.* The mislayer of a mere-stone is to blame. But it is the unjust judge that is the capital remover of landmarks, when he defineth amiss of lands and property. One foul sentence doth more hurt than many foul examples. For these do but corrupt the stream, the other corrupteth the fountain. So saith Salomon, *Fons turbatus, et vena corrupta, est justus cadens in causâ suâ coram adversario* [A righteous man falling down before the wicked is as a troubled fountain or a corrupt spring]. The office of judges may have reference unto the parties that sue, unto the advocates that plead, unto the clerks and ministers of justice underneath them, and to the sovereign or state above them.

First, for the causes or parties that sue. *There be* (saith the Scripture) *that turn judgment into wormwood ;* and surely there be also that turn it into vinegar ; for injustice maketh it bitter, and delays make it sour. The principal duty of a judge is to suppress force and fraud ; whereof force is the more pernicious when it is open, and fraud when it is close and disguised. Add thereto contentious suits which ought to be spewed out, as the surfeit of courts. A judge ought to prepare his way to a just sentence, as God useth to prepare his way, by raising valleys, and taking down hills : so when there appeareth on either side an high hand, violent prosecution, cunning advantages taken, combination, power, great counsel, then is the virtue of a judge seen, to make inequality equal ; that he may plant his judgment as upon an even ground. *Qui fortiter emungit, elicit sanguinem* [Violent blowing makes the nose bleed] ; and where the wine-press is hard wrought, it yields a harsh wine, that tastes of the grape-stone. Judges must beware of hard constructions and strained inferences ; for there is no worse torture than the torture of laws. Specially in case of laws penal, they ought to have care that that which was meant for terror be not turned into rigour ; and that they bring not upon the people that shower whereof the Scripture speaketh, *Pluet super eos laqueos ;* for penal laws pressed are a *shower of snares* upon the people. Therefore let penal laws, if they have been sleepers of long, or if they be grown unfit for the present time, be by wise judges confined in the execution : *Judicis officium est, ut res, ita tempora rerum, etc.* [A judge must have regard to the time as well as to the matter]. In causes of life and death, judges ought (as far as the law permitteth) in justice to remember mercy ; and to cast a severe eye upon the example, but a merciful eye upon the person.

Secondly, for the advocates and counsel that plead. Patience and gravity of hearing is an essential part of justice ; and an overspeaking judge is no well-tuned cymbal. It is no grace to a judge first to find that which he might have heard in due time from the bar ; or to show quickness of conceit in cutting off evidence or counsel too short ; or to prevent information by questions, though pertinent. The parts of a judge in hearing are four : to direct the evidence ; to moderate length, repetition, or impertinency of speech ; to recapitulate, select, and collate the material points of that which hath been said ; and to give the rule or sentence. Whatsoever is above these is too much ; and proceedeth either of glory and willingness to speak, or of impatience to hear, or of shortness of memory, or of want of a staid and equal attention. It is a strange thing to see that the boldness of advocates should prevail with judges ; whereas they should imitate God, in whose seat they sit ; who *represseth the presumptuous, and giveth grace to the modest.* But it is more strange, that judges should have noted favourites ; which cannot but cause multiplication of fees, and suspicion of bye-ways. There is due from the judge to the advocate some commendation and gracing, where causes are well handled and fair pleaded ; especially towards the side which obtaineth not ; for that upholds in the client the reputation of his counsel, and beats down in him the conceit of his cause. There is likewise due to the public a civil repre-

hension of advocates, where there appeareth cunning counsel, gross neglect, slight information, indiscreet pressing, or an over-bold defence. And let not the counsel at the bar chop with the judge, nor wind himself into the handling of the cause anew after the judge hath declared his sentence; but on the other side, let not the judge meet the cause half way, nor give occasion for the party to say his counsel or proofs were not heard.

Thirdly, for that that concerns clerks and ministers. The place of justice is an hallowed place; and therefore not only the bench, but the foot-pace and precincts and purprise thereof, ought to be preserved without scandal and corruption. For certainly *Grapes* (as the Scripture saith) *will not be gathered of thorns or thistles*; neither can justice yield her fruit with sweetness amongst the briars and brambles of catching and polling clerks and ministers. The attendance of courts is subject to four bad instruments. First, certain persons that are sowers of suits; which make the court swell, and the country pine. The second sort is of those that engage courts in quarrels of jurisdiction, and are not truly *amici curiæ*, but *parasiti curiæ*, in puffing a court up beyond her bounds, for their own scraps and advantage. The third sort is of those that may be accounted the left hands of courts; persons that are full of nimble and sinister tricks and shifts, whereby they pervert the plain and direct courses of courts, and bring justice into oblique lines and labyrinths. And the fourth is the poller and exacter of fees; which justifies the common resemblance of the courts of justice to the bush whereunto while the sheep flies for defence in weather, he is sure to lose part of his fleece. On the other side, an ancient clerk, skilful in precedents, wary in proceeding, and understanding in the business of the court, is an excellent finger of a court; and doth many times point the way to the judge himself.

Fourthly, for that which may concern the sovereign and estate. Judges ought above all to remember the conclusion of the Roman Twelve Tables; *Salus populi suprema lex* [The supreme law of all is the weal of the people]; and to know that laws, except they be in order to that end, are but things captious, and oracles not well inspired. Therefore it is an happy thing in a state when kings and states do often consult with judges; and again when judges do often consult with the king and state: the one, when there is matter of law, intervenient in business of state; the other, when there is some consideration of state intervenient in matter of law. For many times the things deduced to judgment may be *meum* and *tuum*, when the reason and consequence thereof may trench to point of estate: I call matter of estate, not only the parts of sovereignty, but whatsoever introduceth any great alteration or dangerous precedent; or concerneth manifestly any great portion of people. And let no man weakly conceive that just laws and true policy have any antipathy; for they are like the spirits and sinews, that one moves with the other. Let judges also remember, that Salomon's throne was supported by lions on both sides: let them be lions, but yet lions under the throne; being circumspect that they do not check or oppose any points of sovereignty. Let not judges also be so ignorant of their own right, as to think there is not left to them, as a principal part of their office, a wise use and application of laws. For they may remember what the apostle saith of a greater law than theirs; *Nos scimus quia lex bona est, modo quis ea utatur legitime* [We know that the law is good, if a man use it lawfully].

LVII. Of Anger.

To seek to extinguish Anger utterly is but a bravery of the Stoics. We have better oracles: *Be angry, but sin not. Let not the sun go down upon your anger.* Anger must be limited and confined both in race and in time. We will first speak how the natural inclination and habit to be angry may be attempered and calmed. Secondly, how the particular motions of anger may be repressed, or at least refrained from doing mischief. Thirdly, how to raise anger or appease anger in another.

For the first; there is no other way but to meditate and ruminate well upon the effects of anger, how it troubles man's life. And the best time to do this, is to look back upon anger when the fit is thoroughly over. Seneca saith well, *That anger is like ruin, which breaks itself upon that it falls.* The Scripture exhorteth

us *To possess our souls in patience.* Whosoever is out of patience, is out of possession of his soul. Men must not turn bees

„ . . . animasque in vulnere ponunt

[that put their lives in the sting].

Anger is certainly a kind of baseness ; as it appears well in the weakness of those subjects in whom it reigns ; children, women, old folks, sick folks. Only men must beware that they carry their anger rather with scorn than with fear ; so that they may seem rather to be above the injury than below it ; which is a thing easily done, if a man will give law to himself in it.

For the second point ; the causes and motives of anger are chiefly three. First, to be too sensible of hurt ; for no man is angry that feels not himself hurt ; and therefore tender and delicate persons must needs be oft angry ; they have so many things to trouble them, which more robust natures have little sense of. The next is, the apprehension and construction of the injury offered to be, in the circumstances thereof, full of contempt : for contempt is that which putteth an edge upon anger, as much or more than the hurt itself. And therefore when men are ingenious in picking out circumstances of contempt, they do kindle their anger much. Lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputation doth multiply and sharpen anger. Wherein the remedy is, that a man should have, as Consalvo was wont to say, *telam honoris crassiorem* [an honour of a stouter web]. But in all refrainings of anger, it is the best remedy to win time ; and to make a man's self believe, that the opportunity of his revenge is not yet come, but that he foresees a time for it ; and so to still himself in the mean time, and reserve it.

To contain anger from mischief, though it take hold of a man, there be two things whereof you must have special caution. The one, of extreme bitterness of words, especially if they be aculeate and proper ; for *communia maledicta* are nothing so much ; and again, that in anger a man reveal no secrets ; for that makes him not fit for society. The other, that you do not peremptorily break off, in any business, in a fit of anger ; but howsoever you shew bitterness, do not act anything that is not revocable.

For raising and appeasing anger in another ; it is done chiefly by choosing of times, when men are forwardest and worst disposed, to incense them. Again, by gathering (as was touched before) all that you can find out to aggravate the contempt. And the two remedies are by the contraries. The former to take good times, when first to relate to a man an angry business ; for the first impression is much ; and the other is, to sever, as much as may be, the construction of the injury from the point of contempt ; imputing it to misunderstanding, fear, passion, or what you will.

LVIII. Of Vicissitude of Things.

Salomon saith, *There is no new thing upon the earth.* So that as Plato had an imagination, *That all knowledge was but remembrance ;* so Salomon giveth his sentence, *That all novelty is but oblivion.* Whereby you may see that the river of Lethe runneth as well above ground as below. There is an abstruse astrologer that saith, *if it were not for two things that are constant (the one is, that the fixed stars ever stand at like distance one from another, and never come nearer together, nor go further asunder ; the other that the diurnal motion perpetually keepeth time), no individual would last one moment.* Certain it is, that the matter is in a perpetual flux, and never at a stay. The great winding-sheets, that bury all things in oblivion, are two ; deluges and earthquakes. As for conflagrations and great droughts, they do not[92] merely dispeople and destroy. Phaëton's car went but a day. And the three years' drought in the time of Elias was but particular, and

[92] [This "not" appears from the context to be a misprint, though it is followed in the Latin translation. That, from its diffuseness, appears in many places not to be by Bacon. The edition of 1838 rightly drops the "not." The Bohn edition has „not merely dispeople, but destroy," which is no improvement.—Ed.]

left people alive. As for the great burnings by lightnings, which are often in the West Indies, they are but narrow. But in the other two destructions, by deluge and earthquake, it is further to be noted, that the remnant of people which hap to be reserved, are commonly ignorant and mountainous people, that can give no account of the time past; so that the oblivion is all one as if none had been left. If you consider well of the people of the West Indies, it is very probable that they are a newer or a younger people than the people of the old world. And it is much more likely that the destruction that hath heretofore been there, was not by earthquakes (as the Ægyptian priest told Solon concerning the island of Atlantis, *that it was swallowed by an earthquake*), but rather that it was desolated by a particular deluge. For earthquakes are seldom in those parts. But on the other side, they have such pouring rivers, as the rivers of Asia and Africk and Europe are but brooks to them. Their Andes likewise, or mountains, are far higher than those with us; whereby it seems that the remnants of generation of men were in such a particular deluge saved. As for the observation that Machiavel hath, that the jealousy of sects doth much extinguish the memory of things; traducing Gregory the Great, that he did what in him lay to extinguish all heathen antiquities; I do not find that those zeals do any great effects, nor last long; as it appeared in the succession of Sabinian, who did revive the former antiquities.

The vicissitude or mutations in the Superior Globe are no fit matter for this present argument. It may be, Plato's great year, if the world should last so long, would have some effect; not in renewing the state of like individuals (for that is the fume of those that conceive the celestial bodies have more accurate influences upon these things below than indeed they have), but in gross. Comets, out of question, have likewise power and effect over the gross and mass of things; but they are rather gazed upon, and waited upon in their journey, than wisely observed in their effects; specially in their respective effects; that is, what kind of comet, for magnitude, colour, version of the beams, placing in the region of heaven, or lasting, produceth what kind of effects.

There is a toy which I have heard, and I would not have it given over, but waited upon a little. They say it is observed in the Low Countries (I know not in what part) that every five and thirty years the same kind and suit of years and weathers comes about again; as great frosts, great wet, great droughts, warm winters, summers with little heat, and the like; and they call it the *Prime*. It is a thing I do the rather mention, because, computing backwards, I have found some concurrence.

But to leave these points of nature, and to come to men. The greatest vicissitude of things amongst men, is the vicissitude of sects and religions. For those orbs rule in men's minds most. The true religion is *built upon the rock*; the rest are tossed upon the waves of time. To speak therefore of the causes of new sects; and to give some counsel concerning them, as far as the weakness of human judgment can give stay to so great revolutions.

When the religion formerly received is rent by discords; and when the holiness of the professors of religion is decayed and full of scandal; and withal the times be stupid, ignorant, and barbarous; you may doubt the springing up of a new sect; if then also there should arise any extravagant and strange spirit to make himself author thereof. All which points held when Mahomet published his law. If a new sect have not two properties, fear it not; for it will not spread. The one is, the supplanting or the opposing of authority established; for nothing is more popular than that. The other is, the giving licence to pleasures and a voluptuous life. For as for speculative heresies (such as were in ancient times the Arians, and now the Arminians), though they work mightily upon men's wits, yet they do not produce any great alterations in states; except it be by the help of civil occasions. There be three manner of plantations of new sects. By the power of signs and miracles; by the eloquence and wisdom of speech and persuasion; and by the sword. For martyrdoms, I reckon them amongst miracles; because they seem to exceed the strength of human nature: and I may do the like of superlative and admirable holiness of life. Surely there is no better way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, than to reform abuses; to compound the smaller differences; to proceed mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and rather

to take off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, than to enrage them by violence and bitterness.

The changes and vicissitude in wars are many; but chiefly in three things; in the seats or stages of the war; in the weapons; and in the manner of the conduct. Wars, in ancient time, seemed more to move from east to west; for the Persians, Assyrians, Arabians, Tartars (which were the invaders), were all eastern people. It is true, the Gauls were western; but we read but of two incursions of theirs: the one to Gallo-Græcia, the other to Rome. But East and West have no certain points of heaven; and no more have the wars, either from the east or west, any certainty of observation. But North and South are fixed; and it hath seldom or never been seen that the far southern people have invaded the northern, but contrariwise. Whereby it is manifest that the northern tract of the world is in nature the more martial region: be it in respect of the stars of that hemisphere; or of the great continents that are upon the north, whereas the south part, for aught that is known, is almost all sea; or (which is most apparent) of the cold of the northern parts, which is that which, without aid of discipline, doth make the bodies hardest, and the courages warmest.

Upon the breaking and shivering of a great state and empire, you may be sure to have wars. For great empires, while they stand, do enervate and destroy the forces of the natives which they have subdued, resting upon their own protecting forces; and then when they fail also, all goes to ruin, and they become a prey. So was it in the decay of the Roman empire; and likewise in the empire of Almaigne, after Charles the Great, every bird taking a feather; and were not unlike to befal to Spain, if it should break. The great accessions and unions of kingdoms do likewise stir up wars: for when a state grows to an over-power, it is like a great flood, that will be sure to overflow. As it hath been seen in the states of Rome, Turkey, Spain, and others. Look when the world hath fewest barbarous peoples, but such as commonly will not marry or generate, except they know means to live (as it is almost every where at this day, except Tartary), there is no danger of inundations of people: but when there be great shoals of people, which go on to populate, without foreseeing means of life and sustentation, it is of necessity that once in an age or two they discharge a portion of their people upon other nations; which the ancient northern people were wont to do by lot; casting lots what part should stay at home, and what should seek their fortunes. When a warlike state grows soft and effeminate, they may be sure of a war. For commonly such states are grown rich in the time of their degenerating; and so the prey inviteth, and their decay in valour encourageth a war.

As for the weapons, it hardly falleth under rule and observation: yet we see even they have returns and vicissitudes. For certain it is, that ordnance was known in the city of the Oxidrakes in India; and was that which the Macedonians called thunder and lightning, and magic. And it is well known that the use of ordnance hath been in China above two thousand years. The conditions of weapons, and their improvement, are, First, the fetching afar off; for that outruns the danger; as it is seen in ordnance and muskets. Secondly, the strength of the percussion; wherein likewise ordnance do exceed all arietations and ancient inventions. The third is, the commodious use of them; as that they may serve in all weathers; that the carriage may be light and manageable; and the like.

For the conduct of the war: at the first, men rested extremely upon number: they did put the wars likewise upon main force and valour; pointing days for pitched fields, and so trying it out upon an even match: and they were more ignorant in ranging and arraying their battles. After they grew to rest upon number rather competent than vast; they grew to [93] advantages of place, cunning diversions, and the like: and they grew more skilful in the ordering of their battles.

In the youth of a state, arms do flourish; in the middle age of a state, learning; and then both of them together for a time; in the declining age of a state, mechanical arts and merchandise. Learning hath his infancy, when it is but begin-

[93] So in original. A word appears to have dropped out, such as *seek*, or something equivalent. The translation has *captabant*.

ning and almost childish : then his youth, when it is luxuriant and juvenile : then his strength of years, when it is solid and reduced : and lastly, his old age, when it waxeth dry and exhaust. But it is not good to look too long upon these turning wheels of vicissitude, lest we become giddy. As for the philology of them, that is but a circle of tales, and therefore not fit for this writing.

[NOTE.—In speaking of the original edition, I have referred to a copy in my own possession ; from which the title is copied. I have since found that there is a copy in the British Museum bearing the same date, but not in all respects the same. In the title-page, instead of *newly enlarged*, it has *newly written*. It professes to be "printed by John Haviland, for Hanna Barret," omitting the name of Richard Whittaker, and the words which follow. In the text, it is difficult even on a careful examination to detect any differences whatever. But upon referring to the passages in which I had noticed an error, or a doubt, or a variety of reading, I find that in three of them it differs from my copy. In p. 760 it has *children* not *child* : in p. 767 *flower* not *flowers* : in p. 785 *game* not *gaine*. One or two other variations which occur in the later essays I have noticed in their places. Of these copies, one must certainly have been a proof in which corrections were afterwards made. And the fact that all the later editions have "newly enlarged" in the title page, instead of "newly written," favours the supposition that mine is the corrected copy. That in some cases (as for instance in pages 767 and 785) the reading of the other copy is unquestionably the right one, may possibly be explained by accidents of the press. The last letter in *flowers* may have failed to take the ink ; the *m* in *game* may have been injured, and being mistaken for an imperfect *in* may have been replaced by a perfect *in*.—*J.S.*]

APPENDIX TO THE ESSAYS.

I.

A FRAGMENT OF AN ESSAY ON FAME[94]

THE poets make Fame a monster. They describe her in part finely and elegantly ; and in part gravely and sententiously. They say, look how many feathers she hath, so many eyes she hath underneath ; so many tongues ; so many voices ; she pricks up so many ears.

This is a flourish. There follow excellent parables ; as that she gathereth strength in going : that she goeth upon the ground, and yet hideth her head in the clouds : that in the day-time she sitteth in a watch tower, and flieth most by night : that she mingleth things done with things not done : and that she is a terror to great cities. But that which passeth all the rest is ; they do recount that the Earth, mother of the Giants that made war against Jupiter and were by him destroyed, thereupon in an anger brought forth Fame ; for certain it is that rebels, figured by the giants, and seditious fames and libels, are but brothers and sisters ; masculine and feminine. But now, if a man can tame this monster, and bring her to feed at the hand, and govern her, and with her fly other ravening fowl and kill them, it is somewhat worth. But we are infected with the stile of the poets. To speak now in a sad and a serious manner. There is not in all the politics a place less handled, and more worthy to be handled, than this of fame. We will therefore speak of these points. What are false fames ; and what are true fames ; and how they may be best discerned ; how fames may be sown and raised ; how they may be spread and multiplied ; and how they may be checked and laid dead. And other things concerning the nature of fame. Fame is of that force, as there is scarcely any great action wherein it hath not a great part ; especially in the war. Mucianus undid Vitellius, by a fame that he scattered,

[94] This fragment was first published by Dr. Rawley, in the *Resuscitatio* (1657), p. 281 Though unfinished, therefore, it may be regarded as a genuine and undoubted work of Bacon's, as far as it goes. Two other Essays, which have been ascribed to Bacon upon very doubtful authority (and at least one of them in my opinion very improbably), will be printed by themselves at the end of this Appendix.

that Vitellius had in purpose to remove the legions of Syria into Germany, and the legions of Germany into Syria; whereupon the legions of Syria were infinitely inflamed. Julius Cæsar took Pompey unprovided, and laid asleep his industry and preparations, by a fame that he cunningly gave out, how Cæsar's own soldiers loved him not; and being wearied with wars, and laden with the spoils of Gaul, would forsake him as soon as he came into Italy. Livia settled all things for the succession of her son Tiberius, by continual giving out that her husband Augustus was upon recovery and amendment. And it is an usual thing with the Bashaws to conceal the death of the great Turk from the Janizaries and men of war, to save the sacking of Constantinople and other towns, as their manner is. Themistocles made Xerxes King of Persia post apace out of Græcia, by giving out that the Grecians had a purpose to break his bridge of ships which he had made athwart Hellespont. There be a thousand such like examples, and the more they are, the less they need to be repeated; because a man meeteth with them every where. Therefore let all wise governors have as great a watch and care over fames, as they have of the actions and designs themselves.

The rest was not finished.

II.

ESSAYS ATTRIBUTED TO BACON WITHOUT AUTHORITY.

[At the end of the *Resuscitatio* (published in 1657) Dr. Rawley gives what he entitles "A perfect list of his Lordship's true works both in English and Latin"; which he concludes with these words: "as for other pamphlets, whereof there are several put forth under his Lordship's name, they are not to be owned for his".

Any work therefore (not contained in this list) which had appeared before 1657 in any publication which Dr. Rawley knew of, and had been there ascribed to Bacon, must be regarded as distinctly denied by him to be Bacon's.

Now in December 1642, in which year several of Bacon's smaller political pieces were published in separate pamphlets without any editor's name or any account of the source from which they were taken, there appeared among others a 4to of eight pages with the following title: *An Essay of a King, with an explanation what manner of persons those should be that are to execute the power or ordinance of the King's Prerogative. Written by the Right Honourable Francis, Lord Verulam Viscount Saint Alban. December 2. London, Printed for Richard Best*, 1642.

In 1648 appeared a 4to volume of 103 pages, entitled *The Remaines of the Right Honorable Francis, Lord Verulam, Viscount of St. Albanes, sometimes Lord Chancellour of England; being Essayes and severall letters to severall great Personages, and other pieces of various high concernment not heretofore published. A table whereof for the reader's more ease is adjoyned.—London, printed by B. Alsop for Laurence Chapman and are to be sold at his shop neer the Savoy in the Strand*, 1648.

Most of the pieces in the volume are genuine, and were afterwards published by Rawley from the originals. And it is probably to this collection that he alludes, when he alleges as a reason for publishing some things which Bacon himself did not design for publication, that "through the loose keeping of his Lordship's papers whilst he lived, divers surreptitious copies have been taken, which have since employed the press with sundry corrupt and mangled editions; Whereby nothing hath been more difficult than to find the Lord Saint Alban in the Lord Saint Alban; and which have presented (some of them) rather a fardle of nonsense, than any true expression of his Lordship's happy vein"; and that therefore he "thought himself in a sort tied to vindicate those injuries and wrongs done to his Lordship's pen; and at once, by setting forth the true and genuine writings themselves, to prevent the like invasions for the time to come". But whatever the publications may have been to which he alluded, it is hardly conceivable that the existence of this volume was unknown to him; and we

must therefore regard all those pieces which it contains, and which are not directly or by implication contained in his own "perfect list", as included in his general repudiation. It does not indeed follow that none of them are genuine; because Rawley may have been mistaken; but that every such piece was *in his opinion* spurious, can hardly be disputed: and he had such very good means of judging, that his opinion is not to be set aside except upon very strong evidence.

Now the two first pieces in the "Remains" are the contents of the pamphlet of which I have quoted the title. Standing where they do, they could not have been overlooked: yet neither of them is to be found in any of the publications cited in Rawley's "perfect list". The inevitable inference is, that Rawley did not believe them to be the work of Bacon; and certainly in this case there is no evidence internal or external which can justify us in overruling his judgment. The *Essay of a King* does indeed contain several sentences which are much in Bacon's manner, and which might have been written by him. But the total composition does not read like his; and even if the external evidences had been equally balanced (which is by no means the case; for the fact that *somebody* thought it was Bacon's cannot be taken as a counterpoise to the fact that *Rawley* thought it was not), I should myself have been inclined, upon consideration of the internal evidence alone, to reject it.

The other piece is still less like Bacon's work. Mr. Heath*, finding it printed among his writings, and knowing nothing of its history, was at once led to doubt its genuineness, from a consideration of the matter and opinions as well as the style.

Passing over a little piece entitled *Short Notes for Civil Conversation* (the claims of which to a place among Bacon's writings have other evidence to support them), we come next to a very remarkable composition—*An Essay on Death*. This stands fourth in the volume, and being also too conspicuous to have been overlooked must be regarded as disclaimed by Dr. Rawley. I do not know whether it had been printed before. It is an eloquent and touching composition, very peculiar in style, and marked with a "humorous sadness" which reminds me of nobody so much as Sir Thomas Browne. Sir Thomas Browne was born in 1605, and therefore there is nothing in the date to preclude the supposition that he was the author of it. How far his never having claimed it is to be taken as an objection, or what other difficulties the supposition may involve, I am not well enough acquainted with his biography to judge. But whoever may have written it, I am fully convinced that Bacon did not. Nothing is less probable than that he would have written so grave a thing on so grave a subject merely as an exercise in imitating another man's style; and the style is so unlike his own, that if we suppose him the author of it we must suppose no less. And the only reason we have for imputing it to him is, that within twenty-four years after his death there was *somebody* or other who thought it was his; against which must be set the fact that Rawley thought it was not.—*J.S.*]

AN ESSAY OF A KING,

Written by Sir Francis Bacon.

1. A KING is a mortal God on Earth, unto whom the living God hath lent his own name as a great honour: But withal told him he should die like a man, lest he should be proud and flatter himself, that God hath with his name imparted unto him his nature also.

2. Of all kinds of men, God is least beholding unto them, for he doth most for them, and they do ordinarily least for him.

3. A King that would not feele his Crown too heavy for him, must weare it every day, but if he think it too light, he knoweth not of what mettall it is made of.

* [Who edited the legal writings in the Ellis-Spedding edition of Bacon's Works —ED.]

4. He must make Religion the Rule of government, and not the Scale [1]; for he that casteth in Religion onely to make the scales even, his own weight is contained in these Characters, *Tekel uphrasin*, he is found too light, his Kingdom shall be taken from him.

5. And that King that holds not Religion the best reason of state, is void of all piety and justice, the Supporters of a King.

6. He must be able to give Counsell himself, but not to relye thereupon; for though happy events justifie their Counsells, yet it is better that the evill event of good advice be rather imputed to a Subject then a Sovereigne.

7. He is the Fountain of Honour, which should not run with a wast pipe, lest the Courtiers sell the waters, and then (as papists say of their holy Wels) to lose the vertue.

8. He is the life of the Law, not onely as he is *lex loquens* himself, but because he animateth the dead letter, making it active towards all his Subjects *præmio et pœna*.

9. A wise King must doe lesse in altering his Laws, than he may; for new government is ever dangerous, it being true in the body politique, as in the corporall, that *omnis subita mutatio est periculosa*, and though it be for the better, yet it is not without a fearfull apprehension; For he that changeth the fundamentall Laws of a Kingdome, thinketh there is no good title to a Crown but by conquest.

10. A King that setteth to sale Seats of Justice, oppresseth the People; for he teacheth his Judges to sell justice, and *pretio parata pretio venditur Justitia*.

11. Bounty and Magnificence are vertues *vere regiæ*, but a prodigall King is neerer a Tyrant then a percimonious: for store at home draweth his contemplations abroad: but want supplieth itself of what is next, and many times the next way, and herein he must be wise, and know what he may justly doe.

12. That King which is not feared, is not loved, and he that is well seen in his craft, must as well study to be feared as loved, yet not loved for feare, but feared for love.

13. Therefore as hee must alwayes resemble him whose great name he beareth, and that in manifesting the sweet influence of his mercy on the severe stroke of his Justice sometimes, so in this not to suffer a man of death to live, for besides that the Land doth mourn, the restraint of Justice towards sin doth more retard the affection of love, than the extent of mercy doth inflame it; and sure where love is bestowed [2], feare is quite lost.

14. His greatest Enemies are his Flatterers, for though they ever speak on his side, yet their words still make against him.[3]

15. The love which a King oweth to the weal-publike, should not be restrained to any one particular, yet that his more speciall favour do reflect upon some worthy ones, is somwhat necessary, because there are so few of that capacity.

16. Hee must have a speciall care of five things, if hee would not have his Crown to be put upon him.[4]

First, that *simulata sanctitas* be not in the Church, for that is *duplex iniquitas*.

Secondly, that *inutilis æquitas* sit not in the Chancery, for that is *inepta misericordia*.

Thirdly, that *utilis iniquitas* keep not the Exchequer, for that is *crudele latrocinium*.

Fourthly, that *fidelis temeritas* be not his Generall, for that will bring but *seram pœnitentiam*.

Fiftly, that *infidelis prudentia* be not his Secretary, for that he is *Anguis sub viridi herba*.

To conclude, as hee is of the greatest power, so hee is subject to the greatest cares, made the servant of his people, or else he were without a calling at all.

He then that honoureth him not, is next an Atheist, wanting the feare of God in his heart.

[1] not to Ballance the Scale. *Remains*.

[2] So in the original, and in the *Remains* also.

[3] So in the *Remains*. The original has "against them".

[4] So in the original. The *Remains* gives "to be put on him *In felix felicitatis*". Modern editions substitute, correctly perhaps, "to be but to him *infelix felicitas*".

An explanation what manner of persons those should be, that are to execute the power or Ordinance of the Kings Prerogative, written by the said Sir Francis Bacon, *late Lord Chancellour, and Lord St.* Albans.

THAT absolute Prerogative according to the Kings pleasure revealed by his Lawes, may be exercised and executed by any Subject, to whom power may be given by the King, in any place of Judgement or Commission, which the King by his Law hath ordained, in which the Judge-subordinate cannot wrong the people, the Law laying downe a measure by which every Judge should governe or execute ; Against which Law if any Judge proceed, he is by the Law questionable and punishable for his transgression.

In this nature are all the Judges and Commissioners of the Land no otherwise then in their Courts, in which the King in person is supposed to sit, who cannot make [5] that trespasse, Felony or treason which the Law hath not made so to be, neither can punish the guilty by other punishment then the Law hath appointed.

This Prerogative or power as it is over all the Subjects, so being known by the Subjects, they are without excuse if they offend ; and suffer no wrong, if they be punished. And by this prerogative the King governeth all sorts of people according unto knowne will.

The absolute prerogative which is in Kings according to their private will and judgement cannot be executed by any Subject, neither is it possible to give such power by Commission, or fit to subject the people to the same. For the King in that he is the substitute of God, immediatly the Father of his people, and head of the Commonwealth, hath [6] by participation with God and his subjects, Discretion, Iudgement, and feeling love towards those over whom he raigneth only proper to himselfe, or to his places and person, who seeing he cannot in any others diffuse his wisedome, power, or gifts, which God in respect of his place and charge hath enabled him withall, can neither subordinate any other Iudge to governe by that knowledge, which the King can no otherwise then by his knowne will participate unto him. And if any subordinate Iudge shall obtaine Commission according to the discretion [7] of such Iudge to govern the people, that Iudge is bound to think that to be his sound discretion, which [8] the law in which the Kings known will sheweth unto him [9] to be that Iustice which hee ought to administer : otherwise he might seeme to esteeme himselfe above the Kings law, who will not governe by him, or to have a power derived from other then from the King, which in the Kingdome will administer Iustice contrarie to the justice of the Land. Neither can such a Judge or Commissioner under the name of his high Authoritie shrowde his owne high affection, seeing the Conscience and discretion of every man is particular and private to himselfe ; As the discretion of the Judge cannot be properly or possibly the discretion of the King, or conscience of the King ; And if not his discretion, neither the Judgement that is ruled by another mans only. Therefore it may seeme they rather desire to bee Kings then to rule the people under the King, which will not administer Justice by law, but by their owne wills.

This Administration in a subject is derogative to the Kings Prerogative, for he administreth Justice out of a private direction, being not capable of a generall direction, how to use the Kings pleasure in Causes of particular respect, which if another then the King himselfe can doe, how can it be so, that any man should desire that which is unfit and impossible, but that it must proceed out of some exorbitant affection, the rather seeing such places to be full of trouble, and being altogether unnecessary, no man will seeke to thrust himselfe into it, but for hope of gaine. Then is not any prerogative oppugned but maintained, though it be desired that every subordinate Magistrate may not be made supreame, whereby he may seale up the hearts of the people, take from the King the respect due unto him only, or to judge the people otherwise then the King doth himselfe.

[5] So *Remains*. The original has " worke".
[6] So *Remains*. The original omits " hath".
[7] So *Remains*. The words " to the discretion " are omitted in the original.
[8] So *Remains*. The original has " in which".
[9] So both copies. It should probably be " in which the king's known will is contained".

And although the Prince be not bound to render any accompt to the Law, which in person administreth it selfe [10]: Yet every subordinate Judge must render an accompt to the King by his lawes how hee hath administred Justice in his place where he is set. But if he hath power to rule by private direction, for which there is no law, how can he be questioned by a law, if in his private censure he offendeth.

Therefore it seemeth that in giving such authority the King ordaineth not subordinate Magistrates, but absolute Kings; And what doth the King leave to himselfe, who giveth so much to others as he hath himself? neither is there a greater bond to tie the subject to his Prince in particular then when he shal have recourse unto him in his person or in his power for releif of the wrongs which from private men be offered, or for reformation of the oppressions which any subordinate Magistrate shall impose upon the people: there can be no offence in the Judge, who hath power to execute according to his discretion, when the discretion of any Judge shall be thought fit to be unlimited [11]; And therefore there can be therein no reformation, whereby the King in this useth no prerogative to gaine his Subjects right. Then the subject is bound to suffer helplesse wrong, and the discontent of the people is cast upon the King, the laws being neglected, which with their equitie in all other Causes and Judgements, saving this, interpose themselves and yeeld remedy.

And to conclude, Custome cannot confirme that which is any ways unreasonable of it selfe; Wisedome will not allow that which is many wayes dangerous, and no wayes profitable; Justice will not approve that government, where it cannot be but wrong must be committed. Neither can there be any rule by which to try it, nor meanes for reformation of it.

Therefore whosoever desireth government, must seeke such as he is capable of, not such as seemeth to himselfe most easie to execute; For it appeareth that it is easie to him that knoweth not law nor justice to rule as he listeth, his will never wanting a power to it selfe: but it is safe and blamelesse both for the Judge and People, and honour to the King, that Judges bee appointed who know the Law, and that they bee limited to governe according to the Law.

An Essay on Death,

By the Lord Chancellor Bacon.[12]

I have often thought upon death, and find it the least of all evils. All that which is past is as a dream; and he that hopes or depends upon time coming, dreams waking. So much of our life as we have discovered is already dead; and all those hours which we share, even from the breasts of our mother, until we return to our grand-mother the earth, are part of our dying days; whereof even this is one, and those that succeed are of the same nature; for we die daily; and as others have given place to us, so we must in the end give way to others.

Physicians, in the name of death include all sorrow, anguish, disease, calamity, or whatsoever can fall in the life of man, either grievous or unwelcome: but these things are familiar unto us, and we suffer them every hour; therefore we die daily, and I am older since I affirmed it.

I know many wise men that fear to die; for the change is bitter, and flesh would refuse to prove it: besides, the expectation brings terror, and that exceeds the evil. But I do not believe that any man fears to be dead, but only the stroke of death: and such are my hopes, that if heaven be pleased, and nature renew but my lease for twenty-one years more, without asking longer days, I shall be strong enough to acknowledge without mourning that I was begotten mortal. Virtue walks not in the highway, though she go *per alta*; this is strength and the blood to virtue, to contemn things that be desired, and to neglect that which is feared.

Why should man be in love with his fetters, though of gold? Art thou drowned in security? Then I say thou art perfectly dead. For though thou movest, yet thy soul is buried within thee, and thy good angel either forsakes his guard or sleeps. There is nothing under heaven, saving a true friend, who cannot be

[10] So both copies. It should probably be "himself".
[11] So the original. The *Remains* has "limited". [12] *Remains*, p. 7.

counted within the number of moveables, unto which my heart doth lean. And this dear freedom hath begotten me this peace, that I mourn not for that end which must be, nor spend one wish to have one minute added to the incertain date of my years. It was no mean apprehension of Lucian, who says of Menippus, that in his travels through hell he knew not the kings of the earth from other men, but only by their louder cryings and tears: which was fostered in them through the remorseful memory of the good days they had seen, and the fruitful havings which they so unwillingly left behind them: he that was well seated, looked back at his portion, and was loth to forsake his farm; and others either minding marriages, pleasures, profit, or preferment, desired to be excused from death's banquet: they had made an appointment with earth, looking at the blessings, not the hand that enlarged them, forgetting how unclothedly they came hither, or with what naked ornaments they were arrayed.

But were we servants of the precept given, and observers of the heathens rule *memento mori*, and not become benighted with this seeming felicity, we should enjoy them as men prepared to lose, and not wind up our thoughts upon so perishing a fortune; he that is not slackly strong (as the servants of pleasure), how can he be found unready to quit the veil and false visage of his perfection? The soul having shaven off her flesh, doth then set up for herself, and contemning things that are under, shews what finger hath enforced her; for the souls of idiots are of the same piece with those of statesmen, but now and then nature is at a fault, and this good guest of ours takes soil in an unperfect body, and so is slackened from shewing her wonders; like an excellent musician, which cannot utter himself upon a defective instrument.

But see how I am swarved, and lose my course, touching at the soul, that doth least hold action with death, who hath the surest property in this frail act; his stile is the end of all flesh, and the beginning of incorruption.

This ruler of monuments leads men for the most part out of this world with their heels forward, in token that he is contrary to life; which being obtained, sends men headlong into this wretched theatre, where being arrived, their first language is that of mourning. Nor in my own thoughts can I compare men more fitly to any thing than to the Indian fig-tree, which being ripened to his full height, is said to decline his branches down to the earth; whereof she conceives again, and they become roots in their own stock. So man having derived his being from the earth, first lives the life of a tree, drawing his nourishment as a plant; and made ripe for death he tends downwards, and is sowed again in his mother the earth, where he perisheth not, but expects a quickening.

So we see death exempts a man not from being, but only presents an alteration; yet there are some men, I think, that stand otherwise persuaded. Death finds not a worse friend than an alderman, to whose door I never knew him welcome; but he is an importunate guest, and will not be said nay.

And though they themselves shall affirm that they are not within, yet the answer will not be taken; and that which heightens their fear is, that they know they are in danger to forfeit their flesh, but are not wise of the payment day: which sickly uncertainty is the occasion that (for the most part) they step out of this world unfurnished for their general account, and being all unprovided, desire yet to hold their gravity, preparing their souls to answer in scarlet.

Thus I gather that death is unagreeable to most citizens, because they commonly die intestate: this being a rule, that when their will is made, they think themselves nearer a grave than before: now they, out of the wisdom of thousands, think to scare destiny, from which there is no appeal, by not making a will, or to live longer by protestation of their unwillingness to die. They are for the most part well made in this world (accounting their treasure by legions, as men do devils), their fortune looks toward them, and they are willing to anchor at it, and desire (if it be possible) to put the evil day far off from them, and to adjourn their ungrateful and killing period. No, these are not the men which have bespoken death, or whose looks are assured to entertain a thought of him.

Death arrives gracious only to such as sit in darkness, or lie heavy burdened with grief and irons; to the poor Christian, that sits bound in the galley; to despairful widows, pensive prisoners, and deposed kings: to them whose fortune

runs back, and whose spirit mutinies ; unto such death is a redeemer, and the grave a place for retiredness and rest.

These wait upon the shore of death, and waft unto him to draw near, wishing above all others to see his star, that they might be led to his place, wooing the remorseless sisters to wind down the watch of their life, and to break them off before the hour.

But death is a doleful messenger to an usurer, and fate untimely cuts their thread : for it is never mentioned by him but when rumours of war and civil tumults put him in mind thereof.

And when many hands are armed, and the peace of a city in disorder, and the foot of the common soldiers sounds an alarm on his stairs, then perhaps such a one, (broken in thoughts of his moneys abroad, and cursing the monuments of coin which are in his house), can be content to think of death, and (being hasty of perdition) will perhaps hang himself, lest his throat should be cut ; provided that he may do it in his study, surrounded with wealth, to which his eye sends a faint and languishing salute, even upon the turning off ; remembering always, that he have time and liberty, by writing, to depute himself as his own heir. For that is a great peace to his end, and reconciles him wonderfully upon the point.

Herein we all dally with ourselves, and are without proof of necessity.[13] I am not of those that dare promise to pine away myself in vain-glory, and I hold such to be but feat boldness, and them that dare commit it to be vain. Yet for my part, I think nature should do me great wrong, if I should be so long in dying, as I was in being born.[14]

To speak truth, no man knows the lists of his own patience ; nor can divine how able he shall be in his sufferings, till the storm come (the perfectest virtue being tried in action), but I would (out of a care to do the best business well) ever keep a guard, and stand upon keeping faith and a good conscience.

And if wishes might find place, I would die together, and not my mind often, and my body once ; that is, I would prepare for the messengers of death, sickness and affliction, and not wait long, or be tempted by the violence of pain. Herein I do not profess myself a Stoic, to hold grief no evil, but opinion, and a thing indifferent.

But I consent with Cæsar, that the suddenest passage is easiest, and there is nothing more awakens our resolve and readiness to die, than the quieted conscience, strengthened with opinion that we shall be well spoken of upon earth by those that are just, and of the family of virtue ; the opposite whereof is a fury to man, and makes even life unsweet.

Therefore, what is more heavy than evil fame deserved ? Or, likewise, who can see worse days, than he that yet living doth follow at the funerals of his own reputation ? I have laid up many hopes, that I am privileged from that kind of mourning, and could wish the like peace to all those with whom I wage love.

I might say much of the commodities that death can sell a man ; but briefly, death is a friend of ours, and he that is not ready to entertain him, is not at home. Whilst I am, my ambition is not to fore-flow the tide ; I have but so to make my interest of it, as I may account for it ; I would wish nothing but what might better my days, nor desire any greater place than the front of good opinion. I make not love to the continuance of days, but to the goodness of them ; nor wish to die, but refer myself to my hour, which the great dispenser of all things hath appointed me ; yet as I am frail, and suffered for the first fault, were it given me to choose, I should not be earnest to see the evening of my age ; that extremity of itself being a disease, and a mere return into infancy : so that if perpetuity of life might be given me, I should think what the Greek poet said, *Such an age is a mortal evil.* And since I must needs be dead, I require it may not be done before mine enemies, that I be not stript before I be cold ; but before my friends. The night was even now ; but that name is lost ; it is not now late, but early. Mine eyes begin to discharge their watch, and compound with this fleshly weakness for a time of perpetual rest ; and I shall presently be as happy for a few hours, as I had died the first hour I was born.

[13] So the original. Modern editions read " till necessity ; " probably a conjectura correction ; and (I suspect) not the true reading.

[14] *them* in the last sentence, and *yet* in this, are omitted in the original.

OF THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS

[Translation of *De Sapientia Veterum.*]

PREFACE.

BY JAMES SPEDDING.

THE treatise *De Sapientia Veterum* was first published in 1609, in a small duodecimo volume, carefully and beautifully printed in the elegant italic type then in use. It appears to have become speedily popular, and was once or twice reprinted during Bacon's life, and translated both into English and Italian. In 1623, he introduced three of the fables, revised and considerably enlarged, into the *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, as a specimen of one of the *Desiderata*. Two others he had designed for the foundation of an elaborate discussion of the philosophy of Democritus, Parmenides, and Telesius; of which a considerable fragment has been preserved. [The *De Principiis*, above, pp. 647–69.] A year or two before his death he designed to include the whole volume among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*, of which he was then preparing a collection, and in which it was afterwards published by Dr. Rawley, along with the Latin translations of the History of Henry VII., the Essays, the New Atlantis, and the Dialogue of a Holy War. There can be no doubt therefore that it was a work which he thought well of, and meant to live.

Of the history of it all I know further is that four of the fables,—namely, *Metis sive Consilium*, *Soror Gigantum sive Fama*, *Cœlum sive Origines* and *Proteus sive Materia*,—are found in the same form in the fragment which I have entitled *Cogitationes de Scientiâ Humanâ*, and which I suppose to have been written before 1605.

The object of the work was probably to obtain a more favourable hearing for certain philosophical doctrines of Bacon's own; for it seems certain that the fables themselves could never have suggested the ideas, however a man to whom the ideas had suggested themselves might find or fancy he found them in the fables. But the theory on which his interpretation rests, namely that a period of high intellectual cultivation had existed upon the earth and passed out of memory long before the days of Homer, was, I suppose, seriously entertained by him; nor was it a thing so difficult to believe then as it seems now. When a new continent was first discovered, in which the savage inhabitants were found laden with golden ornaments, it was easy to believe in the rumours of El Dorado; and when the buried fragments of Greek and Roman civilisation were first brought up for the examination of a new age, they might easily suggest to the imagination a world of wonders still unrecovered. But when voyager after voyager returned from America, bringing no confirmation of the first rumours, they ceased to be credible; and now that men have been employed for centuries in diligently collecting and discussing the monuments of antiquity, and yet no further evidence of that period of primeval wisdom has been discovered, the balance of probability turns against the speculation. Comparative philology, coupled with comparative mythology, teaches us to seek for an explanation of the ancient mythes in a new direction; and from these sciences Bacon, though I think he would have accepted them as the best guides in the inquiry, could have no help; for they could hardly be said to exist at all in his time. Regarded therefore as attempts to explain the true historical origin of these fables, his interpretations, however elegant and ingenious, may be set aside, as having lost their serious interest for us. And though they would furnish an editor possessed of the requisite learning, and so minded, with an

opportunity of displaying a vast deal of erudition, it would, I think, be wasted in this place. In so far as the question could be settled by the light of common sense with such knowledge as Bacon had, little could be added probably on either side to what he has himself said in his prefatory disquisition. In so far as it depends upon the knowledge which has since been acquired concerning the ancient languages and literature of the East, it should be discussed without reference to Bacon, who had no such knowledge, and would in all probability, if it had been revealed to him, have given up his own conjecture as untenable.

The interest which the book still possesses for us (and it has always been a great favourite with me) is of quite another kind; nor has either change of times or increase of knowledge at all abated its freshness. It is an interest precisely of the same kind with that which in the Essays shows no symptoms of becoming obsolete. The interpretation of each fable is in fact an "essay or counsel," civil, moral, or philosophical; embodying the results of Bacon's own thought and observation upon the nature of men and things, and replete with good sense of the best quality.

The great popularity of this book during the first half of the seventeenth century may have been partly due to the reputation which it then had among scholars as a work of learning and authority; and if so, the decline of its popularity may be accounted for by the abatement of that reputation. Students of Greek naturally neglect it, because it passes no longer for an orthodox exposition of the meaning of the Greek fables. Students of nature and the business of modern life naturally pass it by, not expecting to find under such a title and in a dead language the sort of entertainment they are in search of. But I see no other reason why it should not be as great a favourite with modern readers and be found as amusing and instructive as the Essays are; the matter being of as good quality, and the form not less attractive

Upon this view of its character, and having a due regard to my own qualifications, I have thought it best to leave points of learning to those who are more competent to handle them (for the most I could do in that way would be to report conclusions which I am not in a condition to verify), and content myself with endeavouring by means of a new translation to bring the book within reach of the less learned. For though three English translations of it have been published, one of which was once very popular, and all are extant and accessible, I do not find any of them much quoted or referred to now, as if they had obtained any real currency among English readers. Whether my attempt will fare better, remains to be seen; but if I have succeeded in putting into the translation so much of the life of the original, that those who are fond of the Essays may read it with something of the same feeling, I shall not regret the pains I have taken in the matter.

With regard to the enigma which these ancient mythes present us with, I have said that the researches of modern science teach us to look for the true solution of it in a direction quite different from that which Bacon took. And without affecting to offer anything that can be called an opinion on the subject for myself, I am fortunately able to illustrate my meaning by an example of a modern solution, derived from one whose information includes probably everything that is known with reference to the question at issue, up to the latest dates. I allude to Professor Max Müller's paper on Comparative Mythology in the *Oxford Essays* of 1856. The difficulty to be explained, as stated by him, is substantially the same as that which Bacon puts forward most prominently among his reasons for concluding that these old fables involved an allegorical meaning. "Let us think," says Professor Müller, "of the times which could bear a Lykurgos and a Solon,—which could found an Areopagos and the Olympic games, and how can we imagine that a few generations before that time, the highest notions of the Godhead among the Greeks were adequately expressed by the story of Uranos maimed by Kronos,—of Kronos eating his children, swallowing a stone, and vomiting out alive his whole progeny? . . . The difficulty is, how at first the human mind was led to such imaginings,—how the names and the tales arose; and unless this question can be answered, our belief in a regular and consistent progress of the human intellect,

through all ages and in all countries, must be given up as a false theory[1]." "A fable that is probable," says Bacon, "may be thought to have been composed merely for pleasure, in imitation of history. But when a story is told which could never have entered into any man's head, either to conceive or relate on its own account, we must presume that it had some further reach. What a fiction (for instance) is that of Jupiter and Metis! Jupiter took Metis to wife; as soon as he saw that she was with child, he ate her up: whereupon he grew to be with child himself, and so brought forth out of his head Pallas in armour! Surely I think no man had ever a dream so monstrous, and extravagant, and out of all natural ways of thinking[2]." Both agree likewise in concluding that the original story must have involved another meaning; that the names and incidents must have survived after that meaning had been forgotten; and that they have suffered in the hands of poets a variety of alterations, applications, and corruptions. So far the two speculations go together; but at this point they part, and part in opposite directions. Bacon, having only the Greek language and mythology to interpret the Greek fables by, conceived it possible that a generation of wise men had once flourished upon the earth who taught the mysteries of nature in parables; that they died and their wisdom with them; the parables remaining in memory, merely as tales without meaning. Professor Müller, furnished with materials for a wider induction in the languages and mythologies of all the Eastern nations and races, and finding similar traditions flourishing among them all,—"stories identical in form and in character, whether we find them on Indian, Persian, Greek, Italian, Slavonic, or Teutonic soil,"—and being able likewise to trace the names which figure in many of these stories through their Greek corruptions to their original meaning in the language from which they came,—able, for instance, by help of the *Veda* to identify Daphne with the Dawn (see p. 57)—is led, through a course of reasoning too long for quotation and yet too close for abridgement, to a conclusion much more in accordance with all we know of the progress and vicissitudes of human things; yet one which, if accepted, will be held, I think, to justify me in treating the ideas which Bacon finds in these fables as valuable only for the truth and sense they contain, and not as illustrating antiquity. He traces the origin of these mythes to a time when abstract nouns had not been invented; when men had not learnt to express by single words collective or abstract ideas; when therefore everything was spoken of as a person, with a name and a sex. He conceives that they were in fact merely descriptions of the great phenomena of nature; conveying to those who first uttered them the ideas of morning and evening, summer and winter, dawn, twilight, darkness, etc.; indicating the relations between them by words expressing human relations, human feelings and passions; and thus making every metaphor a story; which, passing into another language in which the original name no longer suggested the original image, lost its metaphorical signification, came to be received and repeated as a story simply, and so grew into what we call a *Mythe*. It would not be difficult to suggest analogies even from our own experience, by which it would be seen that the process is a natural one; but I should do injustice to Professor Müller's argument if I attempted to give an idea of the evidence which he brings to support his view. I have said enough, however, to enable the reader to enter into his exposition of the fable of Endymion, which will sufficiently illustrate his theory; and which, as we have Bacon's exposition to contrast it with, will serve better than anything else to exhibit the difference between the rival methods of interpretation.

"We can best enter," says he, "into the original meaning of a Greek mythe, when some of the persons who act in it have preserved names intelligible in Greek. When we find the names of Eos, Selene, Helios, or Herse, we have words which tell their own story, and we have a πού στῶ for the rest of the mythe. Let us take the beautiful mythe of Selene and Endymion. Endymion is the son of Zeus and Kalyke, but he is also the son of Aethlios, a king of Elis, who is himself called a son of Zeus, and whom Endymion is said to have succeeded as King of Elis. This localises our mythe, and shows, at least, that Elis is its birth place, and that,

[1] *Essay on Comparative Mythology*, pp. 8, 11.

[2] *De Sap. Vet. Præfatio*, p. 816 of this volume.

according to Greek custom, the reigning race of Elis derived its origin from Zeus. The same custom prevailed in India, and gave rise to the two great royal families of ancient India—the so-called Solar and the Lunar races; and Purûravas, of whom more by and by, says of himself,—

> The great king of day,
> And monarch of the night are my progenitors;
> Their grandson I . . .

There may, then, have been a King of Elis, Aethlios, and he may have had a son, Endymion; but what the mythe tells of Endymion could not have happened to the King of Elis. The mythe transfers Endymion into Karia, to Mount Latmos, because it was in the Latmian cave that Selene saw the beautiful sleeper, loved him and lost him. Now about the meaning of Selene, there can be no doubt; but even if tradition had only preserved her other name, Asterodia, we should have had to translate this synonyme, as Moon, as 'Wanderer among the stars.' But who is Endymion? It is one of the many names of the sun, but with special reference to the setting or dying sun. It is derived from *ἐν-δύω*, a verb which, in classical Greek, is never used for setting, because the simple verb *δύω* had become the technical term for sunset. *Δυσμαὶ ἡλίου*, the setting of the Sun, is opposed to *ἀνατόλαι*, the rising. Now, *δύω* meant, originally, to dive into; and expressions like *ἠέλιος δ' ἄρ' ἔδυ*, the sun dived, presupposes an earlier conception of *ἔδυ πόντον*, he dived into the sea. Thus Thetis addresses her companions, *Il.* xviii. 140.

Ὑμεῖς μὲν νῦν δῦτε ἁλάσσης εὐρέα κόλπον,

You may now dive into the broad bosom of the sea.

Other dialects, particularly of maritime nations, have the same expression. In Lat. we find 'Cur *mergat* seras æquore flammas'. In Old Norse, 'Sól gengr i ægi'. Slavonic nations represent the sun as a woman stepping into her bath in the evening, and rising refreshed and purified in the morning; or they speak of the Sea as the mother of the Sun, and of the Sun as sinking into her mother's arms at night. We may suppose, therefore, that in some Greek dialect *ἐνδύω* was used in the same sense; and that from *ἐνδύω*, *ἐνδύμα* was formed to express sunset. From this was formed *ἐνδυμίων*, like *οὐρανίων* from *οὐρανός*, and like most of the names of the Greek months. If *ἐνδύμα* had become a common name for sunset, the mythe of Endymion could have never arisen. But the original meaning of Endymion being once forgotten, what was told originally of the setting sun was now told of a name, which, in order to have any meaning, had to be changed into a god or a hero. The setting sun *once* slept in the Latmian cave, or cave of night,—Latmos being derived from the same root as Leto, Latona, the night,—but *now* he sleeps on Mount Latmos, in Karia. Endymion, sinking into eternal sleep after a life of but one day, was *once* the setting sun, the son of Zeus, the brilliant Sky, and Kalyke, the covering night (from *καλύπτω*); or, according to another saying, of Zeus and Protogeneia, the first-born goddess, or the Dawn, who is always represented either as the mother, the sister, or the forsaken wife of the Sun. *Now* he is the son of a King of Elis, probably for no other reason except that it was usual for kings to take names of good omen, connected with the sun, or the moon, or the stars,—in which case a mythe, connected with a solar name, would naturally be transferred to its human namesake. In the ancient poetical and proverbial language of Elis, people said 'Selene loves and watches Endymion', instead of 'it is getting late'; 'Selene embraces Endymion', instead of 'the sun is setting and the moon is rising'; 'Selene kisses Endymion into sleep,' instead of 'it is night'. These expressions remained long after their meaning had ceased to be understood; and as the human mind is generally as anxious for a reason as ready to invent one, a story arose by common consent, and without any personal effort, that Endymion must have been a young lad loved by a young lady, Selene; and if children were anxious to know still more, there would always be a grandmother happy to tell them that this young Endymion was the son of the Protogeneia,—she half meaning and half not meaning by that name the Dawn, who gave birth to the sun; or of Kalyke, the dark and covering night. This

name, once touched, would set many chords vibrating; three or four different reasons might be given (as they really were given by ancient poets) why Endymion fell into this everlasting sleep, and if any of these was alluded to by a popular poet, it became a mythological fact, repeated by later poets; so that Endymion grew at last almost into a type, no longer of the setting sun, but of a handsome boy beloved of a chaste maiden, and therefore a most likely name for a young prince. Many mythes have thus been transferred to real persons, by a mere similarity of name, though it must be admitted that there is no historical evidence whatever that there ever was a Prince of Elis, called by the name of Endymion.

"Such is the growth of a legend, originally a mere word, a *μῦθος*, probably one of those many words which have but a local currency, and lose their value if they are taken to distant places,—words useless for the daily intercourse of thought,—spurious coins in the hands of the many,—yet not thrown away, but preserved as curiosities and ornaments, and deciphered at last, after many centuries, by the antiquarian [3]."

I give this specimen merely to explain and illustrate the modern theory. For the argument in support of it I must refer to the Essay itself; though even there it suffers much for want of room. But that the process described is possible and natural, may be shewn meanwhile without going out of our own literature or our own times.

The poetry of earth is never dead:

and even within the last ten years an instance has occurred of the simple language of poetic passion being translated out of poetry into mythology. Alfred Tennyson speaks in *In Memoriam* of returning home in the evening

Before the crimson-circled star
Had fallen into her father's grave:

not thinking at all of any traditional pedigree, (no more than when he speaks of

Sad Hesper, o'er the buried Sun,
And ready thou to die with him,)

but expressing, by such an image, as the ancient Elian might have resorted to, his sympathy with the pathetic aspect of the dying day. Critics however asked for explanations: what star, whose daughter, what grave? And it turns out curiously enough that all these questions can be answered out of Greek mythology quite satisfactorily. "The planet Venus (says a Belgravian correspondent of *Notes and Queries*, 1851, iii. 506), when she is to the east of the sun, is our *evening star* (and as such used to be termed Hesperus by the ancients). The evening star in a summer twilight is seen surrounded with the glow of sunset, crimson-circled. . . . Venus sinking into the sea, which in setting she would appear to do, falls into the grave of *Uranus*,—her father according to the theory of Hesiod (190). The part cast into the sea from which Aphrodite sprung, is here taken by a becoming licence (which softens the grossness of the old tradition) for the whole; so that the ocean, beneath the horizon of which the evening star sinks, may be well described by the poet as '*her* father's grave'."

I would not indeed have any one remember this explanation when he is reading the poem, for it is fatal to the poetic effect; but the coincidence of the expression with the mythic tradition is curious; and might almost make one think that Tennyson, while merely following the eternal and universal instincts of the human imagination and feeling, had unconsciously reproduced the very image out of which the tradition originally grew.

In Dr. Rawley's list of works composed by Bacon during the last five years of his life, he mentions "his revising of his book *De Sapientia Veterum*". And as he professes to give them in the order in which they were written, and this comes

[3] Oxford Essays, 1856, p. 49.

near the end. I suppose he does not allude merely to the three fables introduced into the second book of the *De Augmentis*, which was published in 1623; but to some further revision of the whole previous to the reprinting of the work among the *Opera Moralia et Civilia*. I have therefore treated that posthumous edition (which varies in a few, though very few, passages from the original of 1609), as the latest authority for the text. But as it is not so carefully printed as the other I have collated the two throughout, and noticed the variations. I have also kept the title-page of the original edition; and I have followed modern editors in making the interpretation of each fable commence a new paragraph.

[NOTE.—Since Spedding wrote, the science of Mythology has been carried further than the stage reached in the early essay of Max Müller, which, moreover, did not take account of sound principles established by K. O. Müller, and other preceding writers. It may suffice here to say that the etymological principle, brought to bear on the phenomena of nature, is quite insufficient to explain the mass of myths, though it is valid in a number of cases. Etymology itself has been greatly perfected through a completer checking of deduction by induction; and mythology has latterly been much advanced by the same discipline. Bacon, failing to apply to it his own most frequently iterated rules of investigation, gives purely *à priori* solutions, which are in all cases wholly removed from scientific truth. Later students, in the usual way of scientific advance, have resorted more and more to analysis, comparison and induction; and it may be that the induction is still far from complete. To the etymological and meteorological keys must be added others, including that of the derivation of many Greek myths from fanciful interpretations of works of art, often originally Eastern astronomical symbols. But the whole inquiry must have regard to the psychology of savages, the bulk of mythology being a derivation from primitive life and thought. To the anthropological or psychological study of myth the best modern guides are Tylor, Mannhardt, Frazer, Spencer, Vignoli, Grant Allen, Lang, and the later works of Max Müller, whose earlier method, further, was ably developed by Sir George Cox.—*Ed.*]

AUTHOR'S DEDICATION.

TO THE MOST ILLUSTRIOUS THE EARL OF SALISBURY LORD HIGH TREASURER OF ENGLAND, AND CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

THINGS dedicated to the University of Cambridge accrue to you as Chancellor; to all that proceeds from me you have a personal title. The question is, whether as these things are yours, so they are worthy of you. Now for that which is least worth in them (the wit of the author), your kindness towards me will let that pass; and there is nothing else in the matter to disgrace you. For if time be regarded,—primæval antiquity is an object of the highest veneration; if the form of exposition,—parable has ever been a kind of arc, in which the most precious portions of the sciences were deposited; if the matter of the work,—it is philosophy, the second grace and ornament of life and the human soul. For be it said, that however philosophy in this our age, falling as it were into a second childhood, be left to young men and almost to boys, yet I hold it to be of all things, next to religion, the most important and most worthy of human nature. Even the art of politics, wherein you are so well approved both by faculty and by merits, and by the judgment of a most wise king, springs from the same fountain, and is a great part thereof. And if any man think these things of mine to be common and vulgar, it is not for me of course to say what I have effected; but my aim has been, passing by things obvious and obsolete and commonplace, to give some help towards the difficulties of life and the secrets of science. To the vulgar apprehension therefore they will be vulgar; but it may be that the deeper intellect will not be left aground by them, but rather (as I hope) carried along. While however I strive to attach some worth to this work, because it is dedicated to you, I am in danger of transgressing the bounds of modesty, seeing it is undertaken by myself. But you will accept it as a pledge of my affection, observance, and devotion to yourself, and will accord it the protection of your name. Seeing therefore that you have so many and so great affairs on your shoulders, I will not take up more of your time, but make an end, wishing you all felicity, and ever remaining yours,

Most bounden to you both by my zeal and your benefits,
FRA. BACON.

TO HIS NURSING-MOTHER THE FAMOUS UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

SINCE without philosophy I care not to live, I must needs hold you in great honour, from whom these defences and solaces of life have come to me. To you on this account I profess to owe both myself and all that is mine; and therefore it is the less strange, if I requite you with what is your own; that with a natural motion it may return to the place whence it came. And, yet I know not how it is, but there are few footprints pointing back towards you, among the infinite number that have gone forth from you. Nor shall I take too much to myself (I think), if by reason of that little acquaintance with affairs which my kind and plan of life has necessarily carried with it, I indulge a hope that the inventions of the learned may receive some accession by these labours of mine. Certainly I am of opinion that speculative studies when transplanted into active life acquire some new grace and vigour, and having more matter to feed them, strike their roots perhaps deeper, or at least grow taller and fuller leaved. Nor do you yourselves (as I think) know how widely your own studies extend, and how many things they concern. Yet it is fit that all should be attributed to you and be counted to your honour, since all increase is due in great part to the beginning. You will not however expect from a man of business anything exquisite; any miracles or prerogatives of leisure; but you will attribute to my great love for you and yours even this,—that among the thorns of business these things have not quite perished, but there is preserved for you so much of your own.

Your most loving pupil,
FRA. BACON.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE most ancient times (except what is preserved of them in the scriptures) are buried in oblivion and silence: to that silence succeeded the fables of the poets: to those fables the written records which have come down to us. Thus between the hidden depths of antiquity and the days of tradition and evidence that followed there is drawn a veil, as it were, of fables, which come in and occupy the middle region that separates what has perished from what survives.

Now I suppose most people will think I am but entertaining myself with a toy, and using much the same kind of licence in expounding the poets' fables which the poets themselves did in inventing them; and it is true that if I had a mind to vary and relieve my severer studies with some such exercise of pleasure for my own or my readers' recreation, I might very fairly indulge in it. But that is not my meaning. Not but that I know very well what pliant stuff fable is made of, how freely it will follow any way you please to draw it, and how easily with a little dexterity and discourse of wit meanings which it was never meant to bear may be plausibly put upon it. Neither have I forgotten that there has been old abuse of the thing in practice; that many, wishing only to gain the sanction and reverence of antiquity for doctrines and inventions of their own, have tried to twist the fables of the poets into that sense; and that this is neither a modern vanity nor a rare one, but old of standing and frequent in use; that Chrysippus long ago, interpreting the oldest poets after the manner of an interpreter of dreams, made them out to be Stoics; and that the Alchemists more absurdly still have discovered in the pleasant and sportive fictions of the transformation of bodies, allusion to experiments of the furnace. All this I have duly examined and weighed; as well as all the levity and looseness with which people indulge their fancy in the matter of allegories; yet for all this I cannot change my mind. For in the first place to let the follies and licence of a few detract from the honour of parables in general is not to be allowed; being indeed a boldness savouring of profanity; seeing that religion delights in such veils and shadows, and to take them away would be almost to interdict all communion between divinity and humanity. But passing that and speaking of human wisdom only, I do certainly for my own part (I freely and candidly confess) incline to this opinion,—that beneath no small number of the fables of the ancient poets there lay from the very beginning a mystery and an allegory. It may be that my reverence for the primitive time carries me too far, but the truth is that in some of these fables, as well in the very frame and texture of the story as in the propriety of the names by which the persons that figure in it are distinguished, I find a conformity and connection with the thing signified, so close and so evident, that one cannot help believing such a signification to have been designed and meditated from the first, and purposely shadowed out. For who is there so impenetrable and that can so shut his eyes to a plain thing, but when he is told that after the *Giants* were put down, *Fame* sprung up, as their posthumous sister, he will at once see that it is meant of those murmurs of parties and seditious rumours which always circulate for a time after the suppression of a rebellion? Or again who can hear that the *Giant Typhon* cut off and carried away *Jupiter's* sinews, and that *Mercury* stole them from Typhon and gave them back to Jupiter; without at once perceiving that it relates to successful rebellions, by which kings have their sinews both of money and authority cut off;

yet not so but that by fair words and wise edicts the minds of the subjects may be presently reconciled, and as it were stolen back, and so kings recover their strength? Or who can hear that in that memorable expedition of the gods against the giants the braying of *Silenus's ass* had a principal stroke in putting the giants to flight, and not be sure that the incident was invented in allusion to the vast attempts of rebels, dissipated as they commonly are by empty rumours and vain terrors? Then again there is a conformity and significancy in the very names, which must be clear to everybody. Metis, Jupiter's wife, plainly means counsel; Typhon, swelling; Pan, the universe; Nemesis, revenge; and the like. And what if we find here and there a bit of real history underneath, or some things added only for ornament, or times confounded, or part of one fable transferred to another and a new allegory introduced? Such things could not but occur in stories invented (as these were) by men who both lived in different ages and had different ends, some being more modern, some more ancient, some having in their thoughts natural philosophy, others civil affairs; and therefore they need not trouble us.

But there is yet another sign, and one of no small value, that these fables contain a hidden and involved meaning; which is, that some of them are so absurd and stupid upon the face of the narrative taken by itself, that they may be said to give notice from afar and cry out that there is a parable below. For a fable that is probable may be thought to have been composed merely for pleasure, in imitation of history. But when a story is told which could never have entered any man's head either to conceive or relate on its own account, we must presume that it had some further reach. What a fiction (for instance) is that of Jupiter and Metis! Jupiter took Metis to wife: as soon as he saw that she was with child, he ate her up; whereupon he grew to be with child himself; and so brought forth out of his head Pallas in armour! Surely I think no man had ever a dream so monstrous and extravagant, and out of all natural ways of thinking.

But the consideration which has most weight with me is this, that few of these fables were invented, as I take it, by those who recited and made them famous,—Homer, Hesiod, and the rest. For had they been certainly the production of that age and of those authors by whose report they have come down to us, I should not have thought of looking for anything great or lofty from such a source. But it will appear upon an attentive examination that they are delivered not as new inventions then first published, but as stories already received and believed. And since they are told in different ways by writers nearly contemporaneous, it is easy to see that what all the versions have in common came from ancient tradition, while the parts in which they vary are the additions introduced by the several writers for embellishment—a circumstance which gives them in my eyes a much higher value; for so they must be regarded as neither being the inventions nor belonging to the age of the poets themselves, but as sacred relics and light airs breathing out of better times, that were caught from the traditions of more ancient nations and so received into the flutes and trumpets of the Greeks.

Nevertheless, if any one be determined to believe that the allegorical meaning of the fable was in no case original and genuine, but that always the fable was first and the allegory put in after, I will not press that point; but allowing him to enjoy that gravity of judgment (of the dull and leaden order though it be) which he affects, I will attack him, if indeed he be worth the pains, in another manner upon a fresh ground. Parables have been used in two ways, and (which is strange) for contrary purposes. For they serve to disguise and veil the meaning, and they serve also to clear and throw light upon it. To avoid dispute then, let us give up the former of these uses. Let us suppose that these fables were things without any definite purpose, made only for pleasure. Still there remains the latter use. No force of wit can deprive us of that. Nor is there any man of ordinary learning that will object to the reception of it as a thing grave and sober, and free from all vanity; of prime use to the sciences, and sometimes indispensable: I mean the employment of parables as a method of teaching, whereby inventions that are new and abstruse and remote from vulgar opinions may find an easier passage to the understanding. On this account it was that in the old times, when the inventions and conclusions of human reason (even those that are now trite and

vulgar) were as yet new and strange, the world was full of all kinds of fables, and enigmas, and parables, and similitudes; and these were used not as a device for shadowing and concealing the meaning, but as a method of making it understood; the understandings of men being then rude and impatient of all subtleties that did not address themselves to the sense,—indeed scarcely capable of them. For as hieroglyphics came before letters, so parables came before arguments. And even now if any one wish to let new light on any subject into men's minds, and that without offence or harshness, he must still go the same way and call in the aid of similitudes.

Upon the whole I conclude with this: the wisdom of the primitive ages was either great or lucky; great, if they knew what they were doing and invented the figure to shadow the meaning; lucky, if without meaning or intending it they fell upon matter which gives occasion to such worthy contemplations. My own pains, if there be any help in them, I shall think well bestowed either way: I shall be throwing light either upon antiquity or upon nature itself.

That the thing has been attempted by others I am of course aware, but if I may speak what I think freely without mincing it, I must say that the pains which have been hitherto taken that way, though great and laborious, have gone near to deprive the inquiry of all its beauty and worth; while men of no experience in affairs nor any learning beyond a few commonplaces, have applied the sense of the parables to some generalities and vulgar observations, without attaining their true force, their genuine propriety, or their deeper reach. Here, on the other hand, it will be found (if I mistake not) that though the subjects be old, yet the matter is new; while leaving behind us the open and level parts we bend our way towards the nobler heights that rise beyond.

OF THE WISDOM OF THE ANCIENTS

I.

CASSANDRA;

OR PLAINNESS OF SPEECH.

THEY say that Cassandra was beloved by Apollo; that she contrived by various artifices to elude his desires, and yet to keep his hopes alive until she had drawn from him the gift of divination: that she had no sooner obtained this, which had all along been her object, than she openly rejected his suit; whereupon he, not being permitted to recal the boon once rashly promised, yet burning with revenge, and not choosing to be the scorn of an artful woman, annexed to it this penalty,—that though she should always foretell true, yet nobody should believe her. Her prophecies therefore had truth, but not credit: and so she found it ever after, even in regard to the destruction of her country; of which she had given many warnings, but could get nobody to listen to her or believe her.

This fable seems to have been devised in reproof of unreasonable and unprofitable liberty in giving advice and admonition. For they that are of a froward and rough disposition, and will not submit to learn of Apollo, the god of harmony, how to observe time and measure in affairs, flats and sharps (so to speak) in discourse, the differences between the learned and the vulgar ear, and the times when to speak and when to be silent; such persons, though they be wise and free, and their counsels sound and wholesome, yet with all their efforts to persuade they scarcely can do any good; on the contrary, they rather hasten the destruction of those upon whom they press their advice; and it is not till the evils they predicted have come to pass that they are celebrated as prophets and men of a far foresight. Of this we have an eminent example in Marcus Cato of Utica, by whom the ruin of his country and the usurpation that followed, by means first of the conjunction and then of the contention between Pompey and Cæsar, was long before foreseen as from a watch-tower, and foretold as by an oracle; yet all the while he did no good, but did harm rather, and brought the calamities of his country faster on; as was wisely observed and elegantly described by Marcus Cicero, when he said in a letter to a friend, *Cato means well: but he does hurt sometimes to the State; for he talks as if he were in the republic of Plato and not in the dregs of Romulus.*

II.

TYPHON;

OR THE REBEL.

THE poets tell us that Juno being angry that Jupiter had brought forth Pallas by himself without her help, implored of all the gods and goddesses that she also might bring forth something without the help of Jupiter: to which when wearied with her violence and importunity they had assented, she smote the earth, which quaking and opening gave birth to Typhon, a huge and hideous monster. He was given to a serpent by way of foster-father to be nursed. As soon as he was grown up he made war upon Jupiter, whom in the conflict he took prisoner; and bearing him on his shoulders to a remote and obscure region, cut out the sinews of his hands and feet, and carrying them away, left him there helpless and mutilated. Then came Mercury, and having stolen the sinews from Typhon gave them back to Jupiter, who finding his strength restored attacked the monster again. And first he struck him with a thunderbolt, which

made a wound the blood whereof engendered serpents; then, as he fell back and fled, threw upon him the mountain Ætna and crushed him beneath the weight.

The fable has been composed in allusion to the variable fortune of kings and the rebellions that occur from time to time in monarchies. For kings and their kingdoms are properly, like Jupiter and Juno, man and wife. But it sometimes happens that the king, depraved by the long habit of ruling, turns tyrant and takes all into his own hands; and not caring for the consent of his nobles and senate, brings forth as it were by himself; that is to say, administers the government by his own abitrary and absolute authority. Whereat the people aggrieved endeavour on their part to set up some head of their own. This generally begins with the secret solicitation of nobles and great persons, whose connivancy being obtained, an attempt is then made to stir the people. Thence comes a kind of swelling in the State, which is signified by the infancy of Typhon. And this condition of affairs is fostered and nourished by the innate depravity and malignant disposition of the common people, which is to kings like a serpent full of malice and mischief; till the disaffection spreading and gathering strength breaks out at last into open rebellion; which because of the infinite calamities it inflicts both on kings and peoples is represented under the dreadful image of Typhon, with a hundred heads, denoting divided powers; flaming mouths, for devastations by fire; belts of snakes, for the pestilences which prevail, especially in sieges; iron hands, for slaughters; eagle's talons, for rapine; feathery body, for perpetual rumours, reports, trepidations, and the like. And sometimes these rebellions grow so mighty that the king is forced, as if carried off on the shoulders of the rebels, to abandon the seat and principal cities of his kingdom, and to contract his forces, and betake himself to some remote and obscure province; his sinews both of money and majesty being cut off. And yet if he bears his fortune wisely, he presently by the skill and industry of Mercury recovers those sinews again; that is to say, by affability and wise edicts and gracious speeches he reconciles the minds of his subjects, and awakens in them an alacrity to grant him supplies, and so recovers the vigour of his authority. Nevertheless, having learned prudence and caution, he is commonly unwilling to set all upon the toss of fortune, and therefore avoids a pitched battle, but tries first by some memorable exploit to destroy the reputation of the rebels: in which if he succeed, the rebels feeling themselves shaken and losing their confidence, resort first to broken and empty threats, like serpent's hisses, and then finding their case desperate take to flight. And then is the time, when they are beginning to fall to pieces, for the king with the entire forces and mass of his kingdom, as with the mountain Ætna, to pursue and overwhelm them.

III.

THE CYCLOPES;

OR MINISTERS OF TERROR.

THE story is that the Cyclopes were at first on account of their fierceness and brutality driven by Jupiter into Tartarus, and condemned to perpetual imprisonment; but afterwards he was persuaded by the Earth that it would be for his interest to release them and employ them to make thunderbolts for him; which he accordingly did; and they with officious industry laboured assiduously with a terrible din in forging thunderbolts and other instruments of terror. In course of time it happened that Jupiter's wrath was kindled against Æsculapius, son of Apollo, for raising a man from the dead by medicine; but because the deed was pious and famous and no just cause of displeasure, he concealed his anger and secretly set the Cyclopes upon him: who made no difficulty, but presently dispatched him with their thunderbolts; in revenge whereof Apollo (with Jupiter's permission) slew them with his arrows.

This fable seems to relate to the doings of kings; by whom cruel and bloody and exacting ministers are in the first instance punished and put out of office. But afterwards by counsel of the Earth, that is by ignoble and dishonourable counsel, yielding to considerations of utility, they take them into service again, when they have need either of severity of executions or harshness in exactions.

They on their part being by nature cruel and by their former fortune exasperated, and knowing well enough what they are wanted for, apply themselves to this kind of work with wonderful diligence; till for want of caution and from over eagerness to ingratiate themselves, they at one time or another (taking a nod or an ambiguous word of the prince for a warrant) perpetrate some execution that is odious and unpopular. Upon which the prince, not willing to take the envy of it upon himself, and well knowing that he can always have plenty of such instruments, throws them overboard, and leaves them to the course of law and the vengeance of the friends and relatives of their victims, and to popular hatred; and so amid much applause of the people and great acclamations and blessings on the king, they meet at last, though late, the fate they deserve.

IV.

NARCISSUS;

OR SELF-LOVE.

Narcissus is said to have been a young man of wonderful beauty, but intolerably proud, fastidious, and disdainful. Pleased with himself and despising all others, he led a solitary life in the woods and hunting-grounds; with a few companions to whom he was all in all; followed also whenever he went by a nymph called Echo. Living thus, he came by chance one day to a clear fountain, and (being in the heat of noon) lay down by it; when beholding in the water his own image, he fell into such a study and then into such a rapturous admiration of himself, that he could not be drawn away from gazing at the shadowy picture, but remained rooted to the spot till sense left him; and at last he was changed into the flower that bears his name; a flower which appears in the early spring; and is sacred to the infernal deities,—Pluto, Proserpine, and the Furies.

In this fable are represented the dispositions, and the fortunes too, of those persons who from consciousness either of beauty or some other gift with which nature unaided by any industry of their own has graced them, fall in love as it were with themselves. For with this state of mind there is commonly joined an indisposition to appear much in public or engage in business; because business would expose them to many neglects and scorns, by which their minds would be dejected and troubled. Therefore they commonly live a solitary, private, and shadowed life; with a small circle of chosen companions, all devoted admirers, who assent like an echo to everything they say, and entertain them with mouth-homage; till being by such habits gradually depraved and puffed up, and besotted at last with self-admiration, they fall into such a sloth and listlessness that they grow utterly stupid, and lose all vigour and alacrity. And it was a beautiful thought to choose the flower of spring as an emblem of characters like this: characters which in the opening of their career flourish and are talked of, but disappoint in maturity the promise of their youth. The fact too that this flower is sacred to the infernal deities contains an allusion to the same thing. For men of this disposition turn out utterly useless and good for nothing whatever; and anything that yields no fruit, but like the way of a ship in the sea passes and leaves no trace, was by the ancients held sacred to the shades and infernal gods.

V.

STYX;

OR TREATIES.

It is a very common tradition that of the one oath by which the gods bound themselves when they meant to leave no room for repentance; and finds a place in a great many fables. In that case they invoked in witness, not any majesty of heaven or any divine attribute, but Styx; a river in the infernal regions which with many windings encircled the palace of Dis. This form of oath alone, and no other, was held to be sure and inviolable: the penalty of breaking it being one which the deities most dreaded,—namely that the breaker should for a certain period of years be excluded from the banquets of the gods.

The fable seems to have been invented in allusion to treaties and compacts of princes: in respect of which it is but too true that whatever be the solemnity and sanctity of the oath they are confirmed with, yet they are little to be depended on; insomuch that they are used in fact rather with an eye to reputation and fame and ceremony, than for confidence and security and effect. And even when the ties of relationship (which are as the sacraments of nature) or of mutual good services come in to aid, yet in most cases all are too weak for ambition and interest and the licence of power: the rather because princes can always find plenty of plausible pretexts (not being accountable to any arbiter) wherewith to justify and veil their cupidity and bad faith. There is adopted therefore but one true and proper pledge of faith; and it is not any celestial divinity. This is Necessity (the great god of the powerful), and peril of state, and communion of interest. Now Necessity is elegantly represented under the figure of Styx; the fatal river across which no man can return. This is the deity which Iphicrates the Athenian invoked to witness treaties; and since he was one that spoke out plainly what most men think and keep to themselves, his words are worth quoting. Finding that the Lacedæmonians were devising and propounding various cautions and sanctions and securities and bonds to hold the treaty fast, *There is only one bond and security* (said he, interrupting them) *that can hold between you and us:—you must prove that you have yielded so much into our hands that you cannot hurt us if you would.* And so it is that if the means of hurting be taken away, or if a breach of the treaty would endanger the existence or the integrity of the state and revenue,—then the treaty may be considered to be ratified and sanctioned and confirmed as by the oath of Styx: for then it is upon peril of being interdicted from the banquets of the gods; which was the ancient expression for the rights and prerogatives of empire, and wealth, and felicity.

VI.

PAN;

OR NATURE [4].

The ancients have given under the person of Pan an elaborate description of universal nature. His parentage they leave in doubt. Some call him the son of Mercury; others assign him an origin altogether different; saying that he was the offspring of a promiscuous intercourse between Penelope and all her suitors. But in this the name of Penelope has doubtless been foisted by some later author into the original fable. For it is no uncommon thing to find the more ancient narrations transferred to persons and names of later date; sometimes absurdly and stupidly, as in this instance; for Pan was one of the oldest gods, and long before the times of Ulysses; and Penelope was for her matronly chastity held in veneration by antiquity. But there is yet a third account of his birth, which must not be passed over; for some have called him the son of Jupiter and Hybris, or Insolence.

Whatever was his origin, the Fates are said to have been his sisters.

His person is described by ancient tradition as follows: With horns, and the tops of the horns reaching heaven; his whole body shaggy and hairy; his beard especially long. In figure, biform; human in the upper parts, the other half brute; ending in the feet of a goat. As emblems of his power he carried in his left hand a pipe compact of seven reeds, in his right a sheep hook or staff crooked at the top; and he was clothed in a scarf, made of panther's skin. The powers and offices assigned to him are these,—he is the god of hunters, of shepherds, and generally of dwellers in the country: also he presides over mountains; and is (next to Mercury) the messenger of the gods. He was accounted moreover the captain and commander of the nymphs, who were always dancing and frisking about him: the Satyrs, and their elders, the Sileni, were also of his company. He had the power likewise of exciting sudden terrors,—empty and superstitious ones especially;—thence called Panics. The actions that are recorded of him are not many; the principal is that he challenged Cupid to wrestle; and was

[4] For an enlarged version of this fable see above, pp. 442–447.

beaten by him. He also entangled and caught the giant Typhon in a net; and they say besides, that when Ceres, out of grief and indignation at the rape of Proserpina, had hid herself, and all the gods were earnestly engaged in seeking her out, and had dispersed several ways in search of her, it was Pan's good fortune to light upon and discover her by accident while he was hunting. He had also the presumption to match himself against Apollo in music; and was by Midas's judgment pronounced victor; for which judgment Midas had to wear the ears of an ass, but not so as to be seen. There are no amours reported of Pan, or at least very few: which among a crowd of gods so excessively amorous may seem strange. The only thing imputed to him in this kind is a passion for Echo, who was also accounted his wife; and for one nymph called Syringa, with love of whom he was smitten by Cupid in anger and revenge because of his presumption in challenging him to wrestle. Nor had he any issue (which is again strange, seeing that the gods, especially the males, were remarkably prolific) except one daughter, a little serving woman called Iambe, who used to amuse guests with ridiculous stories, and was supposed by some to be Pan's offspring by his wife Echo.

A noble fable this, if there be any such; and big almost to bursting with the secrets and mysteries of Nature.

Pan, as the very word declares, represents the universal frame of things, or Nature. About his origin there are and can be but two opinions, for Nature is either the offspring of Mercury—that is of the Divine Word (an opinion which the Scriptures establish beyond question, and which was entertained by all the more divine philosophers); or else of the seeds of things mixed and confused together. For they who derive all things from a single principle, either take that principle to be God, or if they hold it to be a material principle, assert it to be though actually one yet potentially many; so that all difference of opinion on this point is reducible to one or other of these two heads,—the world is sprung either from Mercury, or from all the suitors. He sang, says Virgil,

> How through the void of space the seeds of things
> Came first together; seeds of the sea, land, air,
> And the clear fire; how from these elements
> All embryos grew, and the great world itself
> Swelled by degrees and gathered in its globe.

The third account of the generation of Pan, might make one think that the Greeks had heard something, whether through the Egyptians or otherwise, concerning the Hebrew mysteries; for it applies to the state of the world, not at its very birth, but as it was after the fall of Adam, subject to death and corruption. For that state was the offspring of God and Sin,—and so remains. So that all three stories of the birth of Pan (if they be understood with a proper distinction as to facts and times) may be accepted as indeed true. For true it is that this Pan, whom we behold and contemplate and worship only too much, is sprung from the Divine Word, through the medium of confused matter (which is itself God's creature), and with the help of sin and corruption entering in.

To the Nature of things, the Fates or destinies of things are truly represented as sisters. For natural causes are the chain which draws after it the births and durations and deaths of all things; their fallings and risings, their labours and felicities:—in short all the fates that can befall them.

That the world is represented with horns, and that such horns are broad at bottom and narrow at top, has relation to the fact that the whole frame of nature rises to a point like a pyramid. For individuals are infinite: these are collected into species, which are themselves also very numerous; the species are gathered up into genera, and these again into genera of a higher stage; till nature, contracting as it rises, seems to meet at last in one point. Nor need we wonder that Pan's horns touch heaven; since the summits, or universal forms, of nature do in a manner reach up to God; the passage from metaphysic to natural theology being ready and short.

The body of Nature is most elegantly and truly represented as covered with

hair; in allusion to the rays which all objects emit; for rays are like the hairs or bristles of nature; and there is scarcely anything which is not more or less radiant. This is very plainly seen in the power of vision, and not less so in all kinds of magnetic virtue, and in every effect which takes place at a distance. For whatever produces an effect at a distance may be truly said to emit rays. But Pan's hair is longest in the beard, because the rays of the celestial bodies operate and penetrate from a greater distance than any other; and we see also that the sun, when the upper part of him is veiled by a cloud and the rays break out below, has the appearance of a face with a beard.

Again, the body of Nature is most truly described as biform; on account of the difference between the bodies of the upper and the lower world. For the upper or heavenly bodies are for their beauty and the equability and constancy of their motion, as well as for the influence they have upon earth and all that belongs to it, fitly represented under the human figure: but the others, by reason of their perturbations and irregular motions, and because they are under the influence of the celestial bodies, may be content with the figure of a brute. The same description of Nature's body may be referred also to the mixture of one species with another. For there is no nature which can be regarded as simple; every one seeming to participate and be compounded of two. Man has something of the brute; the brute has something of the vegetable; the vegetable something of the inanimate body; and so all things are in truth biformed and made up of a higher species and a lower. There is also a very ingenious allegory involved in that attribute of the goat's feet; which has reference to the motion upwards of terrestrial bodies towards the regions of air and sky: for the goat is a climbing animal, and loves to hang from rocks and cling to the sides of precipices: a tendency which is also exhibited in a wonderful manner by substances that belong properly to the lower world—witness clouds and meteors.

The emblems in Pan's hands are of two kinds—one of harmony, the other of empire. The pipe compact of seven reeds evidently indicates that harmony and concent of things, that concord mixed with discord, which results from the motions of the seven planets. Also the sheep-hook is a noble metaphor, alluding to the mixture of straight and crooked in the ways of nature. But the staff is curved chiefly towards the top; because all the works of Divine Providence in the world are wrought by winding and roundabout ways—where one thing seems to be doing, and another is doing really—as in the selling of Joseph into Egypt, and the like. So also in all the wiser kinds of human government, they who sit at the helm can introduce and insinuate what they desire for the good of the people more successfully by pretexts and indirect ways than directly; so that every rod or staff of empire is truly crooked at the top. The scarf or mantle of Pan is very ingeniously feigned to be made of a panther's skin; on account of the spots scattered all over it. For the heavens are spotted with stars, the sea with islands, the earth with flowers; and even particular objects are generally variegated on the surface, which is as it were their mantle or scarf.

Now the office of Pan can in no way be more lively set forth and explained than by calling him god of hunters. For every natural action, every motion and process of nature, is nothing else than a hunt. For the sciences and arts hunt after their works, human counsels hunt after their ends, and all things in nature hunt either after their food, which is like hunting for prey, or after their pleasures, which is like hunting for recreation;—and that too by methods skilful and sagacious.

> After the wolf the lion steals; the wolf the kid doth follow;
> The kid pursues the cytisus o'er hillock and thro' hollow.

Also Pan is the god of country people in general; because they live more according to nature; whereas in courts and cities nature is corrupted by too much culture; till it is true what the poet said of his mistress,—*the girl herself is the least part of the matter.*

Pan is likewise especially called president of mountains—because it is in mountains and elevated places that the nature of things is most spread abroad, and lies most open to view and study. As for Pan's being, next to Mercury, the

messenger of the gods, that is an allegory plainly divine ; seeing that next to the Word of God, the image itself of the world is the great proclaimer of the divine wisdom and goodness. So sings the Psalmist : *The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament sheweth his handiwork.*

Again, Pan takes delight in the nymphs ; that is the souls ; for the souls of the living are the delight of the world. And Pan is truly called their commander, since they follow the guidance each of her several nature ; leaping and dancing about it with infinite variety, every one in her country's fashion, and with motion that never ceases. And in their company are ever found the Satyrs and the Sileni ; that is old age and youth ; for all things have their merry and dancing time, and likewise their heavy and tippling time. And yet to one who truly considers them, the pursuits of either age appear perhaps, as they did to Democritus, ridiculous and deformed,—like to a Satyr or Silenus.

In the Panic terrors there is set forth a very wise doctrine ; for by the nature of things all living creatures are endued with a certain fear and dread, the office of which is to preserve their life and essence, and to avoid or repel approaching mischief. But the same nature knows not how to keep just measure—but together with salutary fears ever mingles vain and empty ones ; insomuch that all things (if one could see into the heart of them) are quite full of Panic terrors ; human things most of all ; so infinitely tossed and troubled as they are with superstition (which is in truth nothing but a Panic terror), especially in seasons of hardship, anxiety, and adversity.

With regard to the audacity of Pan in challenging Cupid to fight, it refers to this,—that matter is not without a certain inclination and appetite to dissolve the world and fall back into the ancient chaos ; but that the overswaying concord of things (which is represented by Cupid or Love) restrains its will and effort in that direction and reduces it to order. And therefore it is well for man and for the world that in that contest Pan was foiled. The same thing is alluded to in that other circumstance of the catching of Typhon in a net : because however it be that vast and strange swellings (for that is the meaning of Typhon) take place occasionally in nature—whether of the sea, or the clouds, or the earth, or any other body—nevertheless all such exuberancies and irregularities are by the nature of things caught and confined in an inextricable net, and bound down as with a chain of adamant.

As for the tale that the discovery of Ceres was reserved for this god, and that while he was hunting, and denied to the rest of the gods though diligently and specially engaged in seeking her ; it contains a very true and wise admonition—namely that the discovery of things useful to life and the furniture of life, such as corn, is not to be looked for from the abstract philosophies, as it were the greater gods, no not though they devotē their whole powers to that special end—but only from Pan ; that is from sagacious experience and the universal knowledge of nature, which will often by a kind of accident, and as it were while engaged in hunting, stumble upon such discoveries.

Then again that match in music and the result of it exhibits a wholesome doctrine, fit to restrain and reduce to sobriety the pride and overweening confidence of human reason and judgment. For it seems there are two kinds of harmony and music ; one of divine providence, the other of human reason ; and to the human judgment, and the ears as it were of mortals, the government of the world and nature, and the more secret judgments of God, sound somewhat harsh and untunable ; and though this be ignorance, such as deserves to be distinguished with the ears of an ass, yet those ears are worn secretly and not in the face of the world—for it is not a thing observed or noted as a deformity by the vulgar.

Lastly, it is not to be wondered at that no amours are attributed to Pan, except his marriage with Echo. For the world enjoys itself and in itself all things that are. Now he that is in love wants something, and where there is abundance of everything want can have no place. The world therefore can have no loves, nor any want (being content with itself) unless it be of discourse. Such is the nymph Echo, or, if it be of the more exact and measured kind, Syringa. And it is excellently provided that of all discourses or voices Echo alone should be chosen for the world's wife. For that is in fact the true philosophy which echoes

most faithfully the voice of the world itself, and is written as it were from the world's own dictation ; being indeed nothing else than the image and reflexion of it, which it only repeats and echoes, but adds nothing of its own. That the world has no issue, is another allusion to the sufficiency and perfection of it in itself. Generation goes on among the parts of the world, but how can the whole generate, when no body exists out of itself ? As for that little woman, Pan's putative daughter, it is an addition to the fable with a great deal of wisdom in it ; for by her are represented those vain babbling doctrines about the nature of things, which wander abroad in all times and fill the world—doctrines barren in fact, counterfeit in breed, but by reason of their garrulity sometimes entertaining ; and sometimes again troublesome and annoying.

VII.

PERSEUS ;

OR WAR [5].

Perseus was sent, it is said, by Pallas to cut off the head of Medusa, from whom many nations in the westernmost parts of Spain suffered grievous calamities :—a monster so dreadful and horrible that the mere sight of her turned men into stone. She was one of the Gorgons ; and the only one of them that was mortal, the others not being subject to change. By way of equipment for this so noble exploit, Perseus received arms and gifts from three several Gods. Mercury gave him wings for his feet ; Pluto gave him a helmet ; Pallas a shield and a mirror. And yet, though so well provided and equipped, he did not proceed against Medusa directly, but went out of his way to visit the Grææ. These were half-sisters to the Gorgons ; and had been born old women with white hair. They had but one eye and one tooth among them, and these they used to wear by turns ; each putting them on as she went abroad, and putting them off again when she came back. This eye and tooth they now lent to Perseus. Whereupon, judging himself sufficiently equipped for the performance of his undertaking, he went against Medusa with all haste, flying. He found her asleep ; but not daring to face her (in case she should wake) he looked back into Pallas's mirror, and taking aim by the reflexion, cut off her head. From the blood which flowed out of the wound, there suddenly leaped forth a winged Pegasus. The severed head was fixed by Perseus in Pallas's shield ; where it still retained its power of striking stiff, as if thunder or planet stricken, all who looked on it.

The fable seems to have been composed with reference to the art and judicious conduct of war. And first, for the kind of war to be chosen it sets forth (as from the advice of Pallas) three sound and weighty precepts to guide the deliberation.

The first is, not to take any great trouble for the subjugation of the neighbouring nations. For the rule to be followed in the enlarging of a patrimony does not apply to the extension of an empire. In a private property, the vicinity of the estates to each other is of importance ; but in extending an empire, occasion, and facility of carrying the war through, and value of conquest, should be regarded instead of vicinity. We see that the Romans, while they had hardly penetrated westward beyond Liguria, had conquered and included in their empire eastern provinces as far off as Mount Taurus. And therefore Perseus, though he belonged to the east, did not decline a distant expedition to the uttermost parts of the west.

The second is that there be a just and honourable cause of war : for this begets alacrity as well in the soldiers themselves as in the people, from whom the supplies are to come : also it opens the way to alliances, and conciliates friends ; and has a great many advantages. Now there is no cause of war more pious than the overthrow of a tyranny under which the people lies prostrate without spirit or vigour, as if turned to stone by the aspect of Medusa.

Thirdly, it is wisely added that whereas there are three Gorgons (by whom are represented wars), Perseus chose the one that was mortal, that is, he chose such a

[5] For an enlarged version of this fable, see above, pp. 448–450.

war as might be finished and carried through, and did not engage in the pursuit of vast or infinite projects.

The equipment of Perseus is of that kind which is everything in war, and almost ensures success; for he received swiftness from Mercury, secrecy of counsel from Pluto, and providence from Pallas. Nor is the circumstance that these wings of swiftness were for the heels and not for the shoulders without an allegorical meaning, and a very wise one. For it is not in the first attack, so much as in those that follow up and support the first, that swiftness is required; and there is no error more common in war than that of not pressing on the secondary and subsidiary actions with an activity answerable to the vigour of the beginnings. There is also an ingenious distinction implied in the images of the shield and the mirror (for the parable of Pluto's helmet which made men invisible needs no explanation) between the two kinds of foresight. For we must have not only that kind of foresight which acts as a shield, but that other kind likewise which enables us (like Pallas's mirror) to spy into the forces and movements and counsels of the enemy.

But Perseus, however provided with forces and courage, stands yet in need of one thing more before the war be commenced, which is of the highest possible importance,—he must go round to the Grææ. These Grææ are treasons; which are indeed war's sisters, yet not sisters german, but as it were of less noble birth. For wars are generous; treasons degenerate and base. They are prettily described, in allusion to the perpetual cares and trepidations of traitors, as old and white from their birth. Their power (before they break out into open revolt) lies either in the eye or the tooth; for all factions when alienated from the state, both play the spy and bite. And the eye and tooth are as it were common to them all: the eye because all their information is handed from one to another and circulates through the whole party; the tooth, because they all bite with one mouth and all tell one tale,—so that when you hear one you hear all. Therefore Perseus must make friends of those Grææ, that they may lend him their eye and tooth,—the eye for discovery of information, the tooth to sow rumours, raise envy, and stir the minds of the people.

These matters being thus arranged and prepared, we come next to the carriage of the war itself. And here we see that Perseus finds Medusa asleep; for the undertaker of a war almost always, if he is wise, takes his enemy unprepared and in security. And now it is that Pallas's mirror is wanted. For there are many who before the hour of danger can look into the enemy's affairs sharply and attentively; but the chief use of the mirror is in the very instant of peril, that you may examine the manner of it without being confused by the fear of it; which is meant by the looking at it with eyes averted.

The conclusion of the war is followed by two effects: first the birth and springing up of Pegasus, which obviously enough denotes fame, flying abroad and celebrating the victory. Secondly the carrying of Medusa's head upon the shield; for this is incomparably the best kind of safeguard. A single brilliant and memorable exploit, happily conducted and accomplished, paralyses all the enemies' movements, and mates malevolence itself.

VIII.

ENDYMION;

OR THE FAVOURITE.

TRADITION says that Endymion, a shepherd, was beloved by the moon. But the intercourse between them was of a strange and singular kind. For while he lay reposing according to his habit in a natural cave under the rocks of Latmos, the moon would come down from heaven and kiss him as he slept, and go up into heaven again. And yet this idleness and sleeping did not hurt his fortunes; for the moon in the mean time so ordered it that his sheep fattened and increased exceedingly; insomuch that no shepherd had finer flocks or fuller.

The fable relates (as I take it) to the dispositions and manners of princes. For princes being full of thoughts and prone to suspicions, do not easily admit to familiar intercourse men that are perspicacious and curious, whose minds are

always on the watch and never sleep ; but choose rather such as are of a quiet and complying disposition, and submit to their will without inquiring further, and shew like persons ignorant and unobserving, and as if asleep ; displaying simple obedience rather than fine observation. With men of this kind princes have always been glad to descend from their greatness, as the moon from heaven ; and to lay aside their mask, the continual wearing of which becomes a kind of burden ; and to converse familiarly ; for with such they think they can do so safely. It was a point especially noted in Tiberius Cæsar, a prince extremely difficult to deal with ; with whom those only were in favour who, though they really understood him, yet dissembled their knowledge with a pertinacity which seemed like dulness. The same thing was observable in Louis XI. of France, a most cautious and crafty king. The circumstance of the *cave* also, in which according to the fable Endymion used to lie, is not without its elegance. For those who enjoy this kind of favour with princes have commonly some pleasant places of retirement to invite them to, where they may have the comfort of leisure and relaxation of mind, discharged of the incumbrances which their position lays upon them. And it is true that favourites of this class are commonly prosperous in their private fortunes ; for princes though they may not raise them to honours, yet since their favour springs from true affection and not from considerations of utility, they generally enrich them with their bounty.

IX.

THE SISTER OF THE GIANTS ;

OR FAME.

The poets tell us that the Giants, being brought forth by Earth, made war upon Jupiter and the gods, and were routed and vanquished with thunderbolts, whereupon Earth, in rage at the wrath of the gods, to revenge her sons brought forth Fame, youngest sister of the giants.

The meaning of the fable appears to be this : by Earth is meant the nature of the common people ; always swelling with malice towards their rulers, and hatching revolutions. This upon occasion given brings forth rebels and seditious persons, who with wicked audacity endeavour the overthrow of princes. And when these are suppressed, the same nature of the common people, still leaning to the worse party and impatient of tranquillity, gives birth to rumours and malignant whispers, and querulous fames, and defamatory libels, and the like; tending to bring envy upon the authorities of the land : so that seditious fames differ from acts of rebellion, not in race and parentage, but only in sex : the one being feminine and the other masculine.

X.

ACTÆON AND PENTHEUS ;

OR CURIOSITY.

The curiosity and unhealthy appetite of man for the discovery of secrets, is reproved by the ancients in two examples : one of Actæon, the other of Pentheus. Actæon having unawares and by chance seen Diana naked, was turned into a stag and worried by his own dogs. Pentheus having climbed a tree for the purpose of seeing the secret mysteries of Bacchus, was struck with madness ; and the form of his madness was this : he thought everything was double ; saw two suns, and again two cities of Thebes : insomuch that when he set out towards Thebes, he presently saw another Thebes behind, which made him go back ; and so was kept continually going backwards and forwards without any rest.

> As to distracted Pentheus there appear
> Furies in troops, and in the sky two suns,
> And on the earth two several Thebes at once.

The first of these fables seems to relate to the secrets of princes, the other to the secrets of divinity. For whoever becomes acquainted with a prince's secrets without leave and against his will, is sure to incur his hatred ; and then knowing

that he is marked and that occasions are sought against him, he lives the life of a stag; a life full of fears and suspicions. Often too it happens that his own servants and domestics, to curry favour with the prince, accuse and overthrow him. For when the displeasure of the prince is manifest, a man shall scarcely have a servant but will betray him; and so he may expect the fate of Actæon.

The calamity of Pentheus is of a different kind. For the punishment assigned to those who with rash audacity, forgetting their mortal condition, aspire by the heights of nature and philosophy, as by climbing a tree, to penetrate the divine mysteries, is perpetual inconstancy, and a judgment vacillating and perplexed. For since the light of nature is one thing and the light of divinity another, they are as men that see two suns; and since the actions of life and the determinations of the will depend upon the intellect, it follows that they are perplexed in will no less than in opinion, and cannot be consistent with themselves: in which sense they in like manner see two Thebes; for by Thebes is meant the ends and aims of our actions; Thebes being Pentheus's home and resting-place. And hence it comes that they know not which way to turn, but being uncertain and fluctuating as to the sum and end of all, they are carried round and round from one thing to another, according to the impulse of the moment.

XI.

ORPHEUS;

OR PHILOSOPHY.

The story of Orpheus, which though so well known has not yet been in all points perfectly well interpreted, seems meant for a representation of universal Philosophy. For Orpheus himself,—a man admirable and truly divine, who being master of all harmony subdued and drew all things after him by sweet and gentle measures,—may pass by an easy metaphor for philosophy personified. For as the works of wisdom surpass in dignity and power the works of strength, so the labours of Orpheus surpass the labours of Hercules.

Orpheus, moved by affection for his wife who had been snatched from him by an untimely death, resolved to go down to Hell and beg her back again of the Infernal Powers; trusting to his lyre. Nor was he disappointed. For so soothed and charmed were the infernal powers by the sweetness of his singing and playing, that they gave him leave to take her away with him; but upon one condition; she was to follow behind him, and he was not to look back until they had reached the confines of light. From this however in the impatience of love and anxiety he could not refrain. Before he had quite reached the point of safety, he looked back; and so the covenant was broken, and she suddenly fell away from him and was hurried back into Hell. From that time Orpheus betook himself to solitary places, a melancholy man and averse from the sight of women; where by the same sweetness of his song and lyre he drew to him all kinds of wild beasts, in such manner that putting off their several natures, forgetting all their quarrels and ferocity, no longer driven by the stings and furies of lust, no longer caring to satisfy their hunger or to hunt their prey, they all stood about him gently and sociably, as in a theatre, listening only to the concords of his lyre. Nor was that all: for so great was the power of his music that it moved the woods and the very stones to shift themselves and take their stations decently and orderly about him. And all this went on for some time with happy success and great admiration; till at last certain Thracian women, under the stimulation and excitement of Bacchus, came where he was; and first they blew such a hoarse and hideous blast upon a horn that the sound of his music could no longer be heard for the din: whereupon the charm being broken that had been the bond of that order and good fellowship, confusion began again; the beasts returned each to his several nature and preyed one upon the other as before; the stones and woods stayed no longer in their places: while Orpheus himself was torn to pieces by the women in their fury, and his limbs scattered about the fields: at whose death, Helicon (river sacred to the Muses) in grief and indignation buried his waters under the earth, to reappear elsewhere.

The meaning of the fable appears to be this. The singing of Orpheus is of two

kinds; one to propitiate the infernal powers, the other to draw the wild beasts and the woods. The former may be best understood as referring to natural philosophy; the latter to philosophy moral and civil. For natural philosophy proposes to itself as its noblest work of all, nothing less than the restitution and renovation of things corruptible, and (what is indeed the same thing in a lower degree) the conservation of bodies in the state in which they are, and the retardation of dissolution and putrefaction. Now certainly if this can be effected at all, it cannot be otherwise than by due and exquisite attempering and adjustment of parts in nature, as by the harmony and perfect modulation of a lyre. And yet being a thing of all others the most difficult, it commonly fails of effect; and fails (it may be) from no cause more than from curious and premature meddling and impatience. Then Philosophy finding that her great work is too much for her, in sorrowful mood, as well becomes her, turns to human affairs; and applying her powers of persuasion and eloquence to insinuate into men's minds the love of virtue and equity and peace, teaches the people to assemble and unite and take upon them the yoke of laws and submit to authority, and forget their ungoverned appetites, in listening and conforming to precepts and discipline; whereupon soon follows the building of houses, the founding of cities, the planting of fields and gardens with trees; insomuch that the stones and the woods are not unfitly said to leave their places and come about her. And this application of Philosophy to civil affairs is properly represented, and according to the true order of things, as subsequent to the diligent trial and final frustration of the experiment of restoring the dead body to life. For true it is that the clearer recognition of the inevitable necessity of death sets men upon seeking immortality by merit and renown. Also it is wisely added in the story that Orpheus was averse from women and from marriage; for the sweets of marriage and the dearness of children commonly draw men away from performing great and lofty services to the commonwealth; being content to be perpetuated in their race and stock, and not in their deeds.

But howsoever the works of wisdom are among human things the most excellent, yet they too have their periods and closes. For so it is that after kingdoms and commonwealths have flourished for a time, there arise perturbations and seditions and wars; amid the uproars of which, first the laws are put to silence, and then men return to the depraved conditions of their nature, and desolation is seen in the fields and cities. And if such troubles last, it is not long before letters also and philosophy are so torn in pieces that no traces of them can be found but a few fragments, scattered here and there like planks from a shipwreck; and then a season of barbarism sets in, the waters of Helicon being sunk under the ground, until, according to the appointed vicissitude of things, they break out and issue forth again, perhaps among other nations, and not in the places where they were before.

XII.

CŒLUM;

OR THE ORIGIN OF THINGS.

It is a tradition of the poets that Cœlum was the most ancient of all the gods: that his parts of generation were cut off by his son Saturn with a scythe; that Saturn himself begot a numerous progeny, but devoured his sons as fast as they were born; that at last Jupiter escaped this fate, and as soon as he grew up overthrew his father Saturn, cast him into Tartarus, and took possession of his kingdom; also that he cut off his genitals with the same scythe with which he, Saturn, had cut off those of Cœlum, and threw them into the sea; and that from them was born Venus. Afterwards they say that the kingdom of Jupiter, when as yet it was scarcely settled, had to stand the brunt of two memorable wars; the first, the war of the Titans, in the subduing of whom the assistance of the Sun (the only one of the Titans that was on Jupiter's side) was conspicuous; the second, the war of the Giants, who were likewise by thunder and the arms of Jupiter defeated; and that when these were put down Jupiter reigned afterwards in security.

This fable seems to be an enigma concerning the origin of things, not much

differing from the philosophy afterwards embraced by Democritus: who more openly than any one else asserted the eternity of matter, while he denied the eternity of the world; a point in which he came somewhat nearer to the truth as declared in the divine narrative; for that represents matter without form as existing before the six days' works.

The fable may be explained in this manner. By Cœlum is meant the concave or circumference which encloses all matter. By Saturn is meant matter itself; which, inasmuch as the sum total of matter remains always the same and the absolute quantum of nature suffers neither increase nor diminution, is said to have deprived its parent of all power of generation. Now the agitation and motions of matter produced at first imperfect and ill-compacted structures of things, that would not hold together,—mere attempts at worlds. Afterwards in process of time a fabric was turned out which could keep its form. Of these two divisions of time, the first is meant by the reign of Saturn; who by reason of the frequent dissolutions and short durations of things in his time, was called the devourer of his children: the second by the reign of Jupiter, who put an end to those continual and transitory changes, and thrust them into Tartarus—that is to say the place of perturbation: which place seems to be midway between the lowest parts of heaven and the innermost parts of the earth: in which middle region perturbation and fragility and mortality or corruption have their chief operation. And while that former system of generation lasted which had place under the reign of Saturn, Venus, according to the story, was not yet born. For so long as in the universal frame of matter discord was stronger than concord and prevailed over it, there could be no change except of the whole together; and in this manner did the generation of things proceed before Saturn was castrated. But as soon as this mode of generation ceased, it was immediately succeeded by that other which proceeds by Venus, and belongs to a state in which concord being powerful and predominant, change proceeds part by part only, the total fabric remaining entire and undisturbed. Nevertheless Saturn is represented as thrust out and overthrown only, not as cut off and extinguished; because it was the opinion of Democritus that the world might yet relapse into its ancient confusion and intervals of no government: an event which Lucretius prayed might not happen in his own times.

> Which may all-ruling Fortune keep far hence,
> And reason teach it, not experience.

Again, after the world was established and settled in respect of its mass and moving force, yet it did not from the first remain in quiet. For first there followed notable commotions in the heavenly regions; which however, by the power of the Sun predominating in those regions, were so composed that the world survived and kept its state; afterwards in like manner followed convulsions in the lower regions, by inundations, tempests, winds, earthquakes of more universal character than any we now have; and when these likewise were subdued and dispersed, things settled at last into a more durable state of consent and harmonious operation.

It must be said however of all this, that as there is philosophy in the fable so there is fable in the philosophy. For we know (through faith) that all such speculations are but the oracles of sense which have long since ceased and failed; the world, both matter and fabric, being in truth the work of the Creator.

XIII.

PROTEUS;

OR MATTER.

PROTEUS, the poets tell us, was herdsman to Neptune. He was an old man and a prophet; a prophet moreover of the very first order, and indeed thrice excellent; for he knew all three,—not the future only, but likewise the past and the present; insomuch that besides his power of divination, he was the messenger and interpreter of all antiquity and all secrets. His dwelling was under an immense

cave. There it was his custom every day at noon to count his flock of seals and then go to sleep. And if any one wanted his help in any matter, the only way was first to secure his hands with handcuffs, and then to bind him with chains. Whereupon he on his part, in order to get free, would turn himself into all manner of strange shapes—fire, water, wild beasts, etc., till at last he returned again to his original shape.

The sense of this fable relates, it would seem, to the secrets of nature and the conditions of matter. For under the person of Proteus, Matter—the most ancient of all things, next to God—is meant to be represented. Now matter has its habitation under the vault of heaven, as under a cave. And it may be called the servant of Neptune, inasmuch as all the operation and dispensation of matter is effected principally in liquids. The herd or flock of Proteus seems to be nothing else than the ordinary species of animals, plants, minerals, etc., in which matter may be said to diffuse and use itself up; insomuch that having once made up and finished those species it seems to sleep and rest, as if its task were done; without applying itself or attempting or preparing to make any more. And this is what is meant by Proteus counting his herd and then going to sleep. Now this is said to take place not in the morning or in the evening, but at noon: that is to say, when the full and legitimate time has come for completing and bringing forth the species out of matter already duly prepared and predisposed: which is the middle point between the first rudiments of them and their declination. And this we know from the sacred history to have been in fact at the very time of the creation. For then it was that by virtue of the divine word *producat* matter came together at the command of the Creator, not by its own circuitous processes, but all at once; and brought its work to perfection on the instant, and constituted the species. And here the story is complete, as regards Proteus free and at large with his herd. For the universe with its several species according to their ordinary frame and structure, is merely the face of matter unconstrained and at liberty, with its flock of materiate creatures. Nevertheless if any skilful Servant of Nature shall bring force to bear on matter, and shall vex it and drive it to extremities as if with the purpose of reducing it to nothing, then will matter (since annihilation or true destruction is not possible except by the omnipotence of God) finding itself in these straits, turn and transform itself into strange shapes, passing from one change to another till it has gone through the whole circle and finished the period; when, if the force be continued, it returns at last to itself. And this constraint and binding will be more easily and expeditiously effected, if matter be laid hold on and secured by the hands; that is, by its extremities. And whereas it is added in the fable that Proteus was a prophet and knew the three times; this agrees well with the nature of matter: for if a man knew the conditions, affections, and processes of matter, he would certainly comprehend the sum and general issue (for I do not say that his knowledge would extend to the parts and singularities) of all things past, present, and to come.

XIV.

MEMNON;

OR THE EARLY-RIPE.

Memnon, according to the poets, was the son of Aurora. Conspicuous for the beauty of his arms, and great in popular reputation, he came to the Trojan war; where rushing with breathless haste and headlong courage at the highest mark, he engaged Achilles, the bravest of all the Greeks, in single fight; and fell by his hand. In pity of his fate Jupiter sent birds to grace his funeral, that kept up a continual cry of grief and lamentation. His statue also, as often as the rays of the rising sun touched it, is said to have uttered a mournful sound.

The fable seems meant to apply to the unfortunate deaths of young men of high promise. For such are as it were the sons of the morning, and it commonly happens that, being puffed up with empty and outward advantages, they venture upon enterprises that are beyond their strength, provoke and challenge to combat the bravest heroes, and falling in the unequal conflict are extinguished. But the death of such persons is wont to be followed by infinite commiseration;

for of all mortal accidents there is none so lamentable, none so powerful to move pity, as this cropping of the flower of virtue before its time : the rather because their life has been too short to give occasion of satiety or of envy, which might otherwise mitigate sorrow at their death and temper compassion. And not only do lamentations and wailings hover like those mourner birds about the funeral pile ; but the same feeling of pity lasts long after : and more especially upon all fresh accidents and new movements and beginnings of great events, as by the touch of sunrise, the regret for them is stirred up again and renewed.

XV.

TITHONUS ;

OR SATIETY.

It is an elegant fable they relate of Tithonus ; that Aurora was in love with him, and, desiring to enjoy his company for ever, begged of Jupiter that he might never die ; but forgot, with a woman's thoughtlessness, to add to her petition that neither might he suffer the infirmities of age. So he was exempted from the condition of dying ; but there came upon him a strange and miserable old age, such as he must needs undergo to whom death is denied, while the burden of years continues to grow heavier and heavier ; so that Jupiter, pitying such a condition, changed him at last into a grasshopper.

The fable seems to be an ingenious picture and description of Pleasure ; which in its beginning, or morning-time, is so agreeable that men are fain to pray that such delights may last and be their own for ever ; forgetting that satiety and loathing of the same will come upon them, like old age, before they are aware. So that at last when men have become incapable of the acts of pleasure and yet retain the desire and appetite, they fall to talking and telling stories about the pleasures of their youth, and find their delight in that : as we see in lewd persons, who are always harping upon indecent stories, and in soldiers that are for ever recounting their deeds, like grasshoppers, whose vigour is only in their voice.

XVI.

JUNO'S SUITOR ;

OR DISHONOUR.

The poets tell us that Jupiter in pursuit of his loves assumed many different shapes,—a bull, an eagle, a swan, a shower of gold ; but that when he courted Juno, he turned himself into the ignoblest shape that could be, a very object of contempt and ridicule ; that of a wretched cuckoo, drenched with rain and tempest amazed, trembling, and half dead.

It is a wise fable, derived from the depths of moral science. The meaning is that men are not to flatter themselves that an exhibition of their virtue and worth will win them estimation and favour with everybody. For that depends upon the nature and character of those to whom they apply themselves. If these be persons of no gifts or ornaments of their own, but only a proud and malignant disposition (the character represented by Juno), then they should know that they must put off everything about them that has the least show of honour or dignity, and that it is mere folly in them to proceed any other way ; nay that it is not enough to descend to the baseness of flattery, unless they put on the outward show and character of abjectness and degeneracy.

XVII.

CUPID ;

OR THE ATOM.

The accounts given by the poets of Cupid, or Love, are not properly applicable to the same person ; yet the discrepancy is such that one may see where the confusion is and where the similitude, and reject the one and receive the other.

They say then that Love was the most ancient of all the gods ; the most ancient therefore of all things whatever, except Chaos, which is said to have been coeval

with him ; and Chaos is never distinguished by the ancients with divine honour or the name of a god. This Love is introduced without any parent at all ; only that some say he was an egg of Night. And himself out of Chaos begot all things, the gods included. The attributes which are assigned to him are in number four ; he is always an infant ; he is blind ; he is naked ; he is an archer. There was also another Love, the youngest of all the gods, son of Venus, to whom the attributes of the elder are transferred, and whom in a way they suit.

The fable relates to the cradle and infancy of nature, and pierces deep. This Love I understand to be the appetite or instinct of primal matter ; or to speak more plainly, *the natural motion of the atom ;* which is indeed the original and unique force that constitutes and fashions all things out of matter. Now this is entirely without parent ; that is, without cause. For the cause is as it were parent of the effect ; and of this virtue there can be no cause in nature (God always excepted) : there being nothing before it, therefore no efficient ; nor anything more original in nature ; therefore neither kind nor form. Whatever it be therefore, it is a thing positive and inexplicable. And even if it were possible to know the method and process of it, yet to know it by way of cause is not possible ; it being, next to God, the cause of causes—itself without cause. That the method even of its operation should ever be brought within the range and comprehension of human inquiry, is hardly perhaps to be hoped ; with good reason therefore it is represented as an egg hatched by night. Such certainly is the judgment of the sacred philosopher, when he says, *He hath made all things beautiful according to their seasons ; also he hath submitted the world to man's inquiry, yet so that man connot find out the work which God worketh from the beginning to the end.* For the summary law of nature, that impulse of desire impressed by God upon the primary particles of matter which makes them come together, and which by repetition and multiplication produces all the variety of nature, is a thing which mortal thought may glance at, but can hardly take in.

Now the philosophy of the Greeks, which in investigating the material principles of things is careful and acute, in inquiring the principles of motion, wherein lies all vigour of operation, is negligent and languid ; and on the point now in question seems to be altogether blind and babbling ; for that opinion of the Peripatetics which refers the original impulse of matter to privation, is little more than words —a name for the thing rather than a description of it. And those who refer it to God, though they are quite right in that, yet they ascend by a leap and not by steps. For beyond all doubt there is a single and summary law in which nature centres and which is subject and subordinate to God ; the same in fact which in the text just quoted is meant by the words, *The work which God worketh from the beginning to the end.* Democritus considered the matter more deeply ; and having first given the atom some dimension and shape, attributed to it a single desire or primary motion simply and absolutely, and a second by comparison. For he thought that all things move by their proper nature towards the centre of the world ; but that that which has more matter, moving thither faster, strikes aside that which has less, and forces it to go the other way. This however was but a narrow theory, and framed with reference to too few particulars ; for it does not appear that either the motion of the heavenly bodies in circle, or the phenomena of contraction and expansion, can be reduced to this principle, or reconciled with it. As for Epicurus's opinion of the declination and fortuitous agitation of the atom, it is a relapse to trifling and ignorance. So it is but too plain that the parentage of this Cupid is wrapped in night.

Let us now consider his attributes. He is described with great elegance as a little child, and a child for ever ; for things compounded are larger and are affected by age ; whereas the primary seeds of things, or atoms, are minute and remain in perpetual infancy.

Most truly also is he represented as naked : for all compounds (to one that considers them rightly) are masked and clothed ; and there is nothing properly naked, except the primary particles of things.

The blindness likewise of Cupid has an allegorical meaning full of wisdom. For it seems that this Cupid, whatever he be, has very little providence ; but directs his course, like a blind man groping, by whatever he finds nearest ; which makes

the supreme divine Providence all the more to be admired, as that which contrives out of subjects peculiarly empty and destitute of providence, and as it were blind, to educe by a fatal and necessary law all the order and beauty of the universe.

His last attribute is archery : meaning that this virtue is such as acts at a distance : for all operation at a distance is like shooting an arrow. Now whoever maintains the theory of the atom and the vacuum (even though he suppose the vacuum not to be collected by itself but intermingled through space), necessarily implies the action of the virtue of the atom at a distance ; for without this no motion could be originated, by reason of the vacuum interposed ; but all things would remain fixed and immovable.

As for that younger Cupid, it is with reason that he is reported to be the youngest of the gods ; since until the species were constituted he could have no operation. In the description of him the allegory changes its aim and passes to morals. And yet there remains a certain conformity between him and the elder Cupid. For Venus excites the general appetite of conjunction and procreation ; Cupid, her son, applies the appetite to an individual object. From Venus therefore comes the general disposition, from Cupid the more exact sympathy. Now the general disposition depends upon causes near at hand, the particular sympathy upon principles more deep and fatal, and as if derived from that ancient Cupid, who is the source of all exquisite sympathy.

XVIII.

DIOMEDES ;

OR RELIGIOUS ZEAL.

DIOMEDES, a hero of high renown and a special favourite of Pallas, was incited by her (being of himself apt enough) if he chanced to encounter Venus in the battle, not to spare her. He boldly did as he was bid, and wounded Venus in the hand. This for the time he carried with impunity, and returned to his own country in great fame and reputation : but meeting there with domestic troubles he took refuge abroad in Italy. Here also he had a good enough fortune at first. King Daunus entertained him with hospitality and enriched him with honours and presents, and many statues were raised to him throughout the country. But no sooner did a calamity befall the people among whom he had taken up his abode, than Daunus bethought him that he was entertaining under his roof a man impious and hated by the gods, a fighter against heaven, who had violently assaulted and wounded with the sword a goddess whom it was forbidden even to touch. Whereupon, to free his country from the curse under which it lay, he suddenly (setting aside the bond of hospitality, in respect of the more ancient bond of religion) puts Diomedes to death, and orders his statues to be thrown down and his honours cancelled. Nor was it safe in such a case even to pity so grievous an accident ; but his comrades likewise, when they bewailed the death of their chief and filled the land with lamentations, were changed into a kind of swans,—a bird which at the approach of its own death also utters a sweet and plaintive sound.

The subject of this fable is rare and almost singular ; for there is no other story in which any hero is represented as having wounded a god. This is told of Diomedes only : and in him certainly seems meant to be portrayed the character and fortunes of a man who makes it his declared object to persecute and overthrew by violence and the sword some religious worship or sect, though a vain and light one. For though religious wars were unknown to the ancients (the heathen gods having no touch of jealousy, which is the attribute of the true God), yet so great appears to have been the wisdom of the primitive ages and so wide the range of it, that what they did not know by experience they nevertheless attained in idea by reflexion and imagination.

Now those who make war against any religious sect, though a vain, corrupt, and infamous one (and this is signified in the person of Venus), proceeding not by force of reason and doctrine and by sanctity of life and by weight of examples and authorities to correct and confute, but by fire and sword and sharpness of

punishment to cut out and exterminate the same ;—such persons are perhaps set upon the work by Pallas,—that is, by a certain keenness of discernment and severity of judgment which gives them a thorough insight into the fallacies and falsehoods of such errors, joined with hatred of evil and honest zeal ;—and for a time they commonly acquire great glory, and are by the vulgar (who can never like what is moderate) celebrated and almost worshipped as the only champion of truth and religion ; all others appearing lukewarm and timid. And yet this glory and felicity seldom endures to the end ; but almost every kind of violence, unless by an early death it escape the vicissitudes of fortune, is in the end unprosperous. And if it so happen that an alteration takes place in the state, whereby that proscribed and depressed sect gathers strength and raises its head, then are the zealous and contentious courses of these men condemned, their very name hated, and all their honours turned into reproach. The murder of Diomedes by the hands of his host alludes to the fact that difference in matter of religion breeds falsehood and treachery even among the nearest and dearest friends. And where it is said that the very grief and lamentations of his comrades were not tolerated, but visited with punishment, the meaning is that whereas almost every crime is open to pity, insomuch that they who hate the offence may yet in humanity commiserate the person and calamity of the offender, —and it is the extremity of evil to have the offices of compassion interdicted,— yet where religion and piety are in question, the very expression of pity is noted and disliked. On the other hand, the sorrows and lamentations of the comrades of Diomedes, that is of those who are of the same sect and opinion, are commonly very piercing and musical, like the notes of swans, or birds of Diomedes. And this part of the allegory has a further meaning which is striking and noble ; namely that in the case of persons who suffer for religion the words which they speak at their death, like the song of the dying swan, have a wonderful effect and impression upon men's minds, and dwell long after in their memory and feelings.

XIX.

DÆDALUS ;

OR THE MECHANIC.

Under the person of Dædalus, a man of the greatest genius but of very bad character, the ancients drew a picture of mechanical skill and industry, together with its unlawful artifices and depraved applications. Dædalus had been banished for murdering a fellow-pupil and rival ; yet found favour in his banishment with kings and states. Many and excellent works, as well in honour of the gods as for the adornment and ennobling of cities and public places, had been built and modelled by him ; but it is for unlawful inventions that his name is most famous. For he it was who supplied the machine which enabled Pasiphae to satisfy her passion for the bull ; so that the unhappy and infamous birth of the monster Minotaurus, which devoured the ingenuous youth, was owing to the wicked industry and pernicious genius of this man. Then to conceal the first mischief he added another, and for the security of this pest devised and constructed the Labyrinth ; a work wicked in its end and destination, but in respect of art and contrivance excellent and admirable. Afterwards again, that his fame might not rest on bad arts only, and that he might be sought to for remedies as well as instruments of evil, he became the author likewise of that ingenious device of the clue, by which the mazes of the labyrinth should be retraced. This Dædalus was persecuted with great severity and diligence and inquisition by Minos ; yet he always found both means of escape and places of refuge. Last of all, he taught his son Icarus how to fly ; who being a novice and ostentatious of his art fell from the sky into the water.

The parable may be interpreted thus. In the entrance is noted that envy which is strongly predominant in great artists and never lets them rest ; for there is no class of men more troubled with envy, and that of the bitterest and most implacable character.

Then is touched the impolitic and improvident nature of the punishment inflicted ; namely banishment. For it is the prerogative of famous workmen to be

acceptable all over the world, insomuch that to an excellent artisan exile is scarcely any punishment at all. For whereas other modes and conditions of life cannot easily flourish out of their own country, the admiration of an artisan spreads wider and grows greater among strangers and foreigners; it being the nature of men to hold their own countrymen, in respect of mechanical arts, in less estimation.

The passages which follow concerning the use of mechanical arts are plain enough. Certainly human life is much indebted to them, for very many things which concern both the furniture of religion and the ornament of state and the culture of life in general, are drawn from their store. And yet out of the same fountain come instruments of lust, and also instruments of death. For (not to speak of the arts of procurers) the most exquisite poisons, also guns, and such like engines of destruction, are the fruits of mechanical invention; and well we know how far in cruelty and destructiveness they exceed the Minotaurus himself.

Very beautiful again is that allegory of the labyrinth; under which the general nature of mechanics is represented. For all the more ingenious and exact mechanical inventions may, for their subtlety, their intricate variety, and the apparent likeness of one part to another, which scarcely any judgment can order and discriminate, but only the clue of experiment, be compared to a labyrinth. Nor is the next point less to the purpose; viz. that the same man who devised the mazes of the labyrinth disclosed likewise the use of the clue. For the mechanical arts may be turned either way, and serve as well for the cure as for the hurt and have power for the most part to dissolve their own spell.

Moreover the unlawful contrivances of art, and indeed the arts themselves, are often persecuted by Minos; that is by the laws; which condemn them and forbid people to use them. Nevertheless they are secretly preserved, and find everywhere both hiding-places and entertainment; as was well observed by Tacitus in his times, in a case not much unlike; where speaking of the mathematicians and fortune-tellers, he calls them *a class of men which in our state will always be retained and always prohibited.* And yet these unlawful and curious arts do in tract of time, since for the most part they fail to perform their promises, fall out of estimation, as Icarus from the sky, and come into contempt, and through the very excess of ostentation perish. And certainly if the truth must be told, they are not so easily bridled by law as convicted by their proper vanity.

XX.

ERICTHONIUS;

OR IMPOSTURE.

THE poets tell us that Vulcan wooed Minerva, and in the heat of desire attempted to force her; that in the struggle which followed his seed was scattered on the ground; from which was born Ericthonius, a man well made and handsome in the upper parts of the body, but with thighs and legs like an eel, thin and deformed: and that he, from consciousness of this deformity, first invented chariots, whereby he might shew off the fine part of his body and hide the mean.

This strange and prodigious story seems to bear this meaning: that Art (which is represented under the person of Vulcan, because it makes so much use of fire) when it endeavours by much vexing of bodies to force Nature to its will and conquer and subdue her (for Nature is described under the person of Minerva on account of the wisdom of her works) rarely attains the particular end it aims at; and yet in the course of contriving and endeavouring, as in a struggle, there fall out by the way certain imperfect births and lame works, specious to look at but weak and halting in use: yet impostors parade them to the world with a great deal of false shew in setting forth, and carry them about as in triumph. Such things may often be observed among chemical productions, and among mechanical subtleties and novelties; the rather because men being too intent upon their end to recover themselves from the errors of their way, rather struggle with Nature than woo her embraces with due observance and attention.

XXI.

DEUCALION;

OR RESTORATION.

The poets relate that when the inhabitants of the old world were utterly extinguished by the universal deluge, and none remained except Deucalion and Pyrrha, these two, being inflamed with a pious and noble desire to restore the human race, consulted the oracle and received answer to the following effect: they should have their wish if they took their mother's bones and cast them behind their backs. This struck them at first with great sorrow and despair, for the face of nature being laid level by the deluge, to seek for a sepulchre would be a task altogether endless. But at last they found that the stones of the earth (the earth being regarded as the mother of all things) were what the oracle meant.

This fable seems to disclose a secret of nature, and to correct an error which is familiar to the human mind. For man in his ignorance concludes that the renewal and restoration of things may be effected by means of their own corruption and remains; as the Phœnix rises out of her own ashes; which is not so; for matters of this kind have already reached the end of their course, and can give no further help towards the first stages of it: so we must go back to more common principles.

XXII.

NEMESIS;

OR THE VICISSITUDE OF THINGS.

Nemesis, according to the tradition, was a goddess, the object of veneration to all, to the powerful and fortunate of fear also. They say she was the daughter of Night and Ocean. She is represented with wings, and a crown: an ashen spear in her right hand; a phial, with Ethiops in it, in her left; sitting upon a stag.

The parable may be understood thus. The very name Nemesis plainly signifies Revenge or Retribution: for it was the office and function of this goddess to interrupt the felicity of fortunate persons, and let no man be constantly and perpetually happy, but step in like a tribune of the people with her *veto*; and not to chastise insolence only, but to see also that prosperity however innocent and moderately borne had its turn of adversity: as if no one of human race could be admitted to the banquets of the gods, except in derision. And certainly when I have read that chapter of Caius Plinius in which he has collected the misfortunes and miseries of Augustus Cæsar,—him whom I thought of all men the most fortunate, and who had moreover a certain art of using and enjoying his fortune, and in whose mind were no traces of swelling, of lightness, of softness, of confusion, or of melancholy—(insomuch that he had once determined to die voluntarily),—great and powerful must this goddess be, I have thought, when such a victim was brought to her altar.

The parents of this goddess were Ocean and Night; that is, the vicissitude of things, and the dark and secret judgment of God. For the vicissitude of things is aptly represented by the Ocean, by reason of its perpetual flowing and ebbing; and secret providence is rightly set forth under the image of Night. For this Nemesis of the Darkness (the human not agreeing with the divine judgment) was matter of observation even among the heathen.

> Ripheus fell too,
> Than whom a juster and a truer man
> In all his dealings was not found in Troy.
> But the gods judged not so.

Nemesis again is described as winged; because of the sudden and unforeseen revolutions of things. For in all the records of time it has commonly been found that great and wise men have perished by the dangers which they most

despised. So was it with M. Cicero ; who when warned by Decimus Brutus to beware of Octavius Cæsar's bad faith and evil mind towards him, only answered, *I am duly grateful to you, my dear Brutus, for giving me that information, though it is but folly.*

Nemesis is distinguished also with a crown ; in allusion to the envious and malignant nature of the vulgar ; for when the fortunate and the powerful fall, the people commonly exult and set a crown upon the head of Nemesis.

The spear in her right hand relates to those whom she actually strikes and transfixes. And if there be any whom she does not make victims of calamity and misfortune, to them she nevertheless exhibits that dark and ominous spectre in her left : for mortals must needs be visited, even when they stand at the summit of felicity, with images of death, diseases, misfortunes, perfidies of friends, plots of enemies, changes of fortune, and the like ; even like those Ethiops in the phial. It is true that Virgil, in describing the battle of Actium, adds elegantly concerning Cleopatra :—

> Midmost the Queen with sounding timbrel cheers
> Her armies to the fight ; nor dreams the while
> Of those two aspics at her back.

But it was not long before, turn which way she would, whole troops of Ethiops met her eyes.

Lastly, it is wisely added that Nemesis is mounted on a stag : for the stag is a very long lived animal ; and it may be that one who is cut off young may give Nemesis the slip ; but if his prosperity and greatness endure for any length of time, he is without doubt a subject of Nemesis, and carries her as it were on his back.

XXIII.

ACHELOUS ;

OR THE BATTLE.

The ancients relate that when Hercules and Achelous disputed which should marry Deianira, they agreed to decide the question by a fight. Now Achelous began by trying a variety of different shapes, which he was at liberty to do, and presented himself before Hercules at last in the shape of a savage and roaring bull, and so prepared for the combat. Hercules on the other hand retaining his wonted human figure, fell upon him. A close fight followed ; the end of which was that Hercules broke off one of the bull's horns : whereupon he, greatly hurt and terrified, to redeem his own horn gave Hercules the horn of Amalthea, or Abundance, in exchange.

The fable alludes to military expeditions. The preparations for war on the part defensive (which is represented by Achelous) is various and multiform. For the form assumed by the invader is one and simple, consisting of an army only, or perhaps a fleet. Whereas a country preparing to receive an enemy on its own ground sets to work in an infinity of ways ; fortifies one town, dismantles another, gathers the people from the fields and villages into cities and fortified places ; builds a bridge here, breaks down a bridge there ; raises, and distributes, forces and provisions ; is busy about rivers, harbours, gorges of hills, woods, and numberless other matters ; so that it may be said to try a new shape and put on a new aspect every day ; and when at last it is fully fortified and prepared, it represents to the life the form and threatening aspect of a fighting bull. The invader meanwhile is anxious for a battle, and aims chiefly at that ; fearing to be left without supplies in an enemy's country ; and if he win the battle, and so break as it were the enemy's horn, then he brings it to this : that the enemy, losing heart and reputation, must, in order to recover himself and repair his forces, fall back into his more fortified positions, leaving his cities and lands to the conqueror to be laid waste and pillaged ; which is indeed like giving him Amalthea's horn.

XXIV.

DIONYSUS ;[6]

OR DESIRE.

They say that Semele, Jupiter's paramour, made him take an inviolable oath to grant her one wish, whatever it might be, and then prayed that he would come to her in the same shape in which he was used to come to Juno. The consequence was that she was scorched to death in his embrace. The infant in her womb was taken by its father and sewed up in his thigh, until the time of gestation should be accomplished. The burden made him limp, and the infant, because while it was carried in his thigh it caused a pain or pricking, received the name of Dionysus. After he was brought forth he was sent to Proserpina for some years to nurse ; but as he grew up his face was so like a woman's, that it seemed doubtful of which sex he was. Moreover he died and was buried for a time, and came to life again not long after. In his early youth he discovered and taught the culture of the vine, and therewithal the composition and use of wine, which had not been known before : whereby becoming famous and illustrious, he subjugated the whole world and advanced to the furthest limits of India. He was borne in a chariot drawn by tigers ; about him tripped certain deformed demons called Cobali,—Acratus and others. The Muses also joined his train. He took to wife Ariadne, whom Theseus had abandoned and deserted. His sacred tree was the Ivy. He was accounted likewise the inventor and founder of sacred rites and ceremonies ; yet such as were fanatical and full of corruption, and cruel besides. He had power to excite phrensy. At least it was by women excited to phrensy in his orgies that two illustrious persons, Pentheus and Orpheus, are said to have been torn to pieces ; the one having climbed a tree to see what they were doing ; the other in the act of striking his lyre. Moreover the actions of this god are often confounded with those of Jupiter.

The fable seems to bear upon morals, and indeed there is nothing better to be found in moral philosophy. Under the person of Bacchus is described the nature of Desire, or passion and perturbation. For the mother of all desire, even the most noxious, is nothing else than the appetite and aspiration for apparent good : and the conception of it is always in some unlawful wish, rashly granted before it has been understood and weighed. But as the passion warms, its mother (that is, the nature of good), not able to endure the heat of it, is destroyed and perishes in the flame. Itself while still in embryo remains in the human soul (which is its father and represented by Jupiter), especially in the lower part of the soul, as in the thigh ; where it is both nourished and hidden ; and where it causes such prickings, pains, and depressions in the mind, that its resolutions and actions labour and limp with it. And even after it has grown strong by indulgence and custom, and breaks forth into acts, it is nevertheless brought up for a time with Proserpina ; that is to say, it seeks hiding-places, and keeps itself secret and as it were underground ; until casting off all restraints of shame and fear and growing bold, it either assumes the mask of some virtue or sets infamy itself, at defiance. Most true also it is that every passion of the more vehement kind is as it were of doubtful sex; for it has at once the force of the man and the weakness of the woman. It is notably said too that Bacchus came to life again after death. For the passions seem sometimes to be laid asleep and extinguished; but no trust can be placed in them, no not though they be buried ; for give them matter and occasion, they rise up again.

It is a wise parable too, that of the invention of the Vine ; for every passion is ingenious and sagacious in finding out its own stimulants. And there is nothing we know of so potent and effective as wine, in exciting and inflaming perturbations of every kind ; being a kind of common fuel to them all. Very elegantly too is Passion represented as the subjugator of provinces, and the undertaker of an endless course of conquest. For it never rests satisfied with what it has, but goes on and on with infinite insatiable appetite panting after new triumphs.

[6] For a slightly enlarged version of this fable, see pp. 450–452.

Tigers also are kept in its stalls and yoked to its chariot; for as soon as Passion ceases to go on foot and comes to ride in its chariot, as in celebration of its victory and triumph over reason, then is it cruel, savage, and pitiless towards every thing that stands in its way. Again, there is humour in making those ridiculous demons dance about the chariot: for every passion produces motions in the eyes, and indeed in the whole countenance and gesture, which are uncomely, unsettled, skipping and deformed; insomuch that when a man under the influence of any passion, as anger, scorn, love, or the like, seems most grand and imposing in his own eyes, to the lookers-on he appears unseemly and ridiculous. It is true also that the Muses are seen in the train of Passion, there being scarce any passion which has not some branch of learning to flatter it. For herein the majesty of the Muses suffers from the licence and levity of men's wits, turning those that should be the guides of man's life into mere followers in the train of his passions.

And again that part of the allegory is especially noble which represents Bacchus as lavishing his love upon one whom another man had cast off. For most certain it is that passion ever seeks and aspires after that which experience has rejected. And let all men who in the heat of pursuit and indulgence are ready to give any price for the fruition of their passion, know this—that whatever be the object of their pursuit, be it honour or fortune or love or glory or knowledge, or what it will, they are paying court to things cast off,—things which many men in all times have tried, and upon trial rejected with disgust.

Nor is the consecration of the Ivy to Bacchus without its mystery. For this has a double propriety. First because the Ivy flourishes in winter; next because it has the property of creeping and spreading about so many things,—as trees, walls, buildings. For as to the first, every passion flourishes and acquires vigour by being resisted and forbidden, as by a kind of antiperistasis; like the ivy by the cold of winter. As to the second, the master passion spreads itself like ivy about all human actions and resolutions, forcing itself in and mixing itself up with them. Nor is it wonderful that superstitious rites are attributed to Bacchus, since every insane passion grows rank in depraved religions; or if phrensies are supposed to be inflicted by him, seeing that every passion is itself a brief madness, and if it be vehement and obstinate ends in insanity. Again, that circumstance of the tearing of Pentheus and Orpheus has an evident allegorical meaning; since curious inquisition and salutary and free admonition are alike hateful and intolerable to an overpowering passion.

Lastly, the confusion of the persons of Bacchus and Jupiter may be well understood as a parable; inasmuch as deeds of high distinction and desert proceed sometimes from virtue and right reason and magnanimity, and sometimes (however they may be extolled and applauded) only from some lurking passion or hidden lust; and thus the deeds of Bacchus are not easily distinguished from the deeds of Jupiter.

XXV.

ATALANTA:

OR PROFIT.

Atalanta, who was remarkable for swiftness, was matched to run a race with Hippomenes. The conditions were that if Hippomenes won he was to marry Atalanta, if he lost he was to be put to death; and there seemed to be no doubt about the issue, since the matchless excellence of Atalanta in running had been signalized by the death of many competitors. Hippomenes therefore resorted to an artifice. He provided himself with three golden apples, and carried them with him. The race began. Atalanta ran ahead. He seeing himself left behind bethought him of his stratagem, and rolled forward one of the golden apples, so that she might see it,—not straight forwards, but a little on one side, that it might not only delay her but also draw her out of the course. She, with a woman's eagerness, attracted by the beauty of the apple, left the course, ran after it, and stooped to take it up. Hippomenes in the meantime made good way along the course and got before her. She however by force of her natural swiftness made good the loss of time and was again foremost; when Hippomenes

a second and a third time interrupted her in the same way, and so at last by craft not speed won the race.

The story carries in it an excellent allegory, relating to the contest of art with Nature. For Art, which is meant by Atalanta, is in itself, if nothing stand in the way, far swifter than Nature and, as one may say, the better runner, and comes sooner to the goal. For this may be seen in almost everything; you see that fruit grows slowly from the kernel, swiftly from the graft; you see clay harden slowly into stones, fast into baked bricks: so also in morals, oblivion and comfort of grief comes by nature in length of time; but philosophy (which may be regarded as the art of living) does it without waiting so long, but forestalls and anticipates the day. But then this prerogative and vigour of art is retarded, to the infinite loss of mankind, by those golden apples. For there is not one of the sciences or arts which follows the true and legitimate course constantly forth till it reach its end; but it perpetually happens that arts stop in their undertakings half way, and forsake the course, and turn aside like Atalanta after profit and commodity,—

Leaving the course the rolling gold to seize.

And therefore it is no wonder if Art cannot outstrip Nature, and according to the agreement and condition of the contest put her to death or destroy her; but on the contrary Art remains subject to Nature, as the wife is subject to the husband.

XXVI.

PROMETHEUS;

OR THE STATE OF MAN.

Tradition says that Man was made by Prometheus, and made of clay; only that Prometheus took particles from different animals and mixed them in. He, desiring to benefit and protect his own work, and to be regarded not as the founder only but also as the amplifier and enlarger of the human race, stole up to heaven with a bundle of fennel-stalks in his hand, kindled them at the chariot of the sun, and so brought fire to the earth and presented it to mankind. For this so great benefit received at his hands, men (it is said) were far from being grateful; so far indeed, that they conspired together and impeached him and his invention before Jupiter. This act of theirs was not so taken as justice may seem to have required. For the accusation proved very acceptable both to Jupiter and the rest of the gods; and so delighted were they, that they not only indulged mankind with the use of fire, but presented them likewise with a new gift, of all others most agreeable and desirable,—perpetual youth. Overjoyed with this, the foolish people put the gift of the gods on the back of an ass. The ass on his way home, being troubled with extreme thirst, came to a fountain; but a serpent that was set to guard it, would not let him drink unless he gave in payment whatever that was that he carried on his back. The poor ass accepted the condition; and so for a mouthful of water the power of renewing youth was transferred from men to serpents. After mankind had lost their prize, Prometheus made up his quarrel with them; but retaining his malice, and being bitterly incensed against Jupiter, he did not scruple to tempt him with deceit, even in the act of sacrifice. Having slain (it is said) two bulls, he stuffed the hide of one of them with the flesh and fat of both, and bringing them to the altar, with an air of devotion and benignity offered Jupiter his choice. Jupiter, detesting his craft and bad faith, but knowing how to requite it, chose the mock bull; then bethinking him of vengeance, and seeing that there was no way to take down the insolence of Prometheus except by chastising the human race (of which work he was extravagantly vain and proud), ordered Vulcan to make a fair and lovely woman. When she was made, each of the gods bestowed upon her his several gift; whence she was called Pandora. Then they placed in her hands an elegant vase, in which were enclosed all mischiefs and calamities; only at the bottom there remained Hope. With her vase in her hand she repaired first of all to Prometheus, to see if he would take and open it, which he, cautious and cunning, declined. Thus rejected she went away to Epimetheus, Prometheus's brother,

but of a character entirely different, who opened it without hesitation; but as soon as he saw all the mischiefs rushing out, growing wise when it was too late, he struggled to get the lid on again as fast as possible; but it was all he could do to keep in the last of the party, which was Hope, that lay at the bottom. In the end Jupiter seized Prometheus, and upon many and grave charges,—as that of old he had stolen fire, that he had made a mock of Jupiter's majesty in that deceitful sacrifice, that he had scorned and rejected his gift, together with another not mentioned before, that he had attempted to ravish Minerva,—threw him into chains and condemned him to perpetual tortures. For by Jupiter's command he was dragged to Mount Caucasus, and there bound fast to a column so that he could not stir. And there was an eagle which gnawed and consumed his liver by day; but what was eaten in the day grew again in the night, so that matter was never wanting for the torture to work upon. Yet they say that this punishment had its end at last; for Hercules sailed across the ocean in a cup that was given to him by the Sun, came to Caucasus, shot the eagle with his arrows, and set Prometheus free. In honour of Prometheus there were instituted in some nations games called torch-races, in which the runners carried lighted torches in their hands; and if any went out the bearer stood aside, leaving the victory to those that followed; and the first who reached the goal with his torch still burning received the prize.

This fable carries in it many true and grave speculations both on the surface and underneath. For there are some things in it that have been long ago observed: others have never been touched at all.

Prometheus clearly and expressly signifies Providence: and the one thing singled out by the ancients as the special and peculiar work of Providence was the creation and constitution of Man. For this one reason no doubt was, that the nature of man includes mind and intellect, which is the seat of providence; and since to derive mind and reason from principles brutal and irrational would be harsh and incredible, it follows almost necessarily that the human spirit was endued with providence not without the precedent and intention and warrant of the greater providence. But this was not all. The chief aim of the parable appears to be, that Man, if we look to final causes, may be regarded as the centre of the world; insomuch that if man were taken away from the world, the rest would seem to be all astray, without aim or purpose, to be like a besom without a binding, as the saying is, and to be leading to nothing. For the whole world works together in the service of man; and there is nothing from which he does not derive use and fruit. The revolutions and courses of the stars serve him both for distinction of the seasons and distribution of the quarters of the world. The appearances of the middle sky afford him prognostications of weather. The winds sail his ships and work his mills and engines. Plants and animals of all kinds are made to furnish him either with dwelling and shelter or clothing or food or medicine, or to lighten his labour, or to give him pleasure and comfort; insomuch that all things seem to be going about man's business and not their own. Nor is it without meaning added that in the mass and composition of which man was made, particles taken from the different animals were infused and mixed up with the clay; for it is most true that of all things in the universe man is the most composite, so that he was not without reason called by the ancients the little world. For though the Alchemists, when they maintain that there is to be found in man every mineral, every vegetable, etc., or something corresponding to them, take the word *microcosm* in a sense too gross and literal, and have so spoiled the elegance and distorted the meaning of it, yet that the body of man is of all existing things both the most mixed and the most organic, remains not the less a sober and solid truth. And this is indeed the reason it is capable of such wonderful powers and faculties; for the powers of simple bodies, though they be certain and rapid, yet being less refracted, broken up, and counteracted by mixture, they are few; but abundance and excellence of power resides in mixture and composition. Nevertheless we see that man in the first stage of his existence is a naked and defenceless thing, slow to help himself, and full of want. Therefore Prometheus applied himself with all haste to the invention of fire; which in all human necessities and business is the great minister of relief and

help; insomuch that if the soul be the form of forms and the hand the instrument of instruments, fire may rightly be called the help of helps and the mean of means. For through it most operations are effected, through it the arts mechanical and the sciences themselves are furthered in an infinite variety of ways.

Now the description of the manner in which the theft of fire was accomplished is apt and according to the nature of the thing. It was by applying a stalk of fennel to the chariot of the Sun. For fennel is used as a rod to strike with. The meaning therefore clearly is that Fire is produced by violent percussions and collisions of one body with another; whereby the matter they are made of is attenuated and set in motion, and prepared to receive the heat of the celestial bodies, and so by clandestine processes, as by an act of theft, snatches fire as it were from the chariot of the Sun.

There follows a remarkable part of the parable. Men, we are told, instead of gratulation and thanksgiving fell to remonstrance and indignation, and brought an accusation before Jupiter both against Prometheus and against Fire; and this act was moreover by him so well liked, that in consideration of it he accumulated fresh benefits upon mankind. For how should the crime of ingratitude towards their maker, a vice which includes in itself almost all others, deserve approbation and reward? and what could be the drift of such a fiction? But this is not what is meant. The meaning of the allegory is, that the accusation and arraignment by men both of their own nature and of art, proceeds from an excellent condition of mind and issues in good; whereas the contrary is hated by the gods, and unlucky. For they who extravagantly extol human nature as it is and the arts as received; who spend themselves in admiration of what they already possess, and hold up as perfect the sciences which are professed and cultivated; are wanting, first, in reverence to the divine nature, with the perfection of which they almost presume to compare, and next in usefulness towards man; as thinking that they have already reached the summit of things and finished their work, and therefore need seek no further. They on the other hand who arraign and accuse nature and the arts, and abound with complainings are not only more modest (if it be truly considered) in their sentiment, but are also stimulated perpetually to fresh industry and new discoveries. And this makes me marvel all the more at the ignorance and evil genius of mankind, who being overcrowed by the arrogance of a few persons, hold in such honour that philosophy of the Peripatetics, which was but a portion, and no large portion either, of the Greek philosophy, that every attempt to find fault with it has come to be not only useless, but also suspected and almost dangerous. Whereas certainly in my opinion both Empedocles and Democritus, who complain, the first madly enough, but the second very soberly, that all things are hidden away from us, that we know nothing, that we discern nothing, that truth is drowned in deep wells, that the true and the false are strangely joined and twisted together, (for the new Academy carried it a great deal too far), are more to be approved than the school of Aristotle, so confident and dogmatical. Therefore let all men know that the preferring of complaints against nature and the arts is a thing well pleasing to the gods, and draws down new alms and bounties from the divine goodness; and that the accusation of Prometheus, our maker and master though he be, yea sharp and vehement accusation, is a thing more sober and profitable than this overflow of congratulation and thanksgiving: let them know that conceit of plenty is one of the principal causes of want.

Now for the gift which men are said to have received as the reward of their accusation, namely the unfading flower of youth; it seems to show that methods and medicines for the retardation of age and the prolongation of life were by the ancients not despaired of, but reckoned rather among those things which men once had and by sloth and negligence let slip, than among those which were wholly denied or never offered. For they seem to say that by the true use of fire, and by the just and vigorous accusation and conviction of the errors of art, such gifts might have been compassed; and that it was not the divine goodness that was wanting to them therein, but they that were wanting to themselves; in that having received this gift of the gods, they committed the carriage of it to a lazy and slow-paced ass. By this seems to be meant experience; a thing

stupid and full of delay, whose slow and tortoise-like pace gave birth to that ancient complaint that *life is short and art is long*. And for my own part I certainly think that those two faculties—the Dogmatical and the Empirical—have not yet been well united and coupled; but that the bringing down of new gifts from the gods has ever been left either to the abstract philosophies, as to a light bird; or to sluggish and tardy experience, as to an ass. And yet it must be said in behalf of the ass, that he might perhaps do well enough, but for that accident of thirst by the way. For if a man would put himself fairly under the command of experience, and proceed steadily onward by a certain law and method, and not let any thirst for experiments either of profit or ostentation seize him by the way and make him lay down and unsettle his burthen in order that he may taste them,—such a man I do think would prove a carrier to whom new and augmented measures of divine bounty might be well enough entrusted.

As for the transfer of the gift to serpents, it seems to be an addition merely for ornament; unless it were inserted in shame of mankind, who with that fire of theirs and with so many arts, cannot acquire for themselves things which nature has of herself bestowed on many other animals.

The sudden reconciliation of men with Prometheus after the frustration of their hope, contains likewise a wise and useful observation. It alludes to the levity and rashness of men in new experiments; who if an experiment does not at once succeed according to wish, are in far too great a hurry to give up the attempt as a failure, and so tumble back to where they were and take on with the old things again.

Having thus described the state of man in respect of arts and matters intellectual, the parable passes to Religion; for with the cultivation of the arts came likewise the worship of things divine; and this was immediately seized on and polluted by hypocrisy. Therefore under the figure of that double sacrifice is elegantly represented the person of the truly religious man and the hypocrite. For in the one there is the fat, which is God's portion, by reason of the flame and sweet savour, whereby is meant affection and zeal burning and rising upward for the glory of God. In him are the bowels of charity; in him wholesome and useful meat. In the other is found nothing but dry and bare bones, with which the skin is stuffed out till it looks like a fair and noble victim: whereby are signified those external and empty rites and ceremonies with which men overload and inflate the service of religion: things rather got up for ostentation than conducing to piety. Nor is it enough for men to offer such mockeries to God, but they must also lay and father them upon himself, as though he had himself chosen and prescribed them. It is against such a kind of choice that the prophet in God's person remonstrates, when he says, *Is this such a fast as I have* CHOSEN, *that man should afflict his soul for one day and bow his head like a bulrush?*

After touching the state of Religion, the parable turns to morals and the conditions of human life. Pandora has been generally and rightly understood to mean pleasure and sensual appetite; which after the introduction of civil arts and culture and luxury, is kindled up as it were by the gift of fire. To Vulcan therefore, who in like manner represents fire, the making of Pleasure is imputed. And from her have flowed forth infinite mischief upon the minds, the bodies, and the fortunes of men, together with repentance when too late; nor upon individuals only, but upon kingdoms also and commonwealths. For from this same fountain have sprung wars and civil disturbances and tyrannies. But it is worth while to observe how prettily and elegantly the two conditions and as it were pictures or models of human life are set forth in the story, under the persons of Prometheus and Epimetheus. The followers of Epimetheus are the improvident, who take no care for the future but think only of what is pleasant at the time; and on this account it is true that they suffer many distresses, difficulties, and calamities, and are engaged in a perpetual struggle with them; and yet in the mean time they indulge their genius, and amuse their minds moreover, as their ignorance allows them to do, with many empty hopes, in which they take delight as in pleasant dreams, and so sweeten the miseries of life. The school of Prometheus on the other hand, that is the wise and fore-thoughtful class of men, do indeed by their caution decline and remove out of their way many evils and

misfortunes ; but with that good there is this evil joined, that they stint themselves of many pleasures and of the various agreeableness of life, and cross their genius, and (what is far worse) torment and wear themselves away with cares and solicitude and inward fears. For being bound to the column of Necessity, they are troubled with innumerable thoughts (which because of their flightiness are represented by the eagle), thoughts which prick and gnaw and corrode the liver : and if at intervals, as in the night, they obtain some little relaxation and quiet of mind, yet new fears and anxieties return presently with the morning. Very few therefore are they to whom the benefit of both portions falls,—to retain the advantages of providence and yet free themselves from the evils of solicitude and perturbation. Neither is it possible for any one to attain this double blessing, except by the help of Hercules ; that is, fortitude and constancy of mind, which being prepared for all events and equal to any fortune, foresees without fear, enjoys without fastidiousness, and bears without impatience. It is worth noting too that this virtue was not natural to Prometheus, but adventitious, and came by help from without ; for it is not a thing which any inborn and natural fortitude can attain to ; it comes from beyond the ocean, it is received and brought to us from the Sun ; for it comes of Wisdom, which is as the Sun, and of meditation upon the inconstancy and fluctuations of human life, which is as the navigation of the ocean : two things which Virgil has well coupled together in those lines :—

> Ah, happy, could we but the causes know
> Of all that is ! Then should we know no fears :
> Then should the inexorable Fate no power
> Possess to shake us, nor the jaws of death.

Most elegantly also is it added for the consolation and encouragement of men's minds, that that mighty hero sailed in a cup or pitcher ; lest they should too much mistrust the narrowness and frailty of their own nature, or plead it in their own excuse, as though it were altogether incapable of this kind of fortitude and constancy : the true nature of which was well divined by Seneca, when he said, *It is true greatness to have in one the frailty of man and the security of God.*

But I must now return to a part which, that I might not interrupt the connexion of what precedes, I have purposely passed by. I mean that last crime of Prometheus, the attempt upon the chastity of Minerva. For it was even for this offence,—certainly a very great and grave one,—that he underwent that punishment of the tearing of his entrails. The crime alluded to appears to be no other than that into which men not unfrequently fall when puffed up with arts and much knowledge,—of trying to bring the divine wisdom itself under the dominion of sense and reason : from which attempt inevitably follows laceration of the mind and vexation without end or rest. And therefore men must soberly and modestly distinguish between things divine and human, between the oracles of sense and of faith ; unless they mean to have at once a heretical religion and a fabulous philosophy.

The last point remains,—namely the races with burning torches instituted in honour of Prometheus. This again, like that fire in memory and celebration of which these games were instituted, alludes to arts and sciences, and carries in it a very wise admonition, to this effect,—that the perfection of the sciences is to be looked for not from the swiftness or ability of any one inquirer, but from a succession. For the strongest and swiftest runners are perhaps not the best fitted to keep their torch alight ; since it may be put out by going too fast as well as too slow. It seems however that these races and games of the torch have long been intermitted ; since it is still in their first authors,—Aristotle, Galen, Euclid, Ptolemy,—that we find the several sciences in highest perfection ; and no great matter has been done, nor hardly attempted, by their successors. And well were it to be wished that these games in honour of Prometheus, that is of Human Nature, were again revived ; that the victory may no longer depend upon the unsteady and wavering torch of each single man ; but competition, emulation, and good fortune be brought to aid. Therefore men should be advised to rouse themselves, and try each his own strength and the chance of his

own turn, and not to stake the whole venture upon the spirits and brains of a few persons.

Such are the views which I conceive to be shadowed out in this so common and hacknied fable. It is true that there are not a few things beneath which have a wonderful correspondency with the mysteries of the Christian faith. The voyage of Hercules especially, sailing in a pitcher to set Prometheus free, seems to present an image of God the Word hastening in the frail vessel of the flesh to redeem the human race. But I purposely refrain myself from all licence of speculation in this kind, lest peradventure I bring strange fire to the altar of the Lord.

XXVII.

THE FLIGHT OF ICARUS; ALSO SCYLLA AND CHARYBDIS; OR THE MIDDLE WAY.

MODERATION, or the Middle Way, is in Morals much commended; in Intellectuals less spoken of, though not less useful and good; in Politics only, questionable and to be used with caution and judgment.

The principle of moderation in Morals is represented by the ancients in the path which Icarus was directed to take through the air; the same principle in relation to the intellect, by the passage between Scylla and Charybdis, so famous for its difficulty and danger.

Icarus was instructed by his father to beware, when he came to fly over the sea, of taking either too high or too low a course. For his wings being fixed on with wax, the fear was that if he rose too high the wax would be melted by the sun's heat; if he kept down too near the vapour of the sea, it would lose its tenacity by the moisture. Icarus, in the adventurous spirit of youth, made for the heights, and so fell headlong down.

It is an easy and a familiar parable. The path of virtue goes directly midway between excess on the one hand and defect on the other. Icarus, being in the pride of youthful alacrity, naturally fell a victim to excess. For it is on the side of excess that the young commonly sin, as the old on the side of defect. And yet if he was to perish one way, it must be admitted that of two paths, both bad and mischievous, he chose the better. For sins of defect are justly accounted worse than sins of excess; because in excess there is something of magnanimity,—something, like the flight of a bird, that holds kindred with heaven; whereas defect creeps on the ground like a reptile. Excellently was it said by Heraclitus, *Dry light is the best soul.* For when the moisture and humours of earth get into the soul, it becomes altogether low and degenerate. And yet here too a measure must be kept: the dryness, so justly praised, must be such as to make the light more subtle, but not such as to make it catch fire. But this is what everybody knows.

Now for the passage between Scylla and Charybdis (understood of the conduct of the understanding), certainly it needs both skill and good fortune to navigate it. For if the ship run on Scylla, it is dashed on the rocks; if on Charybdis, it is sucked in by the whirlpool: by which parable (I can but briefly touch it, though it suggests reflexions without end) we are meant to understand that in every knowledge and science, and in the rules and axioms appertaining to them, a mean must be kept between too many distinctions and too much generality,—between the rocks of the one and the whirlpools of the other. For these two are notorious for the shipwreck of wits and arts.

XXVIII.

SPHINX; OR SCIENCE.

SPHINX, says the story, was a monster combining many shapes in one. She had the face and voice of a virgin, the wings of a bird, the claws of a griffin. She dwelt on the ridge of a mountain near Thebes and infested the roads, lying in ambush for travellers, whom she would suddenly attack and lay hold of; and

when she had mastered them, she propounded to them certain dark and perplexed riddles, which she was thought to have obtained from the Muses. And if the wretched captives could not at once solve and interpret the same, as they stood hesitating and confused she cruelly tore them to pieces. Time bringing no abatement of the calamity, the Thebans offered to any man who should expound the Sphinx's riddles (for this was the only way to subdue her) the sovereignty of Thebes as his reward. The greatness of the prize induced Œdipus, a man of wisdom and penetration, but lame from wounds in his feet, to accept the condition and make the trial: who presenting himself full of confidence and alacrity before the Sphinx, and being asked what kind of animal it was which was born four-footed, afterwards became two-footed, then three-footed and at last four-footed again, answered readily that it was man; who at his birth and during his infancy sprawls on all four, hardly attempting to creep; in a little while walks upright on two feet; in later years leans on a walking-stick and so goes as it were on three; and at last in extreme age and decrepitude, his sinews all failing, sinks into a quadruped again, and keeps his bed. This was the right answer and gave him the victory; whereupon he slew the Sphinx; whose body was put on the back of an ass and carried about in triumph; while himself was made according to compact King of Thebes.

The fable is an elegant and a wise one, invented apparently in allusion to Science; especially in its application to practical life. Science, being the wonder of the ignorant and unskilful, may be not absurdly called a monster. In figure and aspect it is represented as many-shaped, in allusion to the immense variety of matter with which it deals. It is said to have the face and voice of a woman, in respect of its beauty and facility of utterance. Wings are added because the sciences and the discoveries of science spread and fly abroad in an instant; the communication of knowledge being like that of one candle with another, which lights up at once. Claws, sharp and hooked, are ascribed to it with great elegance, because the axioms and arguments of science penetrate and hold fast the mind, so that it has no means of evasion or escape; a point which the sacred philosopher also noted: *The words of the wise are as goads, and as nails driven deep in.* Again, all knowledge may be regarded as having its station on the heights of mountains; for it is deservedly esteemed a thing sublime and lofty, which looks down upon ignorance as from an eminence, and has moreover a spacious prospect on every side, such as we find on hill-tops. It is described as infesting the roads, because at every turn in the journey or pilgrimage of human life, matter and occasion for study assails and encounters us. Again, Sphinx proposes to men a variety of hard questions and riddles which she received from the Muses. In these, while they remain with the Muses, there is probably no cruelty; for so long as the object of meditation and inquiry is merely to know, the understanding is not oppressed or straitened by it, but is free to wander and expatiate, and finds in the very uncertainty of conclusion and variety of choice a certain pleasure and delight; but when they pass from the Muses to Sphinx, that is from contemplation to practice, whereby there is necessity for present action, choice, and decision, then they begin to be painful and cruel; and unless they be solved and disposed of, they strangely torment and worry the mind, pulling it first this way and then that, and fairly tearing it to pieces. Moreover the riddles of the Sphinx have always a twofold condition attached to them; distraction and laceration of mind, if you fail to solve them; if you succeed, a kingdom. For he who understands his subject is master of his end; and every workman is king over his work.

Now of the Sphinx's riddles there are in all two kinds; one concerning the nature of things, another concerning the nature of man; and in like manner there are two kinds of kingdom offered as the reward of solving them; one over nature, and the other over man. For the command over things natural,—over bodies, medicine, mechanical powers, and infinite other of the kind—is the one proper and ultimate end of true natural philosophy; however the philosophy of the School, content with what it finds, and swelling with talk, may neglect or spurn the search after realities and works. But the riddle proposed to Œdipus, by the solution of which he became King of Thebes, related to the nature of man;

for whoever has a thorough insight into the nature of man may shape his fortune almost as he will, and is born for empire; as was well declared concerning the arts of the Romans,—

> Be thine the art,
> O Rome, with government to rule the nations,
> And to know whom to spare and whom to abate,
> And settle the condition of the world.

And therefore it fell out happily that Augustus Cæsar, whether on purpose or by chance, used a Sphinx for his seal. For he certainly excelled in the art of politics if ever man did; and succeeded in the course of his life in solving most happily a great many new riddles concerning the nature of man, which if he had not dexterously and readily answered he would many times have been in imminent danger of destruction. The fable adds very prettily that when the Sphinx was subdued, her body was laid on the back of an ass: for there is nothing so subtle and abstruse, but when it is once thoroughly understood and published to the world, even a dull wit can carry it. Nor is that other point to be passed over, that the Sphinx was subdued by a lame man with club feet; for men generally proceed too fast and in too great a hurry to the solution of the Sphinx's riddles; whence it follows that the Sphinx has the better of them, and instead of obtaining the sovereignty by works and effects, they only distract and worry their minds with disputations.

XXIX.

PROSERPINA;

OR SPIRIT.

They say that when Pluto upon that memorable partition of the kingdoms received for his portion the infernal regions, he despaired of gaining any of the goddesses above in marriage by addresses and gentle methods, and so was driven to take measures for carrying one of them off by force. Seizing his opportunity therefore, while Proserpina, daughter of Ceres, a fair virgin, was gathering flowers of Narcissus in the Sicilian meadows, he rushed suddenly upon her and carried her off in his chariot to the subterranean regions. Great reverence was paid her there: so much that she was even called the Mistress or Queen of Dis. Meanwhile her mother Ceres, filled with grief and anxiety by the disappearance of her dearly beloved daughter, took a lighted torch in her hand, and wandered with it all round the world in quest of her. Finding the search fruitless, and hearing by chance that she had been carried down to the infernal regions, she wearied Jupiter with tears and lamentations, praying to have her restored; till at last she won a promise from him that if her daughter had not eaten of anything belonging to the under world, then she might bring her back. This condition was unfortunate for the mother; for Proserpina had eaten (it was found) three grains of a pomegranate. But this did not prevent Ceres from renewing her prayers and lamentations; and it was agreed at last that Proserpina should divide the year between the two, and live by turns six months with her husband and the other six with her mother.

Afterwards a very daring attempt to carry away the same Proserpina from the chamber of Dis was made by Theseus and Pirithous. But having sate down to rest by the way on a stone in the infernal regions, they were unable to rise again, and continued sitting there for ever. So Proserpina remained Queen of the under world, where a great and new privilege was granted in honour of her; for whereas they who went down to the under world were not permitted to go back, a singular exception was made in favour of any who should bring a certain golden branch as a present to Proserpina; such present entitling the bearer to go and return. It was a single branch growing by itself in a vast and dark wood; neither had it a stock of its own, but grew like misseltoe upon a tree of different kind; and as soon as it was plucked off, another came in its place.

The fable relates, as I take it, to Nature, and explains the source of that rich and fruitful supply of active power subsisting in the under world, from which

all the growths of our upper world spring, and into which they again return and are resolved. By Proserpina the ancients signified that ethereal spirit which, having been separated by violence from the upper globe, is enclosed and imprisoned beneath the earth (which earth is represented by Pluto); as was well expressed in those lines,—

> Whether that the Earth yet fresh, and from the deeps
> Of heaven new-sundered, did some seeds retain,
> Some sparks and motions of its kindred sky.

This spirit is represented as having been ravished, that is suddenly and forcibly carried off, by the Earth; because there is no holding it in if it have time and leisure to escape, and the only way to confine and fix it is by a sudden pounding and breaking up; just as if you would mix air with water, you can only do it by sudden and rapid agitation: for thus it is that we see these bodies united in foam, the air being as it were ravished by the water. It is prettily added that Proserpina was carried off while in the act of gathering flowers of Narcissus in the valleys: for Narcissus takes its name from torpor or stupor; and it is only when beginning to curdle, and as it were to gather torpor, that spirit is in the best state to be caught up and carried off by earthly matter. It is right too that Proserpina should have that honour, which is not conceded to the wife of any other God,—to be called the Mistress or Queen of Dis: for the spirit does in fact govern and manage everything in those regions, without the help of Pluto, who remains stupid and unconscious.

The air meanwhile and the power of the celestial region (which is represented by Ceres) strives with infinite assiduity to win forth and recover this imprisoned spirit again; and that torch which the air carries—the lighted torch in Ceres's hand—means no doubt the Sun, which does the office of a lamp all over the earth, and would do more than anything else for the recovery of Proserpina, were the thing at all possible. But Proserpina remains fixed where she is; the reason and manner whereof is accurately and admirably set forth in those two agreements between Jupiter and Ceres. For with regard to the first, most certain it is that there are two ways of confining and restraining spirit in solid and earthy matter; one by constipation and obstruction, which is simple imprisonment and violence; the other by administering some suitable aliment, which is spontaneous and free. For when the imprisoned spirit begins to feed and nourish itself, it is no longer in a hurry to escape, but becomes settled as in its own land. And this is what is meant by Proserpina's tasting of the pomegranate; which if she had not done, she would have been long since carried off by Ceres as she traversed the globe with her torch in quest of her. For though the spirit which is contained in metals and minerals is prevented from getting out chiefly perhaps by the solidity of the mass, that which is contained in plants and animals dwells in a porous body, from which it could easily escape if it were not by that process of tasting reconciled to remain. As for the second agreement,—that she should stay six months at a time with either party,—it is nothing else but an elegant description of the division of the year; since that spirit which is diffused through the earth does (in regard to the vegetable kingdom) live in the upper world during the summer months, and retires to the under world in the winter months.

Now for that attempt of Theseus and Pirithous to carry Proserpina away, the meaning is that the subtler spirits which in many bodies descend to the earth often fail to draw out and assimilate and carry away with them the subterranean spirit, but contrariwise are themselves curdled and never reascend again, and so go to increase the number of Proserpina's people and the extent of her empire.

As for that golden branch, it may seem difficult for me to withstand the Alchemists, if they attack me from that side; seeing they promise us by that same stone of theirs not only mountains of gold, but also the restitution of natural bodies as it were from the gates of the Infernals. Nevertheless for Alchemy and those that are never weary of their wooing of that stone, as I am sure they have no ground in theory, so I suspect that they have no very good

pledge of success in practice. And therefore putting them aside, here is my opinion as to the meaning of that last part of the parable. From many figurative allusions I am satisfied that the ancients regarded the conservation, and to a certain extent the restoration, of natural bodies as a thing not desperate, but rather as abstruse and out of the way. And this is what I take them in the passage before us to mean, by placing this branch in the midst of the innumerable other branches of a vast and thick wood. They represented it as golden; because gold is the emblem of duration; and grafted, because the effect in question is to be looked for as the result of art, not of any medicine or method which is simple or natural.

XXX.

METIS;

OR COUNSEL.

The ancient poets tell us that Jupiter took Metis, whose name plainly signifies Counsel, to wife; that she conceived by him and was with child; which he perceiving did not wait till she brought forth, but ate her up; whereby he became himself with child; but his delivery was of a strange kind; for out of his head or brain he brought forth Pallas armed.

This monstrous and at first sight very foolish fable contains, as I interpret it, a secret of government. It describes the art whereby kings so deal with the councils of state as not only to keep their authority and majesty untouched, but also to increase and exalt it in the eyes of their people. For kings by a sound and wise arrangement tie themselves to their councils with a bond like that of wedlock, and deliberate with them concerning all their greatest matters, rightly judging that this is no diminution to their majesty. But when the question grows ripe for a decision (which is the bringing forth) they do not allow the council to deal any further in it, lest their acts should seem to be dependent upon the council's will; but at that point, (unless the matter be of such a nature that they wish to put away the envy of it) they take into their own hands whatever has been by the council elaborated and as it were shaped in the womb; so that the decision and execution (which, because it comes forth with power and carries necessity, is elegantly represented under the figure of Pallas armed) may seem to emanate from themselves. Nor is it enough that it be seen to proceed from their free and unconstrained and independent authority and will, but they must have the world think that the decision comes out of their own head, that is out of their proper wisdom and judgment.

XXXI.

THE SIRENS;

OR PLEASURE.

The fable of the Sirens is truly applied to the pernicious allurements of pleasure; but in a very poor and vulgar sense. For I find the wisdom of the ancients to be like grapes ill-trodden: something is squeezed out, but the best parts are left behind and passed over.

The Sirens were daughters (we are told) of Achelous and of Terpsichore, one of the Muses. Originally they had wings; but being beaten in a contest with the Muses which they had rashly challenged, their wings were plucked off, and turned by the Muses into crowns for themselves, who thenceforward all wore wings on their heads, except only the mother of the Sirens. These Sirens had their dwelling in certain pleasant islands, whence they kept watch for ships; and when they saw any approaching, they began to sing; which made the voyagers first stay to listen, then gradually draw near, and at last land; when they took and killed them. Their song was not all in one strain; but they varied their measures according to the nature of the listener, and took each captive with those which best suited him. So destructive the plague was, that the islands of the Sirens were seen afar off white with the bones of unburied carcasses. For this evil two different remedies were found; one by Ulysses, the other by Orpheus. Ulysses caused the ears of his crew to be stopped with

wax; and himself (wishing to make trial of the thing without incurring the danger) to be bound to the mast; at the same time forbidding any one at his peril to loose him even at his own request. Orpheus, not caring to be bound, raised his voice on high, and singing to his lyre the praises of the Gods, drowned the voices of the Sirens, and so passed clear of all danger.

The fable relates to Morals, and contains an elegant though obvious parable. Pleasures spring from the union of abundance and affluence with hilarity and exultation of mind. And formerly they carried men away at once, as if with wings, by the first view of their charms. But doctrine and instruction have succeeded in teaching the mind, if not to refrain altogether, yet to pause and consider consequences; and so have stripped the Pleasures of their wings. And this redounded greatly to the honour of the Muses—for as soon as it appeared by some examples that Philosophy could induce a contempt of Pleasures, it was at once regarded as a sublime thing, which could so lift the soul from earth, and make the cogitations of man (which live in his head) winged and ethereal. Only the mother of the Sirens still goes on foot and has no wings; and by her no doubt are meant those lighter kinds of learning which are invented and applied only for amusement; such as those were which Petronius held in estimation; he who being condemned to die, sought in the very waiting-room of death for matter to amuse him, and when he turned to books among other things for consolation, would read (says Tacitus) none of those which teach constancy of mind, but only light verses. Of this kind is that of Catullus,

> Let's live and love, love, while we may;
> And for all the old men say
> Just one penny let us care;

and that other,—

> Of Rights and Wrongs let old men prate, and learn
> By scrupulous weighing in fine scales of law
> What is allowed to do and what forbid.

For doctrines like these seem to aim at taking the wings away from the Muses' crowns and giving them back to the Sirens. The Sirens are said to live in islands; because Pleasures commonly seek retiring-places aloof from the throngs of men. As for the song of the Sirens, its fatal effect and various artifice, it is everybody's theme, and therefore needs no interpreter. But that circumstance of the bones being seen from a distance like white cliffs, has a finer point: implying that the examples of other men's calamities, however clear and conspicuous, have little effect in deterring men from the corruptions of pleasure.

The parable concerning the remedies remains to be spoken of: a wise and noble parable, though not at all abstruse. For a mischief so fraught with cunning, and violence alike, there are proposed three remedies; two from philosophy, the third from religion. The first method of escape is to resist the beginnings, and sedulously to avoid all occasions which may tempt and solicit the mind. This is the waxing up of the ears, and for minds of ordinary and plebeian cast—such as the crew of Ulysses—is the only remedy. But minds of a loftier order, if they fortify themselves with constancy of resolution, can venture into the midst of pleasures; nay and they take delight in thus putting their virtue to a more exquisite proof; besides gaining thereby a more thorough insight—as lookers-on rather than followers—into the foolishness and madness of pleasures: which is that which Solomon professes concerning himself, when he closes his enumeration of the pleasures with which he abounded in these words: *Likewise my wisdom remained with me.* Heroes of this order may therefore stand unshaken amidst the greatest temptations, and refrain themselves even in the steep-down paths of pleasures; provided only that they follow the example of Ulysses, and forbid the pernicious counsels and flatteries of their own followers, which are of all things most powerful to unsettle and unnerve the mind. But of the three remedies, far the best in every way is that of Orpheus; who by singing and sounding forth the praise of the gods confounded the voices of the Sirens and put them aside: for meditations upon things divine excel the pleasures of the sense, not in power only, but also in sweetness,

APOPHTHEGMS NEW AND OLD.

PREFACE.

BY JAMES SPEDDING.

BACON'S collection of Apophthegms, though a sick man's task, ought not to be regarded as a work merely of amusement; still less as a jest-book. It was meant for a contribution, though a slight one, towards the supply of what he had long considered as a desideratum in literature. In the *Advancement of Learning* he had mentioned Apophthegms with respect, along with Orations and Letters, as one of the appendices to Civil History; regretting the loss of Cæsar's collection; "for as for those which are collected by others (he said) either I have no taste in such matters, or their choice hath not been happy". This was in 1605. In revising and enlarging that treatise in 1623, he had spoken of their use and worth rather more fully. "They serve (he said) not for pleasure only and ornament, but also for action and business; being, as one called them, *mucrones verborum*,—speeches with a point or edge, whereby knots in business are pierced and severed. And as former occasions are continually recurring, that which served once will often serve again, either produced as a man's own or cited as of ancient authority. Nor can there be any doubt of the utility in business of a thing which Cæsar the Dictator thought worthy of his own labour; whose collection I wish had been preserved; for as for any others that we have in this kind, but little judgment has in my opinion been used in the selection[1]." Of this serious use of apophthegms Bacon himself had had long experience, having been all his life a great citer of them; and in the autumn of 1624, when he was recovering from a severe illness, he employed himself in dictating from memory a number that occurred to him as worth setting down.

The fate of this collection has been singular. The original edition[2] (a very small octavo volume dated 1625, but published about the middle of December 1624[3]) consisted of 280 apophthegms, with a short preface. Of this volume Dr. Rawley, in the first edition of the *Resuscitatio* (1657), makes no mention whatever, either where he enumerates the works composed during the last five years of Bacon's life, or in the "perfect list of his Lordship's true works both in English and Latin" at the end of the volume. And his words, taken strictly, would seem to imply (since he cannot have been ignorant of its existence) that he did not acknowledge it as Bacon's. But I suppose he had either forgotten it, or did not think it important or original enough to be worth mentioning.

In 1658 there came forth a small volume, without any editor's name, under the following title: *Witty Apophthegms delivered at several times and upon several*

[1] "Neque apophthegmata ipsa ad delectationem et ornatum tantum prosunt, sed ad res gerendas etiam et usus civiles. Sunt enim (ut aiebat ille) veluti *secures* aut *mucrones verborum*; qui rerum et negotiorum nodos acumine quodam secant et penetrant; occasiones autem redeunt in orbem, et quod olim erat commodum rursus adhiberi et prodesse potest, sive quis ea tanquam sua proferat, sive tanquam vetera. Neque certe de utilitate ejus rei ad civilia dubitari potest, quam Cæsar Dictator operâ suâ honestavit; cujus liber utinam extaret, cum ea quæ usquam habentur in hoc genere nobis parum cum delectu congesta videantur."—*De Aug. Sci.* ii. 12.

[2] *Apophthegmes new and old. Collected by the Right Honourable Francis Lo. Verulam Viscount St. Alban. London. Printed for Hanna Barret and Richard Whittaker, and are to be sold at the King's Head in Paul's Church-yard.* 1625.

A copy in Gray's Inn Library has the date 1626: but appears to be in all other respects exactly the same.

[3] Chamberlain to Carlton, 18 Dec. 1624. *Court and Times of James I.*, ii. p. 486.

occasions, by King James, King Charles, the Marquess of Worcester, Francis Lord Bacon, and Sir Thomas Moore. Collected and revised. In this volume the apophthegms attributed to Bacon are in all 184; of which 163 are copied verbatim from his own collection of 1625, and follow (with one or two slight exceptions, probably accidental) in the same order. The remaining 21, which are mostly of a very inferior character, are not added but interspersed.

In 1661 appeared a second edition, or rather a reissue, of the *Resuscitatio*, edited as before by Dr. Rawley, and with some additions; among which was a collection of "Apophthegms, new and old". This, though introduced without a word of preface or advertisement from editor or publisher, was so far from being a reprint of the original collection of 1625, that I do not think the editor can have had a copy of it to refer to. Of the original 280 no less than 71 are entirely omitted; 39 new ones are introduced; the order is totally changed, the text considerably altered. The alterations in the text are indeed (though I think not generally for the better) no more than might have been made by Bacon himself in revising the book. A few of the omissions also might be accounted for in the same way; but very many of the omitted ones are among the best in the volume, and such as he could have no motive for suppressing. Still less is it possible to imagine a reason for the change of *order*, which could hardly have been more complete or more capricious if the leaves of the book had been first separated and then shuffled. Whoever will take a copy of the bound volume and endeavour to write directions in it for any such change in the arrangement, will see that it could not have been done without a great deal of time and trouble. And seeing that it was now more than thirty years since that volume appeared, that it had never been reprinted, nor ever much valued and (being so small) might easily be lost, the more probable supposition is that Dr. Rawley had no copy of it, and made up his collection from loose and imperfect manuscripts.

In 1671, three or four years after Dr. Rawley's death, appeared a *third* edition of the *Resuscitatio*, in two parts. The first part contains a collection of Apophthegms, which from the publisher's preface one would expect to find a mere reprint from the second edition. But it is in fact a new collection, made up by incorporating the "Witty Apophthegms" of 1658, of which it contains all but 12, with Dr. Rawley's collection of 1661. By this means the number of apophthegms is increased from 248 to 296; the new ones being not added as a supplement, but interspersed among the old. Of the 71 which formed part of Bacon's original collection but not of Dr. Rawley's, 32 are thus supplied. Eight more might have been supplied from the same source, but were left out perhaps by accident. There remained therefore 39 genuine ones still to be recovered: a fact which may be best explained by supposing that the editor of the third edition of the *Resuscitatio* had not been able, any more than Dr. Rawley when he edited the second, to procure a copy of the original volume.

In 1679, a new volume of remains, under the title of *Baconiana*, was published by Dr. Tenison from original manuscripts; with an introduction containing "an account of all the Lord Bacon's works". In this introduction he tells us (p. 59) that the best edition of the Apophthegms was the first (1625); and censures as spurious, or at least as including spurious matter, the additions contained in the two collections last mentioned of 1658 and 1671; but of Dr. Rawley's collection in 1661 he strangely enough makes no mention whatever. In the body of the work he gives 27 additional apophthegms, found among Bacon's papers, and never before printed.

Next came Blackbourne, in 1730, with an edition of Bacon's works complete in 4 volumes folio. His plan in dealing with the Apophthegms was to reprint, 1st, the whole collection (repetitions omitted) as it stood in the third edition of the *Resuscitatio*; 2ndly, the 27 additional ones in Tenison's *Baconiana* (all but 3; which he omitted, not very judiciously, because they are to be found in the Essays); 3rdly, the remaining 39, contained in the original edition, but omitted in all later copies. Thus we had for the first time a collection which included *all* the genuine apophthegms. But it was defective in this,—that it included likewise all, or all but one or two, of those which Tenison had alluded

to in general terms as spurious; and that no attempt was made in it to distinguish those which had Dr. Rawley's sanction from those which had not.

Succeeding editors followed Blackbourne, without either noticing or trying to remedy this defect; until Mr. Montagu took up the task in his edition of 1825, in which he made an attempt, more laudable than successful, to separate the genuine from the spurious. Taking Tenison's remark as his guide, he reprinted the original collection of 1625 exactly as it stood, (or at least meant to do so; for there are more than 130 places in which his copy differs from the original,) and then added the supplementary collection in the *Baconiana*. The rest he concluded to be spurious, and gathered them (or meant to gather them and thought he had done so) into an appendix, under that title. But in this he took no account of the *second* edition of the *Resuscitatio*, which must certainly be considered as having the sanction of Dr. Rawley; and the principle, whatever it was, upon which he proceeded to eliminate the spurious apophthegms was altogether fallacious. Observing that the last apophthegm in the third edition of the *Resuscitatio* was numbered 308, whereas in the original collection there were only 280; and *not* observing that of those 308, 12 were given twice over; he seems to have concluded that the number of the spurious must be 28, and that they might be found by simply going through the later collection, and marking off all those which were not given in the earlier. And the first 25 in his spurious list were probably selected in that way; for they are the first 25 (one only excepted, which *is* given in the original collection, and was probably marked off by mistake) which answer the conditions; and they are set down in the order in which to a person so proceeding they would naturally present themselves. Upon what principle he selected the other three which make up the 28, I cannot guess. One of them he has himself printed a few pages before among the genuine; another he quotes in his preface as one which he can hardly believe *not* to be genuine; and before he came to the third, he must, if he took them as they stand in the book, have passed by 20 others which have precisely the same title to the distinction. But howsoever he went about it, his result is certainly wrong; for among his 28 spurious apophthegms there are several which were undoubtedly sanctioned by Dr. Rawley, besides the two which had been previously printed among the genuine ones by himself; and when all is done, there remain no less than 30 others, silently omitted and entirely unaccounted for.

Such is the latest shape in which this little work appears[4]. The common editions contain *all* the apophthegms; but some that are spurious are printed in them as genuine. Mr. Montagu's edition does *not* contain all: and some that are genuine are printed in it as spurious.

I have now to explain the plan upon which I have myself proceeded in order to set the matter right.

First. Considering that the edition of 1625 was published during Bacon's life with his name on the title-page; that there is no reason for supposing that he revised or altered it afterwards; and that there is some reason for suspecting that the collection published by Dr. Rawley in 1661, far from being a revised edition of the former, was made up, when a copy of the original volume was not procurable, from some imperfect manuscript or from old note-books; I regard the 280 apophthegms printed in 1625 as those which we are most certain that Bacon himself thought worth preserving. I begin therefore by reprinting these from the original edition; and so far I follow Mr. Montagu's example.

Secondly. Considering nevertheless that Bacon may *possibly* have revised this collection, and struck out some and altered others; and that Dr. Rawley may possibly have had by him some portions of that revised copy, or some

[4] This was written before the appearance of Mr. Bohn's volume of the *Moral and Historical Works of Lord Bacon*, edited by Joseph Devey, M.A., which professes to contain the "Apophthegms; omitting those known to be spurious". Of the collection there given however it is not necessary to take any further notice. It is merely a selection from a selection, in which no attempt has really been made to distinguish the spurious from the genuine.

memoranda of those omissions and alterations; I regard the variations as worth preserving [5]. I have therefore compared the two collections, marked with a † all the apophthegms which are not found in the later, and recorded in foot-notes all the more considerable differences of reading that occur in those which are; adding also for convenience of reference the numbers which they bear in the later collection.

Thirdly. Considering that Rawley had access to all Bacon's unpublished papers [6], and had been in constant personal communication with him during his later years; and that Bacon had been in the habit of setting down such things from time to time in note books, and may very likely have made a supplementary collection with a view to publication, I regard all the additional apophthegms which appear in the collection of 1661 as probably genuine, and as resting on authority second only to that which belongs to the original edition. These therefore I reprint from the second edition of the *Resuscitatio*, in the order in which they occur; and for more convenient reference, with the original numbers affixed. And at the same time, because in a common-place book of Dr. Rawley's which is preserved in the Lambeth Library and appears to have been begun soon after Bacon's death I find several of these additional apophthegms set down in a form somewhat different; and because I think it probable that Dr. Rawley, in preparing them for publication, occasionally introduced variations of his own in order to correct the language or clear the meaning; I have thought the original form worth preserving, and have therefore compared the versions and set down the variations in foot-notes.

Fourthly. Considering that many of Bacon's original papers passed through the hands of Dr. Rawley or his son into those of Dr. Tenison, I regard the supplementary collection in the *Baconiana* as also probably genuine, and next in authenticity to the collection of 1661. These therefore I print next; also preserving in foot-notes such various readings as I find in Dr. Rawley's common-place book above mentioned.

Fifthly. In this same common-place book I find other apophthegms and anecdotes, not included in any of the three collections,—Bacon's, Rawley's, or Tenison's; a few of which I have thought worth preserving; some for their independent value, and some for a little light they throw on Bacon's personal character, manners, or habits. These I print next. They have probably as good a right to be considered genuine as any that were not published by Bacon himself; for they are set down in Rawley's own hand.

Sixthly. When all this is done, there remain 16 which rest upon no better authority than that of the unknown editor of the "Witty Apophthegms." These I regard as having no right to appear at all under Bacon's name, and accordingly remit them to a note*, as spurious.

In a note to Bacon's preface, as given in the second editon of the *Resuscitatio*, Dr. Rawley expressly states that the collection was made from memory, "with

[5] The substitution, in almost every case, of "the House of Commons" for "the Lower-House" has a kind of historical significance.

[6] In a catalogue of Bacon's extant MSS. (Add. MSS. Brit. Mus. 629. fo. 271.), not dated, but drawn up by Rawley after Bacon's death, I find the three following entries:—

"Apophthegms cast out of my Lord's book, and not printed.

"Apophthegms of K. James.

"Some few apophthegms not chosen."

There is no allusion to any revision of the printed book. The first of these entries evidently refers to some apophthegms which had been struck out of the MS. before it was published; the last probably to some which had not been included in it. The "apophthegms of K. James" may have been the seven which stand first among the additions introduced by Rawley in his collection of 1661. If the MS. from which the collection of 1625 was printed remained in Dr. Rawley's hands, it would not be mentioned in this catalogue, which relates only to what had not been printed. We may easily suppose therefore that some of the loose sheets were still preserved; and that, when the original volume was not procurable, he made up his collection by incorporating these with the unpublished ones mentioned in the catalogue. [*Not here reprinted.—Ed.]

out turning any book." If I am right in conjecturing that the only *collection* made by Bacon himself was that of 1625, we must understand Dr. Rawley's remark as applying to that; and we must beware of attributing to it any great *historical* authority. It will be found that some of the sayings, especially those of the ancient philosophers, are assigned to the wrong persons. But what is interesting or memorable in them depends in general so little upon the persons who spoke them; and the traditional sayings of famous wits must always be in great part so apocryphal; that I have not thought it worth while to investigate the authorities, or expedient to encumber the text with notes of that kind. The authenticity of the anecdotes relating to persons of more recent times would be better worth investigation; but in these cases Bacon is himself (either as a personal witness or as a preserver of traditions then current) one of the original authorities, whom it would not be easy to correct by a better. In these cases also his memory is less likely to have deceived him [7]. But the whole collection is to be read with this qualification. Dr. Tenison adds that it was one morning's work. But he does not tell us upon what authority; and certainly Dr. Rawley has left no such statement on record. Perhaps he was confounding what Dr. Rawley said of "The beginning of the History of Henry VIII." with what he said about the Apophthegms, and so put the two together. The statement is not to be believed without very good and very express authority.

The use and worth of the collection will be best understood by those who have studied Bacon's own manner of quoting apophthegms, to suggest, illustrate, or enliven serious observations. And it was greater in his time than it is now, not only because they were fresher then and carried more authority in popular estimation, but also because the ingenuities of the understanding were then more affected and in greater request. A similar collection adapted to modern times would be well worth making.

NOTE.—In this edition, where a note is signed R., it means that such is the reading of the *Resuscitatio*, ed. 1661. The numbers within brackets are the numbers by which the several apophthegms are distinguished in that collection. The apophthegms marked † are not contained in it at all.

HIS LORDSHIP'S PREFACE [8].

JULIUS CÆSAR did write a Collection of Apophthegms, as appears in an epistle of Cicero [9]. I need say no more for the worth of a writing of that nature. It is pity his book [10] is lost: for I imagine they were collected with judgment and choice; whereas that of Plutarch and Stobæus, and much more the modern ones, draw much of the dregs. Certainly they are of excellent use. They are *mucrones verborum, pointed speeches* [11]. Cicero prettily calls them *salinas, saltpits;* that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech. They serve to be recited upon occasion of themselves. They serve if you take out the kernel of them, and make them your own. I have, for my recreation in my sickness, fanned the old [12]; not omitting any because they are vulgar, (for many vulgar ones are excellent good), nor for the meanness of the person, but because they are dull and flat; and added [13] many new, that otherwise would have died [14].

[7] I have however noted two or three cases in which he appears to have relied upon an imperfect recollection of the *Floresta española;* a circumstance which was pointed out to me by Mr. Ellis.

[8] So R. There is no heading in the original.

[9] So did Macrobius, a Consular man. R.

[10] Cæsar's book. R.

[11] *The words of the wise are as goads,* saith Solomon. (Added in R.)

[12] I have for my recreation, amongst more serious studies, collected some few of them; therein fanning the old. R.

[13] adding. R.

[14] This collection his Lp. made out of his memory, without turning any book. R. (Note in margin.)

APOPHTHEGMS NEW AND OLD.

† 1. When Queen Elizabeth had advanced Raleigh, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my Lo. of Oxford and another nobleman stood by. It fell out so, that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: My Lo. of Oxford and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered: The Queen marked it, and would needs know *What the matter was?* My Lo. of Oxford answered; *That they smiled to see that when Jacks went up Heads went down.*

2. (16.) Henry the Fourth of France his Queen was great [15] with child. Count Soissons, that had his expectation upon the crown, when it was twice or thrice thought that the Queen was with child before, said to some of his friends, *That it was but with a pillow.* This had some ways come to the King's ear; who kept it till when [16] the Queen waxed great; called [17] the Count Soissons to him, and said, laying his hand upon the Queen's belly, *Come, cousin, it is no pillow* [18]. *Yes Sir,* (answered the Count of Soissons,) [19] *it is a pillow for all France to sleep upon.*

3. (26.) There was a conference in Parliament between the Upper house and the Lower [20], about a Bill of Accountants, which came down from the Lords to the Commons; which bill prayed, that the lands of accountants, whereof they were seized when they entered upon their office, mought be liable to their arrears to the Queen. But the Commons desired that the bill mought not look back to accountants that were already, but extend only to accountants hereafter. But the Lo. Treasurer said, *Why, I pray* [21], *if you had lost your purse by the way, would you look forwards, or would you look back? The Queen hath lost her purse.*

4. (1.) Queen Elizabeth, the morrow of her coronation, went to the chapel; and in the great chamber, Sir John Rainsford, set on by wiser men, (a knight that had the liberty of a buffone,) besought the Queen aloud; *That now this good time when prisoners were delivered, four prisoners amongst the rest mought likewise have their liberty, who were like enough to be kept still in hold.* The Queen asked; *Who they were;* And he said; *Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, who had long been imprisoned in the Latin tongue; and now he desired they mought go abroad among the people in English.* The Queen answered, with a grave countenance; *It were good (Rainsford) they were spoken with themselves, to know of them whether they would be set at liberty?* [22]

5. (29.) The Lo. Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion by Queen Elizabeth of one of these Monopoly Licences. And he answered; *Will you have me speak truth, Madam? Licentiâ omnes deteriores sumus: We are all the worse for a licence* [23].

6. (206.) Pace, the bitter Fool, was not suffered to come at the Queen [24], because of his bitter humour. Yet at one time some persuaded the Queen that he

[15] young. R. [16] such time as. R. [17] Then he called. R.
[18] is this a pillow? R. [19] The C. of S. answered, Yes Sir, &c. R.
[20] between the Lords' House and the House of Commons. R.
[21] I pray you. R.
[22] Queen Elizabeth, the morrow of her coronation; (it being the custom to release prisoners at the inauguration of a prince;) went to the Chapel; and in the Great Chamber, one of her courtiers who was well known to her, either out of his own motion, or by the instigation of a wiser man, presented her with a petition; and before a great number of courtiers besought her with a loud voice; *That now this good time there might be four or five principal prisoners more released; those were the four Evangelists and the Apostle Saint Paul, who had been long shut up in an unknown tongue, as it were in prison; so as they could not converse with the common people.* The Queen answered very gravely, *That it was best first to enquire of them, whether they would be released or no.* R.
[23] for licences. R. [24] at Queen Elizabeth. R.

should come to her ; undertaking for him that he should keep compass [25]. So he was brought to her, and the Queen said : *Come on, Pace ; now we shall hear of our faults.* Saith Pace ; *I do not use to talk of that that all the town talks of.*

7. (30.) My Lo. of Essex, at the succour of Rhoan, made twenty-four knights, which at that time was a great matter [26]. Divers of those gentlemen were of weak and small means ; which when Queen Elizabeth heard, she said, *My Lo. mought have done well to have built his alms-house before he made his knights.*

† 8. A great officer in France was in danger to have lost his place ; but his wife by her suit and means making, made his peace ; whereupon a pleasant fellow said, *That he had been crushed, but that he saved himself upon his horns.*

9. (2.) Queen Anne Bullen, at the time when she was led to be beheaded in the Tower, called one of the King's privy chamber to her, and said to him, *Commend me to the King, and tell him he is* [27] *constant in his course of advancing me. From a private gentlewoman he made me a marquisse* [28] *; and from a marquisse* [28] *a queen ; and now he had left* [29] *no higher degree of earthly honour, he hath made me a martyr* [30].

10. (207.) Bishop Latimer said, in a sermon at court ; *That he heard great speech that the King was poor and many ways were propounded to make him rich : For his part he had thought of one way, which was, that they should help the King to some good office, for all his officers were rich.*

11. (122.) Cæsar Borgia, after long division between him and the Lords of Romagna, fell to accord with them. In this accord there was an article, that he should not call them at any time all together in person : The meaning was, that knowing his dangerous nature, if he meant them treason, some one mought be free to revenge the rest [31]. Nevertheless he did with such art and fair usage win their confidence, that he brought them all together to counsel at Sinigalia [32]; where he murthered them all. This act, when it was related unto Pope Alexander his father by a Cardinal, as a thing happy, but very perfidious, the Pope said, *It was they that had broke their covenant first, in coming altogether.*

12. (54.) Pope Julius the third, when he was made Pope, gave his hat unto a youth, a favourite of his, with great scandal. Whereupon at one time a Cardinal that mought be free with him, said modestly to him : *What did your Holiness see in that young man, to make him Cardinal ?* Julius answered, *What did you see in me, to make me Pope ?*

13. (55.) The same Julius, upon like occasion of speech, why he should bear so great affection to the same young man, would say ; *That he had found by astrology that it was the youth's destiny to be a great prelate ; which was impossible except himself were Pope ; And therefore that he did raise him, as the driver-on of his own fortune.*

14. (56.) Sir Thomas Moore had only daughters at the first ; and his wife did ever pray for a boy. At last he had a boy ; which after, at man's years, proved simple [33]. Sir Thomas said to his wife ; *Thou prayedst so long for a boy, that he will be a boy as long as he lives.*

15. (58.) Sir Thomas Moore, the day [34] he was beheaded, had a barber sent to him, because his hair was long, which was thought would make him more commiserable [35] with the people. The barber came to him and asked him, *whether he would be pleased to be trimmed ? In good faith, honest fellow,* (said Sir Thomas) *the King and I have a suit for my head, and till the title be cleared I will do no cost upon it.*

16. (59.) Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, a great champion of the

[25] within compass. R. [26] number. R.
[27] hath been ever. R. [28] marchioness. R.
[29] now that he hath left. R.
[30] he intends to crown my innocency with the glory of martyrdom. R.
[31] he mought [qy mought not ?] have opportunity to oppress them altogether at once. R.
[32] he used such fine art and fair carriage that he won their confidence to meet altogether in counsel at Cinigalia. R.
[33] but simple. R. [34] on the day that. R. [35] commiserated. R.

Papists [36], was wont to say of the Protestants, who ground upon the Scripture, *That they were like posts, that bring truth in their letters, and lies in their mouths.*

17. (125.) The Lacedæmonians were besieged by the Athenians in the Fort [37] of Peile; which was won, and some slain and some taken. There was one said to one of them that was taken, by way of scorn, *Were not they brave men that lost their lives at the Fort of Peile?* He answered, *Certainly a Persian arrow is much to be set by, if it can choose out a brave man.*

18. (208.) After the defeat of Cyrus the younger, Falinus was sent by the King to the Grecians, (who had for their part rather victory than otherwise), to command them to yield their arms. Which when it was denied, Falinus said to Clearchus; *Well then, the King lets you know, that if you remove from the place where you are now encamped, it is war: if you stay, it is truce. What shall I say you will do?* Clearchus answered, *It pleaseth us as it pleaseth the King. How is that?* saith Falinus. Saith Clearchus, *If we remove, war: if we stay, truce.* And so would not disclose his purpose.

19. (126.) Clodius was acquit by a corrupt jury, that had palpably taken shares of money. Before they gave up their verdict, they prayed of the Senate a guard, that they might do their consciences freely; for Clodius was a very seditious young nobleman. Whereupon all the world gave him for condemned. But acquitted he was. Catulus, the next day, seeing some of them that had acquitted him together, said to them; *What made you to ask of us a guard? Were you afraid your money should have been taken from you?*

20. (127). At the same judgment, Cicero gave in evidence upon oath: and the jury (which consisted of fifty-seven) passed against his evidence. One day in the Senate, Cicero and Clodius being in altercation, Clodius upbraided him and said; *The jury gave you no credit.* Cicero answered, *Five-and-twenty gave me credit: but there were two-and-thirty that gave you no credit, for they had their money aforehand.*

21. (80.) Many men, especially such as affect gravity, have a manner after other men's speech to shake their heads. Sir Lionel Cranfield would say [38], *That it was as men shake a bottle, to see if there were any wit in their head or no.*

† 22. Sir Thomas Moore (who was a man in all his lifetime that had an excellent vein in jesting) at the very instant of his death, having a pretty long beard, after his head was upon the block, lift it up again, and gently drew his beard aside, and said, *This hath not offended the King.*

23. (60.) Sir Thomas Moore had sent him by a suitor in the chancery two silver flagons. When they were presented by the gentleman's servant, he said to one of his men; *Have him to the cellar, and let him have of my best wine.* And turning to the servant, said, *Tell thy master, friend, if he like it, let him not spare it.*

24. (129.) Diogenes, having seen that the kingdom of Macedon, which before was contemptible and low, began to come aloft, when he died, was asked; *How he would be buried?* He answered, *With my face downward; for within a while the world will be turned upside down, and then I shall lie right.*

25. (130.) Cato the elder was wont to say, *That the Romans were like sheep: A man were better drive a flock of them than one of them.*

26. (201.) Themistocles in his lower fortune was in love with a young gentleman who scorned him. When he grew to his greatness, which was soon after, he sought to him: but Themistocles said; *We are both grown wise, but too late.*

27. Demonax the philosopher, when he died, was asked touching his burial. He answered, *Never take care for burying me, for stink will bury me.* He that asked him, said again: *Why would you have your body left to dogs and ravens to feed upon?* Demonax answered, *Why, what great hurt is it, if having sought to do good, when I lived, to men, my body do some good to beasts, when I am dead.*

28. Jack Roberts was desired by his tailor, when the reckoning grew somewhat high, to have a bill of his hand. Roberts said: *I am content, but you must let no man know it.* When the tailor brought him the bill, he tore it, as in choler,

[36] the Popish religion. R. [37] Port. R. Phyle? or Pylus?
[38] A great officer of this land would say. R.

and said to him ; *You use me not well ; you promised me nobody should know it, and here you have put in, Be it known unto all men by these presents.*

29. (131.) When Lycurgus was to reform and alter the state of Sparta, in the consultation one advised that it should be reduced to an absolute popular equality. But Lycurgus said to him : *Sir, begin it in your own house.*

† 30. Phocion the Athenian, (a man of great severity, and no ways flexible to the will of the people), one day when he spake to the people, in one part of his speech was applauded : Whereupon he turned to one of his friends and asked, *What have I said amiss ?*

† 31. Sir Walter Ralegh was wont to say of the ladies of Queen Elizabeth's privy-chamber and bed-chamber ; *That they were like witches ; they could do hurt, but they could do no good.*

32. (122.) Bion, that was an atheist, was shewed in a port-city, in a temple of Neptune, many tables or pictures of such as had in tempests made their vows to Neptune, and were saved from shipwrack ; and was asked ; *How say you now, do you not acknowledge the power of the Gods ?* But he said ; *Yes, but where are they painted that have been drowned after their vows ?*

33. (202.) Bias [39] was sailing, and there fell out a great tempest, and the mariners, that were wicked and dissolute fellows, called upon the Gods ; But Bias said to them ; *Peace*, let them not know ye are here.

† 34. Bion was wont to say ; *That Socrates, of all the lovers of Alcibiades, only held him by the ears.*

† 35. There was a minister deprived for inconformity, who said to some of his friends ; *That if they deprived him, it should cost an hundred men's lives.* The party understood it as if, being a turbulent fellow, he would have moved sedition and complained of him. Whereupon being convented and apposed upon that speech, he said; *His meaning was, that if he lost his benefice, he would practise physic ; and then he thought he should kill an hundred men in time.*

36. (61.) Michael Angelo, the famous painter, painting in the Pope's chapel the portraiture of hell and damned souls, made one of the damned souls so like a Cardinal that was his enemy, as everybody at first sight knew it : Whereupon the Cardinal complained to Pope Clement, desiring [40] it might be defaced ; Who said to him, *Why, you know very well, I have power to deliver a soul out of purgatory, but not out of hell* [41].

† 37. There was a philosopher about Tiberius, that looking into the nature of Caius, said to him ; *That he was mire mingled with blood.*

38. (209.) Alcibiades came to Pericles, and stayed a while ere he was admitted. When he came in, Pericles civilly excused it, and said ; *I was studying how to give my account.* But Alcibiades said to him ; *If you will be ruled by me, study rather how to give no account.*

39. (133.) Cicero was at dinner, where there was an ancient lady that spake of her years, and said, *She was but forty years old.* One that sat by Cicero rounded him in the ear, and said ; *She talks of forty years old, and she is far more, out of question.* Cicero answered him again ; *I must believe her, for I have heard her say so any time these ten years.*

40. (68.) Pope Adrian the sixth was talking with the Duke of Sesa ; *That Pasquil gave great scandal, and that he would have him thrown into the river.* But Sesa answered ; *Do it not (holy father) for then he will turn frog ; and whereas now he chants but by day, he will then chant both by day and night* [42].

41. (134.) There was a soldier that vaunted before Julius Cæsar of hurts he had received in his face. Julius Cæsar knowing him to be but a coward, told him ; *You were best take heed, next time you run away, how you look back.*

†42. There was a Bishop that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him ; *My lord, why do you bathe twice a day ?* The Bishop answered ; *Because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice.*

43. (210.) Mendoza that was viceroy of Peru, was wont to say ; *That the*

[39] Bion. R. [40] humbly praying. R.

[41] See Melchior (Floresta española, de apoteghmas ó sentencias, etc., 1614), I. l. 3.

[42] Melch. I. 1. 5.

government of Peru was the best place that the King of Spain gave, save that it was somewhat too near Madrid.

†44. Secretary Bourn's son kept a gentleman's wife in Shropshire, who lived from her husband with him. When he was weary of her, he caused her husband to be dealt with to take her home, and offered him five hundred pounds for reparation. The gentleman went to Sir Henry Sidney, to take his advice upon this offer; telling him; *That his wife promised now a new life; and, to tell him truth, five hundred pounds would come well with him; and besides, that sometimes he wanted a woman in his bed. By my troth,* (said Sir Henry Sidney) *take her home, and take the money; and then whereas other cuckolds wear their horns plain you may wear yours gilt.*

45. (69.) There was a gentleman in Italy that wrote to a great friend of his, upon his advancement [43] to be Cardinal; *That he was very glad of his advancement, for the Cardinal's own sake; but he was sorry that himself had lost so good a friend* [44].

†46. When Rabelais lay on his death-bed, and they gave him the extreme unction, a familiar friend of his came to him afterwards, and asked him; *How he did?* Rabelais answered; *Even going my journey, they have greased my boots already.*

47. (70.) There was a King of Hungary took a Bishop in battle, and kept him prisoner. Whereupon the Pope writ a monitory to him, for that he had broken the privilege of Holy Church, and taken his son. The King sent an embassage to him, and sent withal the armour wherein the Bishop was taken, and this only in writing, *Vide num hæc sit vestis tui* [45].

48. (135). There was a suitor to Vespasian, who to lay his suit fairer, said; *It was for his brother;* whereas indeed it was for a piece of money. Some about Vespasian, to cross him, told the Emperor, *That the party his servant spake for was not his brother; but that it was upon a bargain.* Vespasian sent for the party interested, and asked him; *Whether his mean* [46] *was his brother or no?* He durst not tell untruth to the Emperor, and confessed; *That he was not his brother.* Whereupon the Emperor said, *This do, fetch me the money, and you shall have your suit dispatched.* Which he did. The courtier, which was the mean, solicited Vespasian soon after about his suit. *Why,* (saith Vespasian,) *I gave it last day to a brother of mine.*

49. (211.) When Vespasian passed from Jewry to take upon him the empire, he went by Alexandria, where remained two famous philosophers, Apollonius and Euphrates. The Emperor heard them discourse touching matter of state, in the presence of many. And when he was weary of them, he brake off, and in a secret derision, finding their discourses but speculative, and not to be put in practice, said; *O that I might govern wise men, and wise men govern me.*

50. (212.) Cardinal Ximenes, upon a muster which was taken against the Moors, was spoken to by a servant of his to stand a little out of the smoke of the harquebuss; but he said again; *That that was his incense* [47].

51. (136.) Vespasian asked of Apollonius, *what was the cause of Nero's ruin?* who answered; *Nero could tune the harp well; but in government he did always wind up the strings too high, or let them down too low.*

†52. Mr. Bromley, Solicitor, giving in evidence for a deed which was impeached to be fraudulent, was urged by the counsel on the other side with this presumption; that in two former suits, when title was made, that deed was passed over in silence, and some other conveyance stood upon. Mr. Justice Catyline taking in with that side, asked the Solicitor, *I pray thee, Mr. Solicitor, let me ask you a familiar question; I have two geldings in my stable, and I have divers*

[43] whom the Pope had newly advanced. R.

[44] a good friend. R. Melchior (I. 2. 1.) gives this as written to Cardinal Ximenes on his being made archbishop of Toledo.

[45] *Know now whether this be thy son's coat?* (Added in R.)

[46] his mean employed by him. R.

[47] Melch. I. 2. 5. where however the occasion is said to have been not the taking a muster against the Moors, but the going to see an altar erected at Madrid, "fuera de la puerta de Moros," and being saluted by the harquebusseers.

times business of importance, and still I send forth one of my geldings, and not the other; would you not think I set him aside for a jade? No, my Lord, (saith Bromley,) *I would think you spared him for your own saddle.*

53. (45.) Alonso Cartilio was informed by his steward of the greatness of his expense, being such as he could not hold out with. The Bishop asked him *Wherein it chiefly rose?* His steward told him; *In the multitude of his servants.* The Bishop bad him make a note of those that were necessary, and those that mought be put off [48]. Which he did. And the Bishop taking occasion to read it before most of his servants, said to his steward; *Well, let these remain because I need them; and these other also because they need me.*

54. (19.) Queen Elizabeth was wont to say, upon the Commission of Sales; *That the commissioners used her like strawberry wives, that laid two or three great strawberries at the mouth of their pot, and all the rest were little ones; so they made her two or three good prices of the first particulars, but fell straightways.*

55. (20). Queen Elizabeth was wont to say of her instructions to great officers; *That they were like to garments, strait at the first putting on, but did by and by wear loose enough.*

56. (46.) Mr. Marbury the preacher would say; *that God was fain to do with wicked men, as men do with with frisking jades in a pasture, that cannot take them up, till they get them at a gate. So wicked men will not be taken up till the hour of death.*

†57. Thales, as he looked upon the stars, fell into the water; Whereupon it was after said; *That if he had looked into the water he might have seen the stars; but looking up to the stars he could not see the water.*

58. (22.) The book of deposing Richard [49] the second, and the coming in of Henry the fourth, supposed to be written by Dr. Hayward, who was committed to the Tower for it, had much incensed queen Elizabeth. And she asked Mr. Bacon, being then of her learned counsel; *Whether there were no treason contained in it?* Mr. Bacon intending to do him a pleasure, and to take off the queen's bitterness with a jest [50], answered; *No, madam, for treason I cannot deliver opinion that there is any, but very much felony.* The Queen, apprehending it gladly, asked, *How, and wherein?* Mr. Bacon answered; *Because he had stolen many of his sentences and conceits out of Cornelius Tacitus.*

59. (199.) Mr. Popham [51], when he was Speaker, and the Lower House [52] had sat long, and done in effect nothing; coming one day to Queen Elizabeth, she said to him; *Now, Mr. Speaker, what hath passed in the Lower House* [53]*?* He answered, *If it please your Majesty, seven weeks.*

60. (47.) Pope Xystus the fifth, who was a poor [54] man's son, and his father's house ill thatched, so that the sun came in in many places, would sport with his ignobility, and say; He was *nato di casa illustre: son of an illustrious house.*

61. (48.) When the King of Spain conquered Portugal, he gave special charge to his lieutenant that the soldiers should not spoil, lest he should alienate the hearts of the people. The army also suffered much scarcity of victual. Whereupon the Spanish soldiers would afterwards say; *That they had won the King a kingdom, as the kingdom of heaven useth to be won; by fasting and abstaining from that that is another man's.*

62. (108.) Cicero married his daughter to Dolabella, that held Cæsar's party: Pompey had married Julia, that was Cæsar's daughter. After, when Cæsar and Pompey took arms one against the other, and Pompey had passed the seas, and Cæsar possessed Italy, Cicero stayed somewhat long in Italy, but at last sailed over to join with Pompey; who when he came unto him, Pompey said; *You are welcome; but where left you your son-in-law?* Cicero answered; *With your father-in-law.*

☞63. (213.) Nero was wont to say of his master Seneca; *That his stile was like mortar of sand without lime.*

[48] spared. R. This is told in Melchior I. 3. 2.
[49] King Richard. R.
[50] merry conceit. R.
[51] (afterwards Lord Chief Justice Popham.) R.
[52] House of Commons. R.
[53] Commons' House. R.
[54] very poor. R.

64. (240.) Sir Henry Wotton used to say, *That critics are like brushers of noblemen's clothes.*

65. (23.) Queen Elizabeth, being to resolve upon a great officer, and being by some, that canvassed for others, put in some doubt of that person whom she meant to advance, called for Mr. Bacon, and told him, *She was like one with a lanthorn seeking a man*; and seemed unsatisfied in the choice she had of men for that place. Mr. Bacon answered her; *That he had heard that in old time there was usually painted on the church walls the Day of Doom, and God sitting in judgement, and St. Michael by him with a pair of balance*[55]; *and the soul and the good deeds in the one balance, and the faults and the evil deeds in the other; and the soul's balance went up far too light: Then was our Lady painted with a great pair of beads casting them into the light balance, to make up the weight*[56]: so (he said) *place and authority, which were in her hands to give, were like our lady's beads, which though men, through divers imperfections, were too light before, yet when they were cast in, made weight competent.*

66. (128.) Mr. Savill[57] was asked by my lord of Essex his opinion touching poets; who[58] answered my lord; *He thought*[59] *them the best writers, next to those that write*[60] *prose.*

†67. Mr. Mason of Trinity college sent his pupil to another of the fellows, to borrow a book of him; who told him; *I am loth to lend my books out of my chamber; but if it please thy tutor to come and read upon it in my chamber, he shall as long as he will.* It was winter; and some days after, the same fellow sent to Mr. Mason to borrow his bellows; but Mr. Mason said to his pupil; *I am loth to lend my bellows out of my chamber; but if thy tutor would come and blow the fire in my chamber, he shall as long as he will.*

68. (100.) Nero did cut a youth, as if he would have transformed him into a woman[61], and called him *wife.* There was a senator of Rome that said secretly to his friend; *It was pity Nero's father had not such a wife.*

69. (111.) Galba succeeded Nero, and his age being much despised, there was much licence and confusion in Rome. Whereupon a senator said in full senate; *It were better live where nothing is lawful, than where all things are lawful.*

†70. In Flanders by accident a Flemish tiler fell from the top of a house upon a Spaniard, and killed him, though he escaped himself. The next of the blood prosecuted his death with great violence against the tiler. And when he was offered pecuniary recompence, nothing would serve him but *lex talionis.* Whereupon the judge said to him; *That if he did urge that kind of sentence, it must be, that he should go up to the top of the house, and thence fall down upon the tiler.*

71. (24.) Queen Elizabeth was dilatory enough in suits, of her own nature; and the lord treasurer Burleigh, to feed her humour[62], would say to her; *Madam, you do well to let suitors stay; for I shall tell you, Bis dat, qui cito dat: If you grant them speedily, they will come again the sooner.*

72. (49.) They feigned[63] a tale of Sixtus Quintus[64], that after his death he went to hell; and the porter of hell said to him: *You have some reason to offer yourself to this place*[65]; *but yet*[66] *I have order not to receive you: you have a place of your own, purgatory; you may go thither.* So he went away and sought purgatory a great while, and could find no such place. Upon that he took heart, and went to heaven, and knocked; and St. Peter asked; *Who was there?* He said, *Sixtus Pope.* Whereunto St. Peter said, *Why do you knock? you have the keys.* Sixtus answered, *It is true; but it is so long since they were given, as I doubt the wards of the lock be altered.*

73. (50.) Charles King of Swede, a great enemy of the Jesuits, when he took

[55] balances. R.
[56] and brought down the scale. R.
[57] Sir Henry Savill. R.
[58] He. R.
[59] That he thought. R.
[60] writ. R.
[61] Nero loved a beautiful youth, whom he used viciously. R.
[62] being a wise man, and willing therein to feed her humour. R.
[63] So R. The original has "faigne."
[64] whom they called *Size-Ace.* R.
[65] because you were a wicked man. R.
[66] But yet, because you were a Pope. R.

any of their colleges, he would hang the old Jesuits, and put the young to his mines, saying; *That since they wrought so hard above ground, he would try how they could work under ground.*

74. (51.) In Chancery, one time, when the counsel of the parties set forth the boundaries of the land in question, by the plot; And the counsel of one part said, *We lie on this side, my lord;* And the counsel of the other part said, *We lie on this side:* the Lord Chancellor Hatton stood up and said, *If you lie on both sides, whom will you have me to believe.*

75. (109.) Vespasian and Titus his eldest son were both absent from Rome when the empire was cast upon him [67]. Domitian his younger son was at Rome, who took upon him the affairs; and being of a turbulent spirit, made many changes, and displaced divers officers and governors of provinces, sending them successors. So when Vespasian came to Rome, and Domitian came into his presence, Vespasian said to him; *Son, I looked when you would have sent me a successor.*

76. (71.) Sir Amice [68] Pawlet, when he saw too much haste made in any matter, was wont to say, *Stay a while, that we may make an end the sooner.*

77. (31.) The deputies of the reformed religion, after the massacre which was [69] upon St. Bartholomew's day, treated with the King and Queen-Mother, and some other of the counsel, for a peace. Both sides were agreed upon the articles. The question was, upon the security of performance [70]. After some particulars propounded and rejected, the Queen-Mother said; *Why, is not the word of a King sufficient security?* One of the deputies answered; *No, by St. Bartholomew, Madam.*

78. (12.) When the Archduke did raise his siege from Grave, the then secretary came to queen Elizabeth; and the Queen, having intelligence first [71], said to the secretary, *Wot you what? The Archduke is risen from the Grave.* He answered, *What, without the trumpet of the Archangel?* The Queen replied; *Yes, without sound of trumpet.*

† 79. Francis the first used for his pleasure sometimes to go disguised. So walking one day in the company of the Cardinal of Bourbon near Paris, he met a peasant with a new pair of shoes upon his arm. So he called him to him and said; *By our lady, these be good shoes, what did they cost thee?* The peasant said; *Guess.* The King said; *I think some five sols.* Saith the peasant; *You have lyed; but a carolois. What, villain,* (saith the Cardinal of Bourbon) *thou art dead; it is the King.* The peasant replied; *The devil take him, of you and me, that knew so much.*

80. (217.) There was a conspiracy against the Emperor Claudius by Scribonianus, examined in the senate; where Claudius sat in his chair, and one of his freed servants stood at the back of his chair. In the examination, that freed servant, who had much power with Claudius, very saucily had almost all the words: and amongst other things, he asked in scorn one of the examinates, who was likewise freed servant of Scribonianus; *I pray, sir, if Scribonianus had been Emperor what would you have done?* He answered; *I would have stood behind his chair, and held my peace.*

81. (137.) Dionysius the tyrant, after he was deposed, and brought to Corinth, kept a school. Many used to visit him: and amongst others, one, when he came in, opened his mantle and shook his clothes; thinking to give Dionysius a gentle scorn; because it was the manner to do so for them that came in to him while he was tyrant. But Dionysius said to him; *I pray thee do so rather when thou goest out, that we may see thou stealest nothing away.*

82. (241.) Hannibal said of Fabius Maximus and of Marcellus (whereof the former waited upon him, that he could make no progress; and the latter had many sharp fights with him); *that he feared Fabius like a tutor; and Marcellus like an enemy.*

83. (138.) Diogenes, one terrible frosty morning, came into the market-place

[67] Vespasian. R.
[68] Amyas. R.
[69] which was at Paris. R.
[70] for the performance. R.
[71] having first intelligence thereof. R.

and stood naked, quaking, to shew his tolerancy [72]. Many of the people came about him, pitying him. Plato passing by, and knowing he did it to be seen, said to the people, as he went by, *If you pity him indeed, leave him alone.*

84. (72.) Sackford, Master of the Requests [73] to Queen Elizabeth, had divers times moved for audience, and been put off. At last he came to the Queen in a progress, and had on a new pair of boots. When he came in, the Queen [74] said to him, *Fie sloven, thy new boots stink. Madam,* (saith he,) *it is not my new boots that stink, but it is the stale bills that I have kept so long.*

85. (218.) One was saying; *That his great grandfather and grandfather and father died at sea.* Said another that heard him; *And I were as you, I would never come at sea. Why,* (saith he,) *where did your great grandfather and grandfather and father die?* He answered; *Where but in their beds?* Saith the other; *And I were as you, I would never come in bed.*

86. (139.) Aristippus was earnest suitor to Dionysius for somewhat, who would give no ear to his suit. Aristippus fell at his feet. Then Dionysius granted it. One that stood by said afterwards to Aristippus; *You a philosopher, and to be so base as to throw yourself at the tyrant's feet to get a suit?* Aristippus answered; *The fault is not mine, but the fault is in Dionysius, that carries his ears in his feet.*

† 87. There was a young man in Rome, that was very like Augustus Cæsar. Augustus took knowledge of it, and sent for the man, and asked him; *Was your mother never at Rome?* He answered; *No, sir, but my father was.*

† 88. A physician advised his patient, that had sore eyes, that he should abstain from wine. But the patient said, *I think rather, sir, from wine and water* [75]*; for I have often marked it in blear eyes, and I have seen water come forth, but never wine.*

† 89. When Sir Thomas Moore was Lord Chancellor, he did use, at mass, to sit in the chancel; and his lady in a pew. And because the pew stood out of sight, his gentleman-usher ever after service came to the lady's pew, and said; *Madam, my Lord is gone.* So when the Chancellor's place was taken from him, the next time they went to church, Sir Thomas himself came to his lady's pew, and said; *Madam, my Lord is gone.*

90. (73.) At an act of the Commencement, the answerer gave for his question; *That an aristocracy was better than a monarchy.* The replier, who was a dissolute fellow [76], did tax him; *That being a private bred man, he would give a question of state.* The answerer said; *That the replier did much wrong the privilege of scholars; who would be much straitened if they should give questions of nothing but such things wherein they are practised.* And added; *We have heard yourself dispute of virtue, which no man will say you put much in practice.*

91. (219.) There was a dispute, whether great heads or little heads had the better wit? And one said; *It must needs be the little. For* [77] *it is a maxim, Omne majus continet in se minus.*

92. (140.) Solon, when he wept for his son's death, and one said to him; *Weeping will not help;* answered, *Alas, therefore I weep, because weeping will not help.*

93. (141.) Solon being asked; *Whether he had given the Athenians the best laws?* answered; *Yes, the best of those that they would have received.*

94. (142.) One said to Aristippus; *It is a strange thing, why should men rather give to the poor, than to philosophers.* He answered; *Because they think themselves may sooner come to be poor, than to be philosophers.*

95. (145.) Alexander used to say of his two friends, Craterus and Hephæstion: *That Hephæstion loved Alexander, and Craterus loved the King.*

96. (146.) It fell out so, that as Livia went abroad in Rome, there met her naked young men that were sporting in the streets; which Augustus was [78] about severely to punish in them; but Livia spake for them, and said, *It was no more to chaste women than so many statua's.*

[72] tolerance. R. [73] A Master of Requests. R. (omitting the name.)
[74] The Queen who loved not the smell of new leather. R.
[75] So in the original. But I think it should be *from water.* [76] man. R.
[77] For that. R. [78] went. R.

97. (75.) Alonso of Arragon was wont to say, in commendation of age, That age appeared to be best in four things: *Old wood best to burn; old wine to drink; old friends to trust; and old authors to read* [79].

98. (76.) It was said of Augustus, and afterwards the like was said of Septimius Severus, both which did infinite mischief in their beginnings, and infinite good towards their ends; *That they should either have never been born or never died.*

99. (74.) Queen Isabell [80] of Spain used to say; *Whosoever hath a good presence and a good fashion, carries letters* [81] *of recommendation.*

100. (143.) Trajan would say of the vain jealousy of princes, that seek to make away those that aspire to their succession; *That there was never King that did put to death his successor.*

101. (144.) When it was represented to Alexander, to the advantage of Antipater, who was a stern and imperious man, that he only of all his lieutenants wore no purple, but kept the Macedonian habit of black, Alexander said; *Yes, but Antipater is all purple within* [82].

102. (77.) Constantine the Great, in a kind of envy, himself being a great builder, as Trajan likewise was, would call Trajan *Wall-flower* [83]; because his name was upon so many walls.

103. (147.) Philip of Macedon was wished to banish one for speaking ill of him. But Philip said [84]; *Better he speak where we are both known, than where we are both unknown.*

† 104. A Grecian captain, advising the confederates that were united against the Lacedæmonians touching their enterprise, gave opinion that they should go directly upon Sparta, saying; *That the state of Sparta was like rivers; strong when they had run a great way, and weak towards their head.*

105. (78.) Alonso of Arragon was wont to say of himself, *That he was a great necromancer, for that he used to ask counsel of the dead:* meaning books [85].

106. (148.) Lucullus entertained Pompey in one of his magnificent houses. Pompey said, *This is a marvellous fair and stately house for the summer: but methinks it should be very cold for winter.* Lucullus answered; *Do you not think me as wise as divers fowl are, to remove with the season?* [86]

107. (149.) Plato entertained some of his friends at a dinner, and had in the chamber a bed or couch, neatly and costly furnished. Diogenes came in, and got upon the bed, and trampled upon it, and said [87]; *I trample upon the pride of Plato.* Plato mildly answered; *But with greater pride.*

† 108. One was examined upon certain scandalous words spoken against the King. He confessed them, and said; *It is true I spake them, and if the wine had not failed I had said much more.*

109. (150.) Pompey being commissioner for sending grain to Rome in time of dearth, when he came to the sea, he found it very tempestuous and dangerous, insomuch as those about him advised him by no means to embark. But Pompey said; *It is of necessity that I go, not that I live.*

† 110. Trajan would say; *That the King's exchequer was like the spleen; for when that did swell, the whole body did pine.*

† 111. Charles the Bald allowed one, whose name was Scottus, to sit at the table with him, for his pleasure. Scottus sat on the other side of the table. One time the King being merry with him, said to him; *What is there between Scot and Sot?* Scottus answered; *The table only.*

112. (79.) Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, in a famine, sold all the rich vessels and ornaments of the Church, to relieve the poor with bread; and said, *There was no reason that the dead temple of God should be sumptuously furnished, and the living temples suffer penury.*

† 113. There was a marriage made between a widow of great wealth, and a gentleman of great house that had no estate or means. Jack Roberts said;

[79] Melch. II. 1. 20. [80] Isabella. R. [81] continual letters. R.

[82] [In a note on the *De Augmentis*, B. i., Mr. Ellis points out that in this story Bacon follows Erasmus, who misunderstood it as told in Plutarch.—*Ed.*]

[83] *Parietaria*, wall-flower. R. [84] answered. R.

[85] Of books. R. [86] to change my habitation in the winter season. R.

[87] and trampled it; saying. R.

That marriage was like a black pudding ; the one brought blood, and the other brought suet and oatmeal [88].

114. (151.) Demosthenes was upbraided by Æschines, that his speeches did smell of the lamp. But Demothenes said ; *Indeed there is a great deal of difference between that that you and I do by lamp-light.*

115. (152.) Demades the orator, in his age, was talkative, and would eat hard. Antipater would say of him, *That he was like a sacrifice, that nothing was left of it but the tongue and the paunch.*

116. (242.) When King Edward the Second was amongst his torturers, who hurried him to and fro, that no man should know where he was, they set him down upon a bank ; and one time, the more to disguise his face, shaved him, and washed him with cold water of a ditch by : The King said ; *Well, yet I will have warm water for my beard.* And so shed abundance of tears.

117. (203.) The Turk [89] made an expedition into Persia, and because of the strait jaws of the mountains of Armenia, the basha's consulted which way they should get in. Says a natural fool that stood by [90] ; *Here's much ado how you should* [91] *get in ; but I hear nobody take care how you should get out.*

118. (220.) Sir Thomas Moore, when the counsel of the party pressed him for a lohger day [92], said ; *Take Saint Barnaby's day, which is the longest day in the year.* Now Saint Barnaby's day was within few days following.

119. (221.) One of the Fathers saith ; *That there is but this difference between the death of old men and young men ; that old men go to death, and death comes to young men.*

120. (154.) Philo Judæus saith ; *That the sense is like the sun ; For the sun seals up the globe of heaven, and opens the globe of earth ; so the sense doth obscure heavenly things, and reveal earthly things.*

121. (222.) Cassius, after the defeat of Crassus by the Parthians, whose weapons were chiefly arrows, fled to the city of Carras, where he durst not stay any time, doubting to be pursued and besieged. He had with him an astrologer, who said to him ; *Sir, I would not have you go hence, while the moon is in the sign of Scorpio.* Cassius answered, *I am more afraid of that of Sagittarie* [93].

122. (155.) Alexander, after the battle of Granicum, had very great offers made him by Darius. Consulting with his captains concerning them, Parmenio said ; *Sure I would accept of these offers, if I were as Alexander.* Alexander answered ; *So would I, if I were as Parmenio.*

123. (156.) Alexander was wont to say ; *He knew he was mortal* [94] *by two things ; sleep and lust.*

† 124. Augustus Cæsar was invited to supper by one of his old friends that had conversed with him in his less fortunes, and had but ordinary entertainment. Whereupon, at his going, he said ; *I did not know you and I were so familiar* [95].

125. (157.) Augustus Cæsar would say ; *That he wondered that Alexander feared he should want work, having no more* [96] *to conquer ; as if it were not as hard a matter to keep as to conquer.*

126. (158.) Antigonus, when it was told him that the enemy had such vollies of arrows that they did hide the sun, said ; *That falls out well, for it is hot weather, and we shall fight in the shade.*

127. (112.) Augustus Cæsar did write to Livia, who was over-sensible of some ill-words that had been spoken of them both : *Let it not trouble thee, my Livia, if any man speak ill of us ; for we have enough, that no man can do ill unto us.*

128. (113.) Chilon said ; *That kings' friends and favourites were like casting counters ; that sometimes stood for one, sometimes for ten, sometimes for a hundred.*

129. (114.) Theodosius, when he was pressed by a suitor, and denied him,

[88] Melch. IV. 4. 13 where the remark is attributed to a nameless Hidalgo, upon a marriage between a rich labourer's daughter and the son of a poor gentleman.

[89] Turks. R. [90] One that heard the debate said. R.

[91] Shall. R.

[92] a longer day to perform the decree. R. [93] *sagittarius.* R.

[94] knew himself to be mortal chiefly. R.

[95] Melch. VI. 8. 14. told of two squires. [96] no more worlds. R.

the suitor said; *Why, Sir, you promised it.* He answered; *I said it, but I did not promise it, if it be unjust.*

130. (200.) Agathocles, after he had taken Syracusa, the men whereof, during the siege, had in a bravery spoken of him all the villany that mought be, sold the Syracusans for slaves, and said; *Now if you use such words of me, I will tell your masters of you.*

† 131. Dionysius the elder, when he saw his son in many things very inordinate, said to him; *Did you ever know me do such things? His son answered; No, but you had not a tyrant to your father.* The father replied; *No, nor you, if you take these courses, will have a tyrant to your son.*

† 132. Callisthenes the philosopher, that followed Alexander's court, and hated the King, was asked by one; *How one should become the famousest man in the world?* and answered; *By taking away him that is.*

133. (52.) Sir Edward Coke was wont to say, when a great man came to dinner to him, and gave him no knowledge of his coming; *Well, since you sent me no word of your coming, you shall dine with me; but if I had known of your coming*[97], *I would have dined with you.*

134. (115.) The Romans, when they spake to the people, were wont to call[98] them; *Ye Romans.* When commanders in war spake to their army, they called[99] them; *My soldiers.* There was a mutiny in Cæsar's army, and somewhat the soldiers would have had, but they would not declare themselves in it; only they demanded a dimission[100] or discharge, though with no intention it should be granted; but knowing that Cæsar had at that time great need of their service, thought by that means to wrench him to their other desires. Whereupon with one cry they asked dimission[101]. But Cæsar, after silence made, said; *I for my part, ye Romans:* which admitted them[102] to be dismissed. Which voice they had no sooner heard, but they mutined again[103], and would not suffer him to go on[104] until he had called them by the name of *soldiers.* And so with that one word he appeased the sedition.

135. (116.) Cæsar would say of Sylla, for that he did resign his dictatorship; *That he*[105] *was ignorant of letters, he could not dictate.*

136. (117.) Seneca said of Cæsar; *that he did quickly sheath the sword, but never laid it off*[106].

137. (118.) Diogenes begging, as divers philosophers then used, did beg more of a prodigal man, than of the rest that were present: Whereupon one said to him; *See your baseness, that when you find a liberal mind, you will take most of*[107]. *No* (said Diogenes), *but I mean to beg of the rest again.*

138. (223.) Jason the Thessalian was wont to say; *That some things must be done unjustly, that many things may be done justly.*

139. (25.) Sir Nicholas Bacon being Keeper of the Seal[108], when Queen Elizabeth, in progress, came to his house at Redgrave[109], and said to him; *My Lord, what a little house have you gotten?* said[110], *Madam, my house is well, but it is you that have made me too great for my house.*

140. (119.) Themistocles, when an embassador from a mean state did speak great matters, said to him, *Friend, your words would require a city.*

† 141. Agesilaus, when one told him there was one did excellently counterfeit a nightingale, and would have had him hear him, said; *Why I have heard the nightingale herself.*

142. (53.) A great nobleman[111], upon the complaint of a servant of his, laid a citizen by the heels, thinking to bend him to his servant's desire. But the fellow being stubborn, the servant came to his lord, and told him; *Your lordship, I know, hath gone as far as well you may, but it works not; for yonder fellow is more*

[97] known of it in due time. R.
[98] stile. R.
[99] stiled. R.
[100] but only demanded a mission. R.
[101] mission. R.
[102] This title did actually speak them. R.
[103] mutinied. R.
[104] to go on with his speech. R.
[105] Sylla. R.
[106] did quickly shew the sword, but never leave it off. R.
[107] of him. R.
[108] who was Keeper of the Great Seal of England. R.
[109] Gorhambury. R.
[110] Answered her. R.
[111] William Earl of Pembroke. R.

perverse than before. Said my lord, *Let's forget him a while, and then he will remember himself.*

† 143. One came to a Cardinal in Rome, and told him ; *That he had brought his lordship a dainty white palfrey, but he fell lame by the way.* Saith the Cardinal to him ; *I'll tell thee what thou shalt do ; go to such a Cardinal, and such a Cardinal,* (naming him some half a dozen Cardinals,) *and tell them as much ; and so whereas by thy horse, if he had been sound, thou couldest have pleased but one, with thy lame horse thou mayest please half a dozen.*

144. (120.) Iphicrates the Athenian, in a treaty that he had with the Lacedæmonians for peace, in which question was about security for observing the same [112], said, *The Athenians would not accept of any security, except the Lacedæmonians did yield up unto them those things, whereby it mought be manifest that they could not hurt them if they would.*

† 145. Euripides would say of persons that were beautiful, and yet in some years, *In fair bodies not only the spring is pleasant, but also the autumn.*

146. (81.) After a great fight, there came to the camp of Consalvo, the great captain, a gentleman proudly horsed and armed. Diego de Mendoza asked the great captain ; *Who's this ?* Who answered ; *It is Saint Ermin, who never appears but after a storm.*[113]

† 147. There was a captain sent to an exploit by his general, with forces that were not likely to achieve the enterprize. The captain said to him ; *Sir, appoint but half so many. Why ?* (saith the general). The captain answered ; *Because it is better fewer die than more* [114].

148. (121.) They would say of the Duke of Guise, Henry, that had sold and oppignerated all his patrimony, to suffice the great donatives that he had made ; *That he was the greatest usurer of France. because all his state was in obligations* [115].

† 149. Crœsus said to Cambyses ; *That peace was better than war ; because in peace the sons did bury their fathers, but in war the fathers did bury their sons.*

150. (224.) There was a harbinger who had lodged a gentleman in a very ill room, who expostulated with him somewhat rudely ; but the harbinger carelessly said ; *You will take pleasure in it when you are out of it* [116].

† 151. There was a curst page, that his master whipt naked ; and when he had been whipt, would not put on his clothes ; and when his master bade him, said to him ; *Take them you, for they are the hangman's fees.*

152. (82.) There was one that died greatly in debt. When it was reported in some company, where divers of his creditors were, that he was dead, one began to say ; *In good faith* [117], *then he hath carried five hundred ducats of mine with him into the other world.* And another of them said ; *And two hundred of mine.* And some others spake of several sums of theirs [118]. Whereupon one that was amongst them said; *Well I see* [119] *now that though a man cannot carry any of his own with him into the other world, yet he may carry other men's* [120].

153. (83.) Francis Carvajall, that was the great captain of the rebels of Peru, had often given the chase to Diego Centeno, a principal commander of the Em-

[112] the same peace. R.

[113] the storm. R. Compare Melch. II. 3. 3. : where the story is in one respect better told. Consalvo having just disembarked, three ships were seen approaching ; "Venia delante in uno dellos un cavallero armado que se avia quedado atrás". A collection of French apophthegms gives it thus : "Le grand Capitaine Gonsalvo voiant venir un sien gentilhomme au devant de lui bien en ordre et richement armé après la journée de Serignolle ; et que les affaires estoient à seurté ; dit à la compagnie : nous ne devons desormais avoir peur de la tourmente. Car Saint Herme nous est apparu."—*Apophthegmata Græca, Latina, Italica, Gallica, Hispanica, collecta a Gerærdo Suningro. Leidensi*, 1609. [114] Melch. II. 3. 12.

[115] They would say of the Duke of Guise, Henry ; That he was the greatest usurer in France, for that he had turned all his estate into obligations ; meaning that he had sold and oppignorated all his patrimony to give large donatives to other men. R.

[116] Melch. II. 6. 2. ; differently told. [117] well, if he be gone. R.

[118] And a third spake of great sums of his. R. [119] perceive. R.

[120] into the next world, yet he may carry that which is another man's. R.

peror's party. He was afterwards taken by the Emperor's lieutenant, Gasca, and committed to the custody of Diego Centeno, who used him with all possible courtesy; insomuch as Carvajall asked him; *I pray, Sir, who are you that use me with this courtesy?* Centeno said; *Do not you know Diego Centeno?* Carvajall answered; *In good faith, Sir,*[121] *I have been so used to see your back, as I knew not your face.*

† 154. Carvajall, when he was drawn to execution, being fourscore and five years old, and laid upon the hurdle, said; *What? young in cradle, old in cradle?*

155. (84.) There is a Spanish adage, [122] *Love without end* [123] *hath no end:* meaning, that if it were begun not upon particular ends it would last.

156. (159.) Cato the elder, being aged, buried his wife, and married a young woman. His son came to him, and said; *Sir, what have I offended you, that you have brought a step-mother into your house?* The old man answered; *Nay, quite contrary, son; thou pleasest me so well, as I would be glad to have more such.*

157. (160.) Crassus the orator had a fish, which the Romans called [124] *Muræna*, that he had made very tame and fond of him. The fish died, and Crassus wept for it. One day falling in contention with Domitius in the senate, Domitius said; *Foolis Crassus, you wept for your Muræna.* Crassus replied; *That's more than you did for both your wives.*

158. (161.) Philip, Alexander's father, gave sentence against a prisoner, what time he was drowsy, and seemed to give small attention. The prisoner, after sentence was pronounced, said; *I appeal.* The King somewhat stirred, said; *To whom do you appeal?* The prisoner answered; *From Philip when he gave no ear, to Philip when he shall give ear.*

159. (204.) The same Philip [125] maintained argument with a musician, in points of his art, somewhat peremptorily. But the musician said to him; *God forbid, Sir, your fortune were so hard that you should know these things better than I* [126].

160. (162.) There was a philosopher that disputed with Adrian the Emperor, and did it but weakly. One of his friends that had been by, afterwards said to him; *Methinks you were not like yourself, last day, in argument with the Emperor; I could have answered better myself. Why,* said the philosopher, *would you have me contend with him that commands thirty legions?*

† 161. Diogenes was asked in a kind of scorn; *What was the matter, that philosophers haunted rich men, and not rich men philosophers?* He answered; *Because the one knew what they wanted, the other did not.*

† 162. Demetrius, King of Macedon, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and still answered; *He had no leisure. Whereupon the woman said aloud; Why then give over to be King.*

163. (225.) The same Demetrius [127] would at times retire himself from business, and give himself wholly to pleasures. One day of those his retirings [128], giving out that he was sick, his father Antigonus came on the sudden to visit him, and met a fair dainty youth coming out of his chamber. When Antigonus came in, Demetrius said; *Sir, the fever left me right now.* Antigonus replied, *I think it was he that I met at the door.*

164. (85.) There was a merchant far in debt that died [129]. His goods and household stuff were set forth to sale. There was one that bought only a pillow, and said [130]; *This pillow sure is good to sleep upon, since he could sleep that owed so many debts* [131].

165. (86.) A lover met his lady in a close chair, she thinking to go [132] unknown. He came and spake to her. She asked him; *How did you know me?* He said; *Because my wounds bleed afresh.* Alluding to the common tradition, that the

[121] Truly, Sir. R. [122] Gondomar would say. R. [123] ends. R.
[124] call. R. [125] Philip King of Macedon. R.
[126] myself. R. [127] Demetrius King of Macedon. R. [128] One of those his retirings.
[129] There was a merchant died, that was very far in debt. R.
[130] A stranger would needs buy a pillow there, saying. R.
[131] The saying is attributed by Macrobius to Augustus Cæsar; and quoted in Erasmus's collection, No. 31. [132] to have gone. R.

wounds of a body slain, in the presence of him that killed him, will bleed afresh [133].

166. (87.) A gentleman brought music to his lady's window, who [134] hated him and had warned him oft away; and when he persisted [135], she threw stones at him. Whereupon a friend of his that was in his company, said to him [136]; *What greater honour can you have to your music, than that stones come about you, as they did to Orpheus?*

167. (226.) Cato Major would say; *That wise men learned more by fools, than fools by wise men.*

168. (227.) When it was said to Anaxagoras; *The Athenians have condemned you to die:* he said again; *And nature them.*

† 169. Demosthenes when he fled from the battle, and that it was reproached to him, said; *That he that flies mought fight again.*

170. (205.) Antalcidas, when an Athenian said to him; *Ye Spartans are unlearned;* said again; *True, for we have learned no evil nor vice of you.*

171. (228.) Alexander, when his father wished him to run for the prize of the race at the Olympian games, (for he was very swift,) said; *He would, if he might run with kings.*

172. (163.) When Alexander passed into Asia, he gave large donatives to his captains, and other principal men of virtue; insomuch as Parmenio asked him; *Sir, what do you keep for yourself?* He answered; *Hope.*

173. (229.) Antigonus used oft to go disguised, and listen at the tents of his soldiers: and at a time heard some that spoke very ill of him. Whereupon he opened the tent a little, and said to them; *If you will speak ill of me, you should go a little further off.*

174. (164.) Vespasian set a tribute upon urine. Titus his son emboldened himself to speak to his father of it: and represented it as a thing indign and sordid. Vespasian said nothing for the time; but a while after, when it was forgotten, sent for a piece of silver out of the tribute money, and called to his son, bidding him smell to it; and asked him; *Whether he found any offence?* Who said, *No. Why lo* [137], (saith Vespasian again), *and yet this comes out of urine.*

† 175. There were two gentlemen, otherwise of equal degree, save that the one was of the ancienter house [138]. The other in courtesy asked his hand to kiss: which he gave him; and he kissed it; but said withal, to right himself, by way of friendship; *Well, I and you, against any two of them:* putting himself first.

176. (165.) Nerva the Emperor succeeded Domitian, who was tyrannical; so as [139] in his time many noble houses were overthrown by false accusations; the instruments whereof were chiefly Marcellus and Regulus. The Emperor [140] one night supped privately with some six or seven: amongst which there was one that was a dangerous man, and began to take the like courses as Marcellus and Regulus had done. The Emperor fell into discourse of the injustice and tyranny of the former time, and by name of the two accusers; and said; *What should we do with them, if we had them now?* One of them that were [141] at supper, and was a free-spoken senator, said; *Marry, they should sup with us.*

[133] that the wounds of a body slain will bleed afresh upon the approach of the murtherer. R. [134] She. R. [135] would not desist. R.
[136] a gentleman said unto him, that was in his company. R. [137] Why so. R.
[138] According to Melchior's version (VI. 6. 4.) *mas anciano*: the older man.
[139] who had been tyrannical; and. R. [140] The Emperor Nerva. R.
[141] was. R. This variation (which is obviously wrong), coupled with others of the same kind, makes me suspect that the text of the edition of 1661 has suffered from a correcting editor. It may be that he had no choice: for the collection may have been made up from a rough imperfect or illegible copy, containing passages which could only be supplied by conjecture. But it strikes me that very few of these different readings are such as Bacon himself would have thought improvements. In this case the history of the change may be easily divined. "One of them that *were* at supper, and *was* a free-spoken senator," struck the editor as an incorrect sentence: *were* and *was* could not both

177. (166.) There was one that found a great mass of money, digged under ground in his grandfather's house. And being somewhat doubtful of the case, signified it to the Emperor that he had found such treasure. The Emperor made a rescript thus; *Use it.* He writ back again, that the sum was greater than his estate or condition could use. The Emperor writ a new rescript thus: *Abuse it.*

178. (198.) A Spaniard was censuring to a French gentleman the want of devotion amongst the French; in that, whereas in Spain, when the Sacrament goes to the sick, any that meets with it turns back and waits upon it to the house whither it goes; but in France they only do reverence, and pass by. But the French gentleman answered him; *There is reason for it; for here with us Christ is secure amongst his friends; but in Spain there be so many Jews and Maranos, that it is not amiss for him to have a convoy.*

179. (88.) Coranus the Spaniard, at a table at dinner, fell into an extolling of his own father, and said; *If he could have wished of God, he would not have chosen amongst men a better father.* Sir Henry Savill said, *What, not Abraham?* Now Coranus was doubted to descend of a race of Jews.

180. (98.) Consalvo would say; *The honour of a soldier ought to be of a good strong web;* meaning, that it should not be so fine and curious, that every little disgrace should [142] catch and stick in it.

181. (243.) One of the Seven was wont to say; *That laws were like cobwebs; where the small flies were caught, and the great brake through.*

† 182. Bias gave in precept; *Love as if you should hereafter hate; and hate as if you should hereafter love.*

183. (169.) Aristippus being reprehended of luxury by one that was not rich, for that he gave six crowns for a small fish, answered; *Why what would you have given?* The other said; *Some twelve pence.* Aristippus said again; *And six crowns is no more with me.*

184. (32.) There was a French gentleman speaking with an English, of the law Salique; that women were excluded to inherit [143] the crown of France. The English said; *Yes, but that was meant of the women themselves, not of such males as claimed by women.* The French gentleman said; *Where do you find that gloss?* The English answered; *I'll tell you, Sir: look on the backside of the record of the law Salique, and there you shall find it indorsed:* meaning [144] there was no such thing at all as the law Salique, but that it was a fiction [145].

185. (33.) There was a friar in earnest dispute [146] about the law Salique, that would needs prove it by Scripture; citing that verse of the Gospel; *Lilia agri non laborant neque nent: which is as much as to say* (saith he) *that* [147] the *flower-de-luces of France cannot descend neither to distaff nor spade: that is, not to a woman, nor to a peasant.*

186. (167.) Julius Cæsar, as he passed by, was by exclamation of some that were suborned called [148] *King*, to try how the people would take it. The people shewed great murmur and distaste at it. Cæsar, finding where the wind stood, slighted it, and said; *I am not King, but Cæsar;* as if they had mistook [149] his name. For *Rex* was a surname amongst the Romans as *King* is with us.

187. (168.) When Crœsus, for his glory, shewed Solon great treasure [150] of gold, Solon said to him; *If another come* [151] *that hath better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.*

188. (99.) There was a gentleman that came to the tilt all in orange-tawny, and ran very ill. The next day he came [152] all in green, and ran worse. There was

be right; and as "*a* senator" could not be plural, *were* must be replaced by *was*. Unfortunately, in attending to the grammar without attending to the sense, he in effect puts the remark into the mouth of the very person at whom it was aimed. He should have let *were* stand, and put *who* for *and*.

[142] as for every small disgrace to. R.
[143] from inheriting. R. [144] implying. R. [145] is a mere fiction. R.
[146] A friar of France being in an earnest dispute. R.
[147] *The lilies of the field do neither labour nor spin*: applying it thus, that. R.
[148] of some that stood in the way, termed. R. [149] mistaken.
[150] his great treasures. R. [151] if another KING come. [152] came again. R.

one of the lookers-on asked another ; *What's the reason that this gentleman changeth his colours ?* The other answered ; *Sure, because it may be reported that the gentleman in the green ran worse than the gentleman in the orange-tawny.*

189. (230.) Aristippus said ; *That those that studied particular sciences, and neglected philosophy, were like Penelope's wooers, that made love to the waiting women* [153].

190. (170.) Plato reproved [154] severely a young man for entering into a dissolute house. The young man said to him ; *What,*[155] *for so small a matter ?* Plato replied ; *But custom is no small matter.*

191. (190.) There was a law made by the Romans against the bribery and extortion of the governors of provinces. Cicero saith, in a speech of his to the people ; *That he thought the provinces would petition to the state of Rome to have that law repealed. For* (saith he) *before the governors did bribe and extort as much as was sufficient for themselves ; but now they bribe and extort as much as may be enough not only for themselves, but for the judges and jurors and magistrates.*

192. (171.) Archidamus King of Lacedæmon, having received from Philip King of Macedon, after Philip had won the victory of Chæronea upon the Athenians, proud letters, writ back to him ; *That if he measured his own shadow, he would find it no longer than it was before his victory.*

193. (172.) Pyrrhus, when his friends congratulated to him his victory over the Romans, under the conduct of Fabricius, but with great slaughter of his own side, said to them again ; *Yes, but if we have such another victory, we are undone.*

194. (173.) Cineas was an excellent orator and statesman, and principal friend and counsellor to Pyrrhus ; and falling in inward talk with him, and discerning the King's endless ambition [156], Pyrrhus opened himself to him ; *That he intended first a war upon Italy* [157], *and hoped to atchieve it.* Cineas asked him ; *Sir, what will you do then ? Then* (saith he) *we will attempt Sicily* [158]. Cineas said ; *Well, Sir, what then ? Then* (saith Pyrrhus) *if the Gods favour* [159] *us, we may conquer Africk and Carthage* [160]. *What then, Sir ?* saith Cineas. *Nay then* (saith Pyrrhus) *we may take our rest, and sacrifice and feast every day, and make merry with our friends. Alas, Sir,* (said Cineas) *may we not do so now, without all this ado ?*

195. (231.) The embassadors of Asia Minor came to Antonius, after he had imposed upon them a double tax, and said plainly to him ; *That if he would have two tributes in one year, he must give them two seed-times and two harvests.*

196. (174.) Plato was wont to say of his master Socrates ; *That he was like the apothecaries' gally-pots ; that had on the outside apes, and owls, and satyrs ; but within precious drugs* [161].

† 197. Lamia the courtezan had all power with Demetrius King of Macedon ; and by her instigations he did many unjust and cruel acts. Whereupon Lysimachus said ; *That it was the first time that ever he knew a whore play in a tragedy.*

† 198. Themistocles would say of himself ; *That he was like a plane-tree, that in tempests men fled to him, and in fair weather men were ever cropping his leaves.*

† 199. Themistocles said of speech ; *That it was like arras, that spread abroad shews fair images, but contracted is but like packs.*

200. (90.) Brisquet [162], jester to Francis the first of France, did keep a calendar of fools, wherewith he did use to make the King sport ; telling him ever the reason why he put every one [163] into his calendar. So when Charles the fifth passed, upon confidence of the noble nature of Francis, thorough France, for the appeasing of the rebellion of Gaunt, Brisquet put him into his calendar. The King asking the cause, he said [164] ; *Because you having suffered at the hands of Charles the*

[153] woman. R. [154] reprehended. R. [155] why do you reprehend so sharply. R. [156] when Pyrrhus. R. [157] Sicily R. [158] Italy and Rome. R. [159] succour. R. [160] we may conquer the kingdom of Carthage. R. Compare Erasmus's version of this anecdote (*V. Pyrrh.* 24), from which it seems to be compressed : where the order of the proposed conquests is Rome, Italy, Sicily, Libya, and Carthage, Macedonia and Greece.

[161] See p. 52. [162] Bresquet. R. [163] any one. R.

[164] asked him the cause ? He answered. R.

greatest bitterness that ever prince did from other [165], *he would trust his person into your hands. Why, Brisquet,* (said the King) *what wilt thou say, if thou seest him pass* [166] *in as great safety as if it were* [167] *thorough the midst of Spain ?* Saith Brisquet ; *Why then I will put out him, and put in you* [168].

201. (245.) Lewis the eleventh of France, having much abated the greatness and power of the Peers, Nobility, and Court of Parliament, would say ; *That he had brought the Crown out of ward.*

202. (57.) Sir Fulke Grevill [169], in Parliament when the Lower House in a great business of the Queen's [170], stood much upon precedents, said unto them ; *Why should you stand so much upon precedents ? The times hereafter will be good or bad : If good, precedents will do no harm ; if bad, power will make a way where it finds none.*

203. (34.) When peace was renewed with the French in England, divers of the great counsellors were presented from the French with jewels. The Lord Henry Howard [171] was omitted. Whereupon the King said to him ; *My Lord, how haps it that you have not a jewel as well as the rest ?* My Lord answered again, (alluding [172] to the fable in Æsop) ; *Non sum Gallus, itaque non reperi gemmam.*

204. (232.) An orator of Athens said to Demosthenes ; *The Athenians will kill you, if they wax mad.* Demosthenes replied, *And they will kill you, if they be in good sense.*

205. (175.) Alexander sent to Phocion a great present of money. Phocion said to the messenger ; *Why doth the King send to me and to none else ?* The messenger answered ; *Because he takes you to be the only good man in Athens.* Phocion replied ; *If he thinks so, pray let him suffer me to be good still* [173].

206. (92.) Cosmus duke of Florence was wont to say of perfidious friends ; *That we read that we ought to forgive our enemies ; but we do not read that we ought to forgive our friends.*

207. (102.) Æneas Sylvius, that was Pius Secundus [174], was wont to say ; *That the former Popes did wisely to set the lawyers on work* [175] *to debate, whether the donation of Constantine the Great to Sylvester* [176] *were good and valid in law or no ? the better to skip over the matter in fact, whether there were* [177] *any such thing at all or no ?*

208. (176.) At a banquet, where those that were called the Seven Wise Men of Greece were invited by the embassador of a barbarous King, the embassador related, That there was a neighbour King, mightier than his master, picked quarrels with him, by making impossible demands, otherwise threatening war ; and now at that present had demanded of him to drink up the sea. Whereunto one of the Wise Men said ; *I would have him undertake it. Why* (saith the embassador) *how shall he come off ? Thus* (saith the Wise Man) : *Let that King first stop the rivers that run into the sea, which are no part of the bargain, and then your master will perform it.*

209. (177.) At the same banquet, the embassador desired the Seven, and some other wise men that were at the banquet, to deliver every one of them some sentence or parable, that he mought report to his King the wisdom of Græcia. Which they did. Only one was silent. Which the embassador perceiving, said to him ; *Sir, let it not displease you, why do not you say somewhat that I may report ?* He answered, *Report to your lord, that there are of the Grecians that can hold their peace.*

† 210. One of the Romans said to his friend ; *What think you of such an one as was taken with the manner in adultery ?* The other answered ; *Marry, I think he was slow at dispatch.*

† 211. Lycurgus would say of divers of the heroes of the heathen ; *That he*

[165] another, nevertheless. R. [166] pass back. R. [167] he marched. R.
[168] Compare Melch. I. 3. 1., where a different story with a similar point is told of Alonso Carrillo and one of his servants. [169] afterward Lord Brooke. R.
[170] when the House of Commons in a great business stood, etc. R.
[171] being then Earl of Northampton and a Counsellor. R.
[172] answered, according to, etc. R. [173] to be so still. R.
[174] Pope Pius Secundus. R. [175] awork. R.
[176] of St. Peter's patrimony. R. [177] was ever. R.

wondered that men should mourn upon their days for them as mortal men, and yet sacrifice to them as gods.

212. (93.) A Papist being opposed by a Protestant, that they had no Scripture for images, answered; *Yes; for you read that the people laid their sick in the streets, that the shadow of Saint Peter mought come upon them; and that a shadow was an image; and the obscurest of images* [178].

† 213. There is an ecclesiastical writer of the Papists, to prove antiquity of confession in the form that it now is, doth note that in very ancient times, even in the primitive times, amongst other foul slanders spread against the Christians, one was; *That they did adore the genitories of their priests. Which* (he saith) *grew from the posture of the confessant and the priest in confession: which is, that the confessant kneels down, before the priest sitting in a raised chair above him.*

† 214. Epaminondas, when his great friend and colleague in war was suitor to him to pardon an offender, denied him. Afterwards, when a concubine of his made the same suit, he granted it to her; which when Pelopidas seemed to take unkindly, he said; *Such suits are to be granted to whores, but not to personages of worth.*

215. (178.) The Lacedæmonians had in custom to speak very short. Which, being in empire [179], they mought do at pleasure. But after their defeat at Leuctra, in an assembly of the Grecians, they made a long invective against Epaminondas; who stood up, and said no more but this; *I am glad we have taught you to speak long.*

† 216. Fabricius, in conference with Pyrrhus, was tempted to revolt to him; Pyrrhus telling him, that he should be partner of his fortunes, and second person to him. But Fabricius answered, in a scorn, to such a motion; *Sir, that would not be good for yourself: for if the Epirotes once knew me, they will rather desire to be governed by me than by you.*

217. (179.) Fabius Maximus being resolved to draw the war in length, still waited upon Hannibal's progress to curb him; and for that purpose he encamped upon the high grounds. But Terentius his colleague fought with Hannibal, and was in great peril of overthrow. But then Fabius came down [180] the high grounds, and got the day: Whereupon Hannibal said; *That he did ever think that that same cloud that hanged upon the hills, would at one time or other give a tempest.*

218. (246.) There was a cowardly Spanish soldier, that in a defeat the Moors gave, ran away with the foremost. Afterwards, when the army generally fled, this soldier was missing. Whereupon it was said by some, that he was slain. *No, sure* (saith one), *he is alive; for the Moors eat no hare's flesh* [181].

219. (180.) Hanno the Carthaginian was sent commissioner by the state, after the second Carthaginian war, to Rome [182], to supplicate for peace, and in the end obtained it. Yet one of the sharper senators said; *You have often broken with us the peaces whereunto you have been sworn; I pray by what Gods will you swear?* Hanno answered; *By the same Gods that have punished the former perjury so severely.*

† 220. Thales being asked when a man should marry, said; *Young men not yet, old men not at all.*

† 221. Thales said; *That life and death were all one.* One that was present asked him; *Why do not you die then?* Thales said again; *Because they are all one.*

222. (181.) Cæsar after first he had [183] possessed Rome, Pompey being fled, offered to enter the sacred treasury to take the moneys that were there stored. Metellus, tribune of the people, did forbid him. And when Metellus was violent in it, and would not desist, Cæsar turned to him, and said; *Presume no further, or I will lay you dead.* And when Metellus was with those words somewhat astonished, Cæsar added; *Young man, it had been easier for me to do this than to speak it.*

† 223. An Ægyptian priest having conference with Solon, said to him; *You Grecians are ever children; you have no knowledge of antiquity, nor antiquity of knowledge.*

[178] of all images. R.
[179] being an empire. R.
[180] down from. R.
[181] Melch. II. 3. 21.
[182] R. omits "to Rome."
[183] when he had first. R.

224. (14.) The counsel did make remonstrance unto Queen Elizabeth of the continual conspiracies against her life; and namely of a late one: and shewed her a rapier, taken from a conspirator, that had a false chape, being of brown paper, but gilt over, as it could not be known from a chape of metal; which was devised to the end that without drawing the rapier mought give a stab; and upon this occasion advised her [184] that she should go less abroad to take the air, weakly accompanied, as she used. But the Queen answered; *That she had rather be dead, than put in custody.*

225. (194.) Chilon would say, *That gold was tried with the touch-stone, and men with gold.*

226. (101.) Zelim was the first of the Ottomans that did shave his beard, whereas his predecessors wore it long. One of his Basha's asked him; *Why he altered the custom of his predecessors?* He answered; *Because you Basha's shall not lead me by the beard, as you did them.*

† 227. Diogenes was one day in the market-place, with a candle in his hand; and being asked; *What he sought?* he said; *He sought a man.*

† 228. Bias being asked; *How a man should order his life?* answered; *As if a man should live long, or die quickly.*

† 229. Queen Elizabeth was entertained by my Lord Burleigh at Theobalds: and at her going away, my Lord obtained of the Queen to make seven knights. They were gentlemen of the country, of my Lord's friends and neighbours. They were placed in a rank, as the Queen should pass by the hall; and to win antiquity of knighthood, in order, as my Lord favoured; though indeed the more principal gentlemen were placed lowest. The Queen was told of it, and said nothing; but when she went along, she passed them all by, as far as the screen, as if she had forgot it; and when she came to the screen, she seemed to take herself with the manner, and said; *I had almost forgot what I promised.* With that she turned back, and knighted the lowest first, and so upward. Whereupon Mr. Stanhope, of the privy-chamber, a while after told her: *Your Majesty was too fine for my Lord Burleigh.* She answered; *I have but fulfilled the Scripture; The first shall be last, and the last first.*

230. (195.) Simonides being asked of Hiero; *What he thought of God?* asked a seven-night's time to consider of it. And at the seven-night's end he asked a fortnight's time. At the fortnight's end, a month. At which Hiero marvelling, Simonides answered; *That the longer he thought on it* [185], *the more difficult he found it.*

231. (248.) Anacharsis would say concerning the popular estates of Græcia; *That he wondered how at Athens wise men did propose, and fools did dispose.*

† 232. Solon compared the people unto the sea, and orators to the winds: *For that the sea would be calm and quiet, if the winds did not trouble it.*

233. (197.) Socrates was pronounced by the oracle of Delphos to be the wisest man of Greece; which he would put from himself, ironically [186] saying; *There could be nothing in him* [187] *to verify the oracle, except this; that he was not wise, and knew it; and others were not wise, and knew it not.*

234. (238.) Cato the elder, what time many of the Romans had statua's erected in their honour, was asked by one in a kind of wonder; *Why he had none?* and answered; *He had much rather men should ask and wonder why he had no statua, than why he had a statua.*

† 235. Sir Fulke Grevill had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good; yet he would say merrily of himself; *That he was like Robin Goodfellow; For when the maids spilt the milkpans, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin; So what tales the ladies about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him.*

236. (196.) Socrates, when there was shewed him [188] the book of Heraclitus the

[184] and namely, that a man was lately taken who stood ready in a very dangerous and suspicious manner to do the deed: and they shewed her the weapon wherewith he thought to have acted it, and therefore they advised her, etc. R.

[185] thought upon the matter. R.

[186] put from himself in modesty. R.

[187] in himself. R.

[188] unto him. R.

Obscure and was asked his opinion of it, answered ; *Those things that I understood were excellent ; I imagine, so were those that I understood not ; but they require a diver of Delos.*

† 237. Bion asked an envious man that was very sad ; *What harm had befallen to him, or what good had befallen to another man ?*

† 238. Stilpo the philosopher, when the people flocked about him, and that one said to him ; *The people come wondering about you, as if it were to see some strange beast. No,* (saith he) *it is to see a man which Diogenes sought with his lanthorn.*

239. (184.) Antisthenes being asked of one ; *What learning was most necessary for man's life ?* answered ; *To unlearn that which is naught.*

† 240. There was a politic sermon, that had no divinity in it, was preached before the King. The King, as he came forth, said to Bishop Andrews ; *Call you this a sermon ?* The Bishop [189] answered ; *And it please your Majesty, by a charitable construction, it may be a sermon.*

241. (103.) Bishop Andrews was asked at the first coming over of the Bishop [190] of Spalato ; *Whether he were a Protestant or no ?* He answered ; *Truly I know not, but he is a Detestant, of divers opinions of Rome* [191].

242. (162.) Caius Marius was general of the Romans against the Cimbers, who came with such a sea of multitude [192] upon Italy. In the fight, there was a band of the Cadurcians, of a thousand, that did notable service. Whereupon, after the fight, Marius did denizen them all for citizens of Rome, though there was no law to warrant it. One of his friends did represent [193] it unto him, that he had transgressed the law, because that privilege was not to be granted but by the people. Whereto Marius answered ; *That for the noise of arms he could not hear the laws.*

243. (105.) Æneas Sylvius would say ; *That the christian faith and law, though it had not been confirmed by miracles, yet was worthy to be received for the honesty thereof.*

† 244. Henry Noel would say ; *That courtiers were like fasting-days ; They were next the holydays, but in themselves they were the most meagre days of the week.*

245. (106.) Mr. Bacon would say ; *That it was in business, as it is commonly* [194] *in ways ; that the next way is commonly the foulest, and that if a man will go the fairest way, he must go somewhat about.*

246. (215.) Augustus Cæsar, out of great indignation against his two daughters, and Posthumus Agrippa, his grandchild, whereof the first two were infamous, and the last otherwise unworthy, would say ; *That they were not his seed, but some imposthumes that had broken from him.*

† 247. Cato said ; *The best way to keep good acts in memory, was to refresh them with new.*

248. (183.) Pompey did consummate the war against Sertorius, when Metellus had brought the enemy somewhat low. He did also consummate the war against the fugitives, whom Crassus had before defeated in a great battle. So when Lucullus had had great and glorious victories against Mithridates and Tigranes, yet Pompey, by means his friends made, was sent to put an end to that war. Whereupon Lucullus, taking indignation, as a disgrace offered to himself, said ; *That Pompey was a carrion crow, that when others had stricken down bodies, he came to prey upon them* [195].

249. (186.) Diogenes, when mice came about him as he was eating, said ; *I see that even Diogenes nourisheth parasites.*

250. (233.) Epictetus used to say ; *That one of the vulgar, in any ill that happens to him, blames others ; a novice in philosophy blames himself ; and a philosopher blames neither the one nor the other.*

251. (187.) Hiero visited by Pythagoras, asked him ; *Of what condition he was ?* Pythagoras answered ; *Sir, I know you have been at the Olympian games. Yes,* saith Hiero. *Thither* (saith Pythagoras) *come some to win the prizes. Some come*

[189] The Lord Bishop. R. [190] Archbishop. R.
[191] *but I think he is a Detestant* : That was, of most of the opinions of Rome. R.
[192] such a sea of people. R. [193] present. R. [194] frequently. R.
[195] then Pompey came and preyed upon them. R.

to sell their merchandize, because it is a kind of mart of all Greece. Some come to meet their friends, and make merry, because of the great confluence of all sorts. Others come only to look on. I am one of them that come to look on. Meaning it of philosophy, and the contemplative life.

252. (107.) Mr. Bettenham [196] used to say; *That riches were like muck; when it lay upon an heap, it gave but a stench and ill odour; but when it was spread upon the ground, then it was cause of much fruit.*

253. (96.) The same Mr. Bettenham said; *That virtuous men were like some herbs and spices, that give not* [197] *their sweet smell, till they be broken and crushed.*

254. (98.) There was a painter became a physician. Whereupon one said to him; *You have done well; for before the faults of your work were seen, but now they are unseen* [198].

255. (189.) One of the philosophers was asked; *What a wise man differed from a fool?* He answered; *Send them both naked to those that know them not, and you shall perceive.*

256. (234.) Cæsar in his book that he made against Cato (which is lost) did write, to shew the force of opinion and reverence of a man that had once obtained a popular reputation; *That there were some that found Cato drunk, and they were ashamed instead of Cato.*

257. (191.) Aristippus, sailing in a tempest, shewed signs of fear. One of the seamen said to him, in an insulting manner; *We that are plebeians are not troubled; you, that are a philosopher, are afraid.* Aristippus answered; *There is not the like wager upon it, for me to perish and you* [199].

258. (192.) There was an orator that defended a cause of Aristippus, and prevailed. Afterwards he asked Aristippus; *Now, in your distress, what did Socrates do you good?* Aristippus answered; *Thus; in making true that good which you said of me* [200].

† 259. Aristippus said; *He took money of his friends, not so much to use it himself, as to teach them how to bestow their money.*

† 260. A strumpet said to Aristippus; *That she was with child by him.* He answered; *You know that no more, than if you went through a hedge of thorns, you could say, This thorn pricked me.*

261. (15.) The Lady Paget, that was very private with Queen Elizabeth, declared herself much against her match [201] with Monsieur. After Monsieur's death, the Queen took extreme grief (at least as she made shew), and kept [202] within her bed-chamber and one antechamber for three weeks space, in token of mourning. At last she came forth into her privy chamber, and admitted her ladies to have access unto her; and amongst the rest my lady Paget presented herself, and came to her with a smiling countenance. The Queen bent her brows, and seemed to be highly displeased, and said to her; *Madam, you are not ignorant of my extreme grief, and do you come to me with a countenance of joy?* My Lady Paget answered; *Alas, and it please your Majesty, it is impossible for me to be absent from you three weeks, but that when I see you I must look cheerfully. No, no,* (said the Queen, not forgetting her former averseness from [203] the match), *you have some other conceit in it; tell me plainly.* My lady answered; *I must obey you. It is this. I was thinking how happy your Majesty was, in that you married not Monsieur; for seeing you take such thought for his death, being but your friend, if it had been your husband, sure it would have cost you your life.*

262. (94.) Sir Edward Dyer, a grave and wise gentleman, did much believe in Kelley the alchymist; that he did indeed the work, and made gold: insomuch as he went himself into Germany, where Kelley then was, to inform himself fully thereof. After his return, he dined with my Lord of Canterbury, where at that time was at the table Dr. Browne, the physician. They fell in talk of Kelley.

[196] Reader of Gray's Inn. R. [197] give not out. R.

[198] Compare Melch. IV. 7. 5, where the remark is represented more gracefully as made by the painter himself.

[199] for you to perish and for me. R.

[200] in making that which you said of me to be true. R.

[201] the match. R. [202] kept in. R. [203] to. R.

Sir Edward Dyer, turning to the Archbishop, said ; *I do assure your Grace, that that I shall tell you is truth. I am an eye-witness thereof, and if I had not seen it, I should not have believed it. I saw Master Kelley put of the base metal into the crucible, and after it was set a little upon the fire, and a very small quantity of the medicine put in, and stirred with a stick of wood, it came forth in great proportion perfect gold, to the touch, to the hammer, to the test.* Said the Bishop [204] ; *You had need take heed what you say, Sir Edward Dyer, for here is an infidel at the board.* Sir Edward Dyer said again pleasantly ; *I would have looked for an infidel sooner in any place than at your Grace's table. What say you, Dr. Browne ?* saith the Bishop [205]. Dr. Browne answered, after his blunt and huddling manner, *The gentleman hath spoken enough for me. Why* (saith the Bishop [206]), *what hath he said ? Marry,* (saith Dr. Browne) *he said he would not have believed it except he had seen it ; and no more will I.*

† 263. Democritus said ; *That truth did lie in profound pits, and when it was got, it needed much refining.*

264. (95.) Doctor Johnson said ; *That in sickness there were three things that were material ; the physician, the disease, and the patient. And if any two of these joined, then they have* [207] *the victory. For, Ne Hercules quidem contra duos. If the physician and the patient join, then down goes the disease ; for the patient recovers. If the physician and the disease join, then down goes the patient ; that is where the physician mistakes the cure* [208]. *If the patient and the disease join, then down goes the physician ; for he is discredited.*

265. (185.) Alexander visited Diogenes in his tub. And when he asked him ; *What he would desire of him ?* Diogenes answered ; *That you would stand a little aside, that the sun may come to me.*

† 266. Diogenes said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended ; *The better, the worse.*

267. (236.) Diogenes called an ill musician, *Cock. Why ?* (saith he.) Diogenes answered ; *Because when you crow men use to rise.*

268. (188.) Heraclitus the Obscure said ; *The dry light was the best soul.* Meaning, when the faculties intellectual are in vigour, not wet, nor [209], as it were, blooded by the affections.

† 269. There was in Oxford a cowardly fellow that was a very good archer. He was abused grossly by another, and moaned himself to Walter Ralegh, then a scholar, and asked his advice ; *What he should do to repair the wrong had been offered him ?* Ralegh answered ; *Why, challenge him at a match of shooting.*

270. (100.) Whitehead, a grave divine, was much esteemed by Queen Elizabeth, but not preferred, because he was against the government of Bishops. He was of a blunt stoical nature [210]. He came one day to the Queen, and the Queen happened to say to him ; *I like thee the better, Whitehead, because thou livest unmarried.* He answered again ; *In troth, Madam, I like you the worse for the same cause.*

† 271. There was a nobleman that was lean of visage, but immediately after his marriage he grew pretty plump and fat. One said to him, *Your lordship doth contrary to other married men ; for they at the first wax lean and you wax fat.* Sir Walter Ralegh stood by and said ; *Why, there is no beast, that if you take him from the common and put him into the several, but he will wax fat.*

† 272. Diogenes seeing one that was a bastard casting stones among the people, bade him *Take heed he hit not his father.*

273. (97.) Dr. Laud [211] said ; *That some hypocrites and seeming mortified men, that held down their heads, were like little images that they place in the very bowing of the vaults of churches, that look as if they held up the church, but are but puppets* [212].

[204] My Lord Archbishop said. R. [205] said the Archbishop. R.
[206] Archbishop. R. [207] get. R.
[208] If the physician and the disease join, that is a strong disease ; and the physician mistaking the cure, then, etc. R.
[209] not drenched, or. R. [210] This sentence is omitted in R.
[211] The Lord Archbishop Laud. R.
[212] were like the little images in the vaults or roofs of churches, which look and bow down as if they held up the church, when as they bear no weight at all. R.

274. (104.) It was said among some of the grave prelates of the council of Trent, in which the school-divines bore the sway; *That the schoolmen were like the astronomers; who, to save the phenomena, framed to their conceit eccentrics and epicycles, and a wonderful engine of orbs, though no such things were: so they, to save the practice of the church, had devised a number of strange positions.*

† 275. It was also said by many, concerning the canons of that council; *That we are beholding to Aristotle for many articles of our faith.*

276. (35.) The Lo. Henry Howard, being Lord Privy Seal, was asked by the King openly at the table, (where commonly he entertained the King), upon the sudden [213]; *My lord, have you not a desire to see Rome?* My Lord Privy Seal answered, *Yes, indeed, Sir.* The King said, *And why?* My lord answered, *Because, and it please your Majesty, it was once the seat of the greatest monarchy, and the seminary of the bravest men in the world, amongst the heathen: and then again* [214], *because after it was the see of so many holy Bishops in the primitive church, most of them martyrs.* The King would not give it over, but said; *And for nothing else?* My lord answered; *Yes, and it please your Majesty, for two things especially* [215]. *The one, to see him, who they say hath such a power to forgive other men's sins, to confess his own sins upon his knees before a chaplain or priest; and the other is, to hear Antichrist say his creed.*

277. (235.) There was a nobleman said of a great counsellor; *That he would have made the worst farrier in the world, for he never shod horse but he cloyed him: so he never commended any man to the King for service, or upon occasion of suit, or otherwise, but that he would come in in the end with a But, and drive in a nail to his disadvantage.*

† 278. There was a lady of the west country, that gave great entertainment at her house to most of the gallant gentlemen thereabout; and amongst others, Sir Walter Ralegh was one. This lady, though otherwise a stately dame, was a notable good housewife; and in the morning betimes she called to one of her maids that looked to the swine, and asked; *Is the piggy served?* Sir Walter Ralegh's chamber was fast by the lady's, so as he heard her. A little before dinner, the lady came down in great state into the great chamber, which was full of gentlemen: And as soon as Sir Walter Ralegh set eye upon her; *Madam,* (saith he) *is the piggy serv'd?* The lady answered, *You know best whether you have had your breakfast.*

279. (237.) There was a gentleman fell very sick, and a friend of his said to him; *Surely, you are in danger; I pray send for a physician.* But the sick man answered; *It is no matter, for if I die, I will die at leisure.*

280. (193.) There was an Epicurean vaunted, that divers of other sects of philosophers did after turn Epicureans, but there was never any Epicurean that turned to any other sect. Whereupon a philosopher that was of another sect, said; *The reason was plain, for that cocks may be made capons, but capons could never be made cocks.*

[213] The same Earl of Northampton, then Lord Privy Seal, was asked by King James openly at the table, where commonly he entertained the King with discourse; the King asked him upon the sudden. R.

[214] secondly. R.

[215] for two things more. R.

APOPHTHEGMS

CONTAINED IN THE SECOND EDITION OF THE RESUSCITATIO (1661), AND NOT IN THE ORIGINAL COLLECTION [1].

3. His Majesty James the First, King of Great Britain, having made unto his Parliament an excellent and large declaration, concluded thus: *I have now given you a clear mirror of my mind; use it therefore like a mirror; and take heed how you let it fall, or how you soil it with your breath.*

5. His Majesty said to His Parliament at another time, finding there were some causeless jealousies sown amongst them; *That the King and his people, (whereof the Parliament is the representative body), were as husband and wife; and therefore that of all other things jealousy was between them most pernicious.*

6. His Majesty, when he thought his counsel mought note in him some variety in businesses, though indeed he remained constant, would say; *That the sun many times shineth watery; but it is not the sun which causeth it, but some cloud rising betwixt us and the sun: and when that is scattered, the sun is as it was, and comes to his former brightness.*

7. His Majesty, in his answer to the book of the Cardinal of Evereux, (who had in a grave argument of divinity sprinkled many witty ornaments of poesy and humanity) saith; *That these flowers were like blue and yellow and red flowers in the corn, which make a pleasant shew to those that look on, but they hurt the corn.*

8. Sir Edward Cook, being vehement against the two Provincial Councils, of Wales and the North, said to the King; *There was nothing there but a kind of confusion and hotch-potch of justice: one while they were a Star-Chamber; another while a Kings-bench; another, a Common-place; another, a Commission of Oyer and Terminer.* His Majesty answered; *Why, Sir Edward Cook, they be like houses in progress, where I have not, nor can have, such distinct rooms of state, as I have here at Whitehall, or at Hampton-court.*

9. The Commissioners of the Treasure moved the King, for the relief of his estate, to disafforest some forests of his; explaining themselves of such forests as lay out of the way, not near any of the King's houses, nor in the course of his progress; whereof he should never have use nor pleasure. *Why,* (saith the King) *do you think that Salomon had use and pleasure of all his three hundred concubines?*

10. His Majesty, when the committees of both Houses of Parliament presented unto him the instrument of Union of England and Scotland, was merry with them; and amongst other pleasant speeches, shewed unto them the laird of Lawreston, a Scotchman, who was the tallest and greatest man that was to be seen; and said; *Well, now we are all one, yet none of you will say, but here is one Scotchman greater than any Englishman;* which was an ambiguous speech; but it was thought he meant it of himself.

11. His Majesty would say to the lords of his counsel, when they sat upon any great matter, and came from counsel in to him; *Well, you have sit, but what have you hatched?*

13. Queen Elizabeth was importuned much by my Lord of Essex, to supply divers great offices that had been long void; the Queen answered nothing, to the matter; but rose up on the sudden, and said; *I am sure my office will not be long void.* And yet at that time there was much speech of troubles and divisions

[1] See Preface, pp. 860, 863.

about the crown, to be after her decease ; but they all vanished ; and King James came in, in a profound peace.

17. King Henry the fourth of France was so punctual of his word, after it was once passed, that they called him *The King of the Faith* [2].

18. The said King Henry the fourth was moved by his Parliament to a war against the Protestants : he answered ; *Yes, I mean it ; I will make every one of you captains ; you shall have companies assigned you.* The Parliament observing whereunto his speech tended, gave over, and deserted the motion [3].

21. A great officer at court, when my Lord of Essex was first in trouble ; and that he and those that dealt for him would talk much of my Lord's friends and of his enemies ; answered to one of them ; *I will tell you, I know but one friend and one enemy my Lord hath ; and that one friend is the Queen, and that one enemy is himself.*

27. The Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, was asked his opinion, by my lord of Leicester, concerning two persons whom the Queen seemed to think well of : *By my troth, my Lord* (said he), *the one is a grave counsellor; the other is a proper young man ; and so he will be as long as he lives.*

28. My Lord of Leicester, favourite to queen Elizabeth, was making a large chase about Cornbury-Park ; meaning to inclose it with posts and rails ; and one day was casting up his charge, what it would come to. Mr. Goldingham, a free spoken man, stood by, and said to my Lord, *Methinks your Lordship goeth not the cheapest way to work. Why, Goldingham ?* said My Lord. *Marry, my Lord,* said Goldingham, *count you but upon the posts, for the country will find you railing.*

36. There were fishermen drawing the river at Chelsea : Mr. Bacon came thither by chance in the afternoon, and offered to buy their draught : they were willing. He asked them what they would take ? They asked thirty shillings. Mr. Bacon offered them ten. They refused it. *Why then,* saith Mr. Bacon, *I will be only a looker on.* They drew, and catched nothing. Saith Mr. Bacon ; *Are not you mad fellows now, that might have had an angel in your purse, to have made merry withal, and to have warmed you thoroughly, and now you must go home with nothing. Ay but* (said the fishermen) *we had hope then to make a better gain of it.* Saith Mr. Bacon ; *Well, my masters, then I'll tell you, hope is a good breakfast, but it is a bad supper* [4].

36. A lady walking with Mr. Bacon in Gray's Inn Walks, asked him, *Whose that piece of ground lying next under the walls was ?* He answered, *Theirs.* Then she asked him, if those fields beyond the walks were theirs too ? He answered. Yes, Madam, these are ours, as you are ours, to look on, and no more [5].

37. His Lordship, when he was newly made Lord Keeper, was in Gray's Inn walks with Sir Walter Raleigh. One came and told him, that the Earl of Exeter was above. He continued upon occasion still walking a good while. At last when he came up, my Lord of Exeter met him, and said ; *My Lord, I have made a great venture, to come up so high stairs, being a gouty man.* His Lordship answered ; *Pardon me, my lord, I have made the greatest venture of all* [6] *; for I have ventured upon your patience.*

38. When Sir Francis Bacon was made the King's Attorney, Sir Edward Cooke was put up from being Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench ; which is a place of greater honour, but of less profit ; and withal was made Privy Counsellor. After a few days, the Lord Cooke meeting with the King's Attorney, said unto him ; *Mr. Attorney, this is all your doing : It is you that have made this great stir.* Mr. Attorney answered ; *Ah my Lord ; your Lordship all this while hath grown in breadth ; you must needs now grow in height, or else you would be a monster* [7].

39. One day Queen Elizabeth told Mr. Bacon, that my Lord of Essex, after great protestation of penitence and affection, fell in the end but upon the suit of renewing his farm of sweet wines. He answered ; *I read that in nature there be two*

[2] Lamb. MS. p. 18. (see above, p. 855.) [3] Id. ibid. (without the last sentence).
[4] See Lamb. MS. p. 1. where the story is set down almost exactly in the same words.
[5] Id. p. 1. (told more compactly). The number 36 is repeated in R.
[6] the greater venture. Lamb. MS. [7] Lamb. MS.

kinds of motions or appetites in sympathy ; the one as of iron to the adamant, for perfection ; the other as of the vine to the stake, for sustentation ; that her Majesty was the one, and his suit the other [8].

40. Mr. Bacon, after he had been vehement in Parliament against depopulation and inclosures ; and that soon after the Queen told him that she had referred the hearing of Mr. Mill's cause to certain counsellors and judges ; and asked him how he liked of it ? answered, *Oh, madam ; my mind is known ; I am against all inclosures, and especially against inclosed justice* [9].

41. When Sir Nicholas Bacon the Lord Keeper lived, every room in Gorhambury was served with a pipe of water from the ponds, distant about a mile off. In the lifetime of Mr. Anthony Bacon, the water ceased. After whose death, his Lordship coming to the inheritance, could not recover the water without infinite charge. When he was Lord Chancellor, he built Verulam House, close by the pond-yard, for a place of privacy when he was called upon to despatch any urgent business. And being asked, why he built that house there ; his Lordship answered, *That since he could not carry the water to his house, he would carry his house to the water* [10].

42. When my Lord President of the Council came first to be Lord Treasurer, he complained to my Lord Chancellor of the troublesomeness of the place ; for that the Exchequer was so empty. The Lord Chancellor answered ; *My Lord, be of good cheer, for now you shall see the bottom of your business at the first* [11].

43. When his Lordship was newly advanced to the Great Seal, Gondomar came to visit him. My Lord said ; *That he was to thank God and the King for that honour ; but yet, so he might be rid of the burthen, he could very willingly forbear the honour ; and that he formerly had a desire, and the same continued with him still, to lead a private life.* Gondomar answered ; *That he would tell him a tale ; of an old rat, that would needs leave the world ; and acquainted the young rats that he would retire into his hole, and spend his days solitarily ; and would enjoy no more comfort : and commanded them upon his high displeasure* [12], *not to offer to come in unto him. They forbore two or three days ; at last, one that was more hardy than the rest, incited some of his fellows to go in with him, and he would venture to see how his father did ; for he might be dead. They went in, and found the old rat sitting in the midst of a rich Parmesan cheese.* So he applied the fable after his witty manner [13].

44. Rabelais tells a tale of one that was very fortunate in compounding differences. His son undertook the same course [14], but could never compound any. Whereupon he came to his father, and asked him, *what art he had to reconcile differences* [15] ? He answered, *he had no other but this : to watch when the two parties were much wearied, and their hearts were too great to seek reconcilement at one another's hands ; then to be a means betwixt them, and upon no other terms.* After which the son went home, and prospered in the same undertakings [16].

62. There was an agent here for the Dutch, called Caroon ; and when he used to move the Queen for further succours and more men, my Lord Henry Howard would say ; *That he agreed well with the name of Charon, ferryman of hell ; for he came still for more men to increase* regnum umbrarum.

63. They were wont to call referring to the Masters in Chancery, *committing*. My Lord Keeper Egerton, when he was Master of the Rolls, was wont to ask ; *What the cause had done, that it should be committed ?*

64. They feigned a tale, principally against Doctors' reports in the Chancery ; That Sir Nicholas Bacon, when he came to heaven gate, was opposed, touching an unjust decree which had been made in the Chancery. Sir Nicholas desired to see the order, whereupon the decree was drawn up ; and finding it to begin *Veneris, etc. Why,* (saith he) *I was then sitting in the Star-chamber ; this concerns the*

[8] Id. p. 8. [9] Id. p. 8. [10] Id. p. 9. (told more shortly).
[11] Lamb. MS. p. 10. [12] upon his blessing. Lamb. MS. p. 4.
[13] so if he left the world he would retire to some rich place. Lamb. MS.
[14] So Lamb. MS. p. 63. R. has "said course."
[15] what trick he had to make friends. Lamb. MS.
[16] he would even be the means betwixt them. After which time the son prospered in the trade. Lamb. MS.

Master of the Rolls ; let him answer it. Soon after came the Master of the Rolls, Cordal, who died indeed a small time after Sir Nicholas Bacon ; and he was likewise stayed upon it ; and looking into the order, he found, that upon the reading of a certificate of Dr. Gibson, it was ordered, that his report should be decreed. And so he put it upon Dr. Gibson, and there it stuck.

65. Sir Nicholas Bacon, when a certain nimble-witted counsellor at the bar who was forward to speak, did interrupt him often, said unto him ; *There is a great difference betwixt you and me : a pain to me to speak, and a pain to you to hold your peace.*

66. The same Sir Nicholas Bacon, upon bills exhibited to discover where lands lay,—upon proof that they had a certain quantity of land, but could not set it forth, was wont to say ; *And if you cannot find your land in the country, how will you have me find it in the Chancery ?*

67. Mr. Houland, in conference with a young student, arguing a case, happened to say ; *I would ask you but this question.* The student presently interrupted him, to give him an answer. Whereunto Mr. Houland gravely said ; *Nay, though I ask you a question, yet I did not mean you should answer me ; I mean to answer myself.*

91. Archbishop Grindall was wont to say ; *That the physicians here in England were not good at the cure of particular diseases ; but had only the power of the Church, to bind and loose.*

123. Titus Quinctius was in the counsel of the Achaians, what time they deliberated, whether in the war then to follow between the Romans and King Antiochus, they should confederate themselves with the Romans, or with King Antiochus ? In that counsel the Ætolians, who incited the Achaians against the Romans, to disable their forces, gave great words, as if the late victory the Romans had obtained against Philip king of Macedon, had been chiefly by the strength and forces of the Ætolians themselves : And on the other side the embassador of Antiochus did extol the forces of his master ; sounding what an innumerable company he brought in his army ; and gave the nations strange names ; As Elymæans, Caducians, and others. After both their harangues, Titus Quinctius, when he rose up, said ; *It was an easy matter to perceive what it was that had joined Antiochus and the Ætolians together ; that it appeared to be by reciprocal lying of each, touching the other's forces.*

124. Plato was amorous of a young gentleman, whose name was Stella, that studied astronomy, and went oft in the clear nights to look upon the stars. Whereupon Plato *wished himself heaven, that he mought look upon Stella with a thousand eyes.*

153. Themistocles, after he was banished, and had wrought himself into great favour afterwards, so that he was honoured and sumptuously served ; seeing his present glory, said unto one of his friends, *If I had not been undone, I had been undone.*

214. A certain countryman being at an Assizes, and seeing the prisoners holding up their hands at the bar, related to some of his acquaintance ; *That the judges were good fortune-tellers ; for if they did but look upon a man's hand, they could tell whether he should live or die.*

216. A seaman coming before the judges of the Admiralty for admittance into an office of a ship bound for the Indies, was by one of the judges much slighted, as an insufficient person for that office he sought to obtain ; the judge telling him ; *That he believed he could not say the points of his compass.* The seaman answered ; *That he could say them, under favour, better than he could say his Pater-noster.* The judge replied ; *That he would wager twenty shillings with him upon that.* The seaman taking him up, it came to trial : and the seaman began, and said all the points of his compass very exactly : the judge likewise said his *Pater-noster :* and when he had finished it, he required the wager according to agreement ; because the seaman was to say his compass better than he his *Pater-noster,* which he had not performed. *Nay, I pray, Sir, hold* (quoth the seaman), *the wager is not finished : for I have but half done* : and so he immediately said his compass backward very exactly ; which the judge failing of in his *Pater-noster,* the seaman carried away the prize.

239. A certain friend of Sir Thomas Moore's, taking great pains about a book, which he intended to publish, (being well conceited of his own wit, which no man else thought worthy of commendation), brought it to Sir Thomas Moore to peruse it, and pass his judgment upon it; which he did: and finding nothing therein worthy the press, he said to him with a grave countenance; *That if it were in verse, it would be more worthy.* Upon which words, he went immediately and turned it into verse, and then brought it to Sir Thomas again; who looking thereon, said soberly; *Yes, marry, now it is somewhat, for now it is rhyme; whereas before it was neither rhyme nor reason.*

247. A gentleman that was punctual of his word, and loved the same in others, when he heard that two persons had agreed upon a meeting about serious affairs, at a certain time and place; and that the one party failed in the performance, or neglected his hour; would usually say of him, *He is a young man then*[17].

249. His lordship when he had finished this collection of Apophthegms, concluded thus: *Come, now all is well: they say, he is not a wise man that will lose his friend for his wit; but he is less a wise man that will lose his friend for another man's wit*[18].

[17] "He broke his promise," said Sir Ralph, "he is a young man then, under twenty years old; and no exception to be taken."—Lamb. MS.

[18] "When Sir John Finch and myself had gone over my lord's apophthegms, he said, 'Now it is well: you know it is a common saying that he is an unwise man who will lose his friend for his jest: but he is a more unwise man who will lose his friend for another man's jest.'"—Lamb. MS. p. 10.

APOPHTHEGMS

PUBLISHED BY DR. TENISON IN THE BACONIANA [1].

1. PLUTARCH said well, It is otherwise in a commonwealth of men than of bees. The hive of a city or kingdom is in best condition when there is least of noise or buz in it.

2. The same Plutarch said of men of weak abilities set in great place, That they were like little statues set on great bases, made to appear the less by their advancement.

3. He said again, Good fame is like fire. When you have kindled it, you may easily preserve it; but if once you extinguish it, you will not easily kindle it again; at least, not make it burn as bright as it did.

4. The answer of Apollonius to Vespasian is full of excellent instruction: Vespasian asked him, *What was Nero's overthrow?* He answered, *Nero could touch and tune the harp well; but in government sometimes he used to wind the pins too high, sometimes to let them down too low.* And certain it is, that nothing destroyeth authority so much as the unequal and untimely interchange of power pressed too far, and relaxed too much.

5. Queen Elizabeth seeing Sir Edward —— in her garden, looked out at her window, and asked him in Italian, *What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?* Sir Edward (who had not had the effect of some of the Queen's grants so soon as he had hoped and desired) paused a little, and then made answer, *Madam, he thinks of a woman's promise.* The Queen shrunk in her head; but was heard to say, *Well, Sir Edward, I must not confute you.* Anger makes dull men witty, but it keeps them poor [2].

6. When any great officer, ecclesiastical or civil, was to be made, the Queen would inquire after the piety, integrity, learning of the man. And when she was satisfied in these qualifications, she would consider of his personage. And upon such an occasion she pleased once to say to me, *Bacon, how can the magistrate maintain his authority when the man is despised* [3]*?*

7. In eighty-eight, when the Queen went from Temple-bar along Fleet-street, the lawyers were ranked on one side, and the companies of the city on the other; said Master Bacon to a lawyer that stood next him, *Do but observe the courtiers; if they bow first to the citizens, they are in debt; if first to us, they are in law* [4].

8. King James was wont to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London to their country houses. And sometimes he would say thus to them; *Gentlemen, at London you are like ships in a sea, which shew like nothing; but in your country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things.*

9. Soon after the death of a great officer, who was judged no advancer of the King's matters, the King said to his solicitor Bacon, who was his kinsman; Now

[1] See Preface, pp. 860, 861.

[2] Queen Elizabeth saw Sir Edward Dier in her garden, she looking out at window, and asked him in Italian, *What does a man think of when he thinks of nothing?* Sir Edward Dier, after a little pause, said in Italian, *Madam, of a woman's promise.* The Queen shrunk in her head and shut the window.—Lamb. MS. p. 21.

[3] My Lo. St. Albans hath often told me that Queen Elizabeth when she was to make a bishop or a great officer, besides his learning, piety, and integrity, she would have some respect to the person of the man.—Lamb. MS. p. 34.

[4] Lamb. MS. p. 35.

tell me truly, What say you of your cousin that is gone? Mr. Bacon answered, *Sir, since your Majesty doth charge me, I'll e'en deal plainly with you, and give you such a character of him, as if I were to write his story. I do think he was no fit counsellor to make your affairs better; but yet he was fit to have kept them from growing worse.* The King said, *On my so'l, man, in the first thou speakest like a true man, and in the latter like a kinsman.*

10. King James, as he was a prince of great judgment, so he was a prince of a marvellous pleasant humour; and there now come into my mind two instances of it.

As he was going through Lusen by Greenwich, he asked what town it was? They said Lusen. He asked a good while after, What town is this we are now in? They said, still 'twas Lusen. *On my so'l*, said the King, *I will be King of Lusen* [5].

11. In some other of his progresses, he asked how far it was to a town whose name I have forgotten. They said, *Six miles.* Half an hour after, he asked again One said, *Six miles and a half.* The King alighted out of his coach, and crept under the shoulder of his led horse. And when some asked his Majesty what he meant; *I must stalk* (said he), *for yonder town is shy and flies me* [6].

12. Count Gondomar sent a compliment to my Lord St. Albans, wishing him a good Easter. My Lord thanked the messenger, and said, He could not at present requite the Count better than in returning him the like; *That he wished his Lordship a good Passover* [7].

13. My Lord Chancellor Elsmere, when he had read a petition which he disliked, would say, *What! you would have my hand to this now?* And the party answering, Yes; he would say further; *Well, so you shall. Nay, you shall have both my hands to it.* And so would, with both his hands, tear it in pieces [8].

14. I knew a wise man, that had it for a by-word, when he saw men hasten to a conclusion, *Stay a little, that we may make an end the sooner.*

15. Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say of an angry man who suppressed his passion, That *he thought worse than he spake*; and of an angry man that would chide, That *he spoke worse than he thought* [9].

16. He was wont also to say, *That power in an ill man was like the power of a black witch; she could do hurt, but no good with it.* And he would add, *That the magicians could turn water into blood, but could not turn the blood again to water.*

17. When Mr. Attorney Cook, in the Exchequer, gave high words to Sir Francis Bacon, and stood much upon his higher place; Sir Francis said to him, *Mr. Attorney, the less you speak of your own greatness, the more I shall think of it: and the more, the less* [10].

18. Sir Francis Bacon coming into the Earl of Arundel's garden, where there

[5] King James was going through Lusen by Greenwich. He asked what town it was. They said Lusen. He asked about half an hour after. 'Twas Lusen still. Said the king, *I will be king of Lusen.*—Lamb. MS. p. 84.

[6] He asked how far to a town. They said six miles. Half an hour after he asked again. One said six miles and an half. He lighted from his coach and crept under his horse's shoulder. Some asked him what his M. meant. He said he must stalk, for yonder town fled from him. —Lamb. MS. p. 84.

[7] Lamb. MS. p. 72. Gondomar, I presume, was about to return to Spain. I cannot believe that his message was meant for an insult, as has been supposed; though I can well believe that the popular hatred of Spain and everything Spanish was apt enough to put that construction upon it. But there are no traces of any unkindness between Gondomar and Bacon. These compliments may have been exchanged at Easter-tide in 1622. Easter-day fell on the 21st of April that year, and a new Spanish ambassador arrived a week after.—See *Court and Times of James I.*, ii. 309.

[8] The party would say an it like your Lp. He would answer, *you shall have both my hands to it*, and so would rend it.—Lamb. MS. p. 60.

[9] If one suppresseth his anger he thinks worse than he says; but when he chides, then he says worse than he thinks.—Lamb. MS. p. 24.

[10] When Mr Attorney Cooke gave in the Exchequer high words to Mr Bacon, he replied, *Mr. Attorney*, etc.—Lamb. MS. p. 7.

were a great number of ancient statues of naked men and women, made a stand, and as astonished, cried out, *The resurrection* [11].

19. Sir Francis Bacon (who was always for moderate counsels) when one was speaking of such a reformation of the Church of England as would in effect make it no Church; said thus to him, *Sir, the subject we talk of is the eye of England; and if there be a speck or two in the eye, we endeavour to take them off; but he were a strange oculist who would pull out the eye.*

20. The same Sir Francis Bacon was wont to say, *That those who left useful studies for useless scholastic speculations, were like the Olympic gamesters, who abstained from necessary labours, that they might be fit for such as were not so.*

21. He likewise often used this comparison; *The Empirical philosophers are like to pismires; they only lay up and use their store. The Rationalists are like to spiders; they spin all out of their own bowels. But give me a philosopher, who like the bee, hath a middle faculty, gathering from abroad, but digesting that which is gathered by his own virtue.*

22. The Lord St. Alban, who was not over hasty to raise theories, but proceeded slowly by experiments, was wont to say to some philosophers who would not go his pace, *Gentlemen, Nature is a labyrinth, in which the very haste you move with, will make you lose your way.*

23. The same Lord, when he spoke of the Dutchmen, used to say, *That we could not abandon them for our safety, nor keep them for our profit.* And sometimes he would express the same sense on this manner; *We hold the Belgic lion by the ears* [12].

24. Sir Francis Bacon said upon occasion (meaning it of his old retinew) *That he was all of one piece: his head could not rise but his tail must rise too* [13].

25. The Lord Bacon was wont to commend the advice of the plain old man at Buxton, that sold besoms. A proud lazy young fellow came to him for a besom upon trust; to whom the old man said, *Friend, hast thou no money? borrow of thy back, and borrow of thy belly; they'll ne'er ask thee again, I shall be dunning thee every day* [14].

26. Solon said well to Crœsus, (when in ostentation he shewed him his gold) *Sir, if any other come that has better iron than you, he will be master of all this gold.*

27. Jack Weeks said of a great man (just then dead) who pretended to some religion, but was none of the best livers, *Well, I hope he is in heaven. Every man thinks as he wishes; but if he be in heaven, 'twere pity it were known* [15].

[11] My Lo. St. Albans coming into the Earl of Arundel's garden where there were many statues of naked men and women, made a stand and said, "*The resurrection.*"—Lamb. MS. p. 65.

[12] My Lo. St. Albans was wont to say that it was our greatest unhappiness, that we could not abandon those for our safety who were the greatest enemies to our profit.—Lamb. MS. p. 85.

[13] So Lamb. MS. p. 5. In the Baconiana it is given thus: "The same Lord when a gentleman seemed not much to approve of his liberality to his retinue, said to him, *Sir, I am all of a piece; if the head be lifted up, the inferior parts of the body must too*". It will be observed that Rawley's notes of these apophthegms are in almost every case better than Dr. Tenison's version, by whom they have evidently been dressed for company. In this case I thought the improved version too bad, and made the note and the text change places. That such an alteration could have been sanctioned by Bacon is utterly incredible.

[14] The old man at Buxton that answered him that would have been trusted for brooms: Hast thou no money? borrow of thy back and borrow of thy belly: they'll ne'er ask thee again: I shall be ever asking thee.—Lamb. MS. 5.

[15] Jack Weeks said of the Bishop of London, Montagu; I hope he is in heaven. Every man thinks as he wisheth; but if he be there 'twere pity it were known.—Lamb. MS. p. 55.

SOME ADDITIONAL APOPHTHEGMS

SELECTED FROM A COMMON-PLACE BOOK IN THE HAND-WRITING OF DR. RAWLEY, PRESERVED AT LAMBETH.

MSS. No. 1034[1].

[THE manuscript from which the following apophthegms are selected bears no date or title. But the contents show that it was a common-place book in which Dr. Rawley entered memoranda from time to time; and a few dates occur incidentally; the earliest of which is 8 September 1626, (five months after Bacon's death), and the latest is 25 May 1644. The memoranda are of various kinds, many of them relating to Bacon and his works, many to Dr. Rawley's private affairs. Among them are a number of anecdotes, some very good, but not stated to be derived from Bacon or otherwise connected with him, and therefore not noticed here. It is true that several of the apophthegms printed by Tenison in the *Baconiana* are set down in this manuscript without any hint that Bacon had anything to do with them. It is possible therefore that they too may have been of Dr. Rawley's own selection; who seems to have had a taste for good stories, and seldom spoiled them. But judging by the style, I think it more probable that most of them were copied from Bacon's own notes.]

1. Apophthegms. My Lo.[2]: I was the justest judge that was in England these 50 yeares: But it was the justest censure in Parliament that was these 200 yeares.

2. The same Mr. Bacon[3] went towards Finchley to take the air. There had been growing not long before a pretty shady wood. It was then missing: Said Mr. Bacon, Stay, I've not lost my thoughts in a wood, but methinks I miss a wood here. Saith a country fellow, It is newly cut down. Said Mr. Bacon, Sure he was but a churl that ought it, to cut down a wood of great pleasure and to reap but small profit into his purse. Said the fellow, It was the Bishop of London[4]. Then answered Mr. Bacon, Oh, was it he: he's a learned man: it seems this was an obscure place before, and the Bishop hath expounded the text.

3. A flattering courtier undertook to make a comparison betwixt my Lord St. Alban and Treasurer Cranfield. Said he, My Lord St. Alban had a pretty turning wit, and could speak well: but he wanted that profound judgment and solidity of a statesman that my Lord of Middlesex hath. Said a courtier that stood by: Sir I wonder you will disparage your judgment so much as to offer to make any parallel betwixt these two. I'll tell you what: when these two men shall be recorded in our chronicles to after ages, men will wonder how my Lord St. Alban could fall; and they will wonder how my Lord of Middlesex could rise.

4. There was one would say of one that he thought every man fit for every place[5].

[1] See above, p. 855.

[2] That is, "my Lord St. Alban said of himself". This is the first entry in the book, and is set down in a kind of cipher; the consonants being written in Greek characters, and the six vowels represented by the six numerals: 1=a; 2=e; 3=i; 4=o; 5=u; 6=y.

[3] In the MS. this follows the story of Bacon and the fishermen at Chelsea. Rawley's Collection, No. 36.

[4] Bishop Aylmer, probably; who died in 1594. See Nichols's Progr. Eliz. iii. p. 369.

[5] This sounds to me very like a note of Bacon's; though his name is not mentioned.

5. My Lord Chancellor told the King, that if he bestowed 7000*l.* upon Paul's steeple, he could not lay out his money where it should be more seen.

6. When they sat in commission about re-edifying Paul's steeple, some of the rich aldermen being there, it was motioned to build a new spire upon it. A rich alderman answered; My Lords, you speak of too much cost: Paul's is old: I think a good cap would do well. My Lord Chancellor, who was for the spire, answered: Mr. Alderman, you that are citizens are for the cap; but we that are courtiers are for the hat and feather.

7. [There was] an old woman whom the minister asked, How many commandments there were. She answered, it was above her learning: she was never taught it. Saith the minister, there are ten. Good Lord (said the old woman) a goodly company. He told them her particularly, and then asked her if she had kept them all? Kept them? (said she): alas master, I am a poor woman: I have much ado to keep myself.

8. Sir Harry Mountague came to my Lord Chancellor before he went to the court to Newmarket, and told him; My Lord, I come to do my service to your Lordship: I am even going to Newmarket and I hope to bring the staff [6] with me when I come back. My Lord (said my Lord Chancellor) take heed what you do: I can tell you wood is dearest at Newmarket of any place in England.

9. When the said Lord lost his Treasurer's place, he came to my Lord St. Alban, and told him how they had used him; that though they had taken away the Lord Treasurer's place, yet they had made him Lord President of the Counsel: Why, saith my Lord St. Alban, the King hath made me an example and you a president [7].

10. When Sergeant Heale who is known to be good in giving in evidence, but otherwise unlearned in the law, was made the Queen's sergeant, Mr. Bacon said; The Queen should have a sergeant *de facto et non de jure*.

11. At the King's Bench bar, Sergeant Heale, before he was the Queen's sergeant, contended with Mr. Bacon to be first heard; and said, Why I am your ancient: Mr. Bacon gently answered, Not in this place; for I staid here long, and you are come but right now.

12. There was a tall gentleman and a low gentleman were saying they would go to the Shrive's to dinner; Go, saith the one, and I will be your shadow. Nay, said the other, I will be your shadow. Mr. Bacon standing by said, I'll tell you what you shall do: Go to dinner and supper both; and at dinner when [the shadows are] shorter than the bodies, you shall be the shadow; and at supper you shall be the other's shadow [8].

13. He thought Moses was the greatest sinner that was, for he never knew any break both tables at once but he [9].

14. He said he had feeding swans and breeding swans; but for malice, he thanked God, he neither fed it nor bred it [10].

15. At the Parliament, when King James spied Mr. Gorge, one of my Lord Chancellor's men, who was somewhat fantastical, and stood by there with one rose white and another black; the King called my Lord unto him, and said easily in his ear; My Lord Chancellor, why does your man yonder wear one rose white and another black? My Lord answered; In truth, Sir, I know not, unless it be that his mistress loves a colt with one white foot.

16. Sir Walter Coape and Sir Francis Bacon were competitors for the Mastership of the Wards. Sir Francis Bacon certainly expecting the place had put

[6] The Lord Treasurer's staff.

[7] So *precedent* was usually spelt in those days.

[8] So the MS. It should be "the other shall be your shadow".

But the thing is better told in a common-place book of Bacon's own (Harl. MSS. 7017.). "The two that went to a feast both at dinner and supper, neither known, the one a tall, the other a short man; and said they would be one another's shadows. It was replied, it fell out fit: for at noon the short man might be the long man's shadow and at night the contrary."

[9] This is written in cipher.

[10] This saying is alluded to by Rawley in his Life of Bacon.

most of his men into new cloaks. Afterward when Sir Walter Coape carried the place, one said merrily that Sir Walter was Master of the Wards, and Sir Francis Bacon of the Liveries.

17. My Lord St. Alban said, that wise nature did never put her precious jewels into a garret four stories high; and therefore that exceeding tall men had ever very empty heads [11].

18. My Lord St. Alban invited Sir Ed. Skory to go with him to dinner to a Lord Mayor's feast. My Lord sate still and picked a little upon one dish only. After they returned to York-house, my Lord wished him to stay and sup with him: and told him he should be witness of the large supper he would make: telling him withal: Faith, if I should sup for a wager, I would dine with a Lord Mayor.

19. Sir Robert Hitcham said, He cared not though men laughed at him: he would laugh at them again. My Lord St. Alban answered, If he did so he would be the merriest man in England.

20. My Lord St. Alban would never say of a Bishop *the Lord that spake last*, but *the Prelate that spake last*. King James chid him for it, and said he would have him know that the Bishops were not only *Pares*, as the other Lords were, but *Prælati paribus* [12].

21. He was a wise man [13] that gave the reason why a man doth not confess his faults. It is, *Quia etiam nunc in illis est.*

22. Will you tell any man's mind before you have conferred with him? So doth Aristotle in raising his axioms upon Nature's mind.

23. Old Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon had his barber rubbing and combing his head. Because it was very hot [14], the window was open to let in a fresh wind. The Lord Keeper fell asleep, and awakened all distempered and in great sweat. Said he to his barber, Why did you let me sleep? Why, my Lord, saith he, I durst not wake your Lordship. Why then, saith my Lord, you have killed me with kindness. So removed into his bed chamber and within a few days died.

24. Four things cause so many rheums in these days, as an old country fellow told my Lord St. Alban. Those were, drinking of beer instead of ale; using glass windows instead of lattice windows; wearing of silk stockings; missing of smoky chimneys.

25. King James and Gondomar were discoursing in Latin. The King spoke somewhat of Tully's Latin. Gondomar spoke very plain stuff. Gondomar laughed. The King asked him, Why he laughed? He answered, Because your Majesty speaks Latin like a scholar, and I speak Latin like a King.

26. Gondomar said, Compliment was too hot for summer, and too cold in winter. He meant it against the French.

27. King Henry the fourth of France having an oration offered him, and the orator beginning "Great Alexander"; said the King, Come let's begone.

28. The beggar, that instructed his son, when he saw he would not be handsome, said, You a beggar! I'll make you a ploughman.

29. Marquis Fiatt's first compliment to my Lord St. Albans was, That he reverenced him as he did the angels, whom he read of in books, but never saw [15].

[11] I have seen this quoted somewhere as Bacon's answer to King James when pressed for his opinion as to the capacity of a French ambassador who was very tall.

[12] This I think must be misreported. It must have been Bacon who defended himself on this ground for preferring "Prelate" to "Peer:" for so Prelate would imply Peer, whereas Peer would not imply Prelate.

[13] Seneca, Ep. 53.

[14] "The 4 of February [21 Eliz. i. e. 1578–9] . . . fell such abundance of snow, etc. . . . It snowed till the eight day and freezed till the tenth. Then followed a thaw, with continual rain a long time after . . . The 20 of February deceased Sir Nicholas Bacon." —*Stowe's Chronicle.*

[15] Bacon being ill and confined to his bed, so that though admitted to his room he could not see him. Compare Rawley's Life of Bacon, Vol. I. p. 16. Tenison (*Baconiana*, p. 101.) makes Fiatt say, "Your Lordship hath been to me *hitherto* like the angels, of

30. My Lord Chancellor Ellesmere's saying of a man newly married; God send him joy, and some sorrow too, as we say in Cheshire. The same my Lord St. Alban said of the Master of the Rolls.

31. My Lord St. Alban said, when Dr. Williams, Dean of Westminster, was made Lord Keeper; I had thought I should have known my successor.

32. My Lord St. Alban having a dog which he loved sick, put him to a woman to keep. The dog died. My Lord met her next day and said, How doth my dog? She answered in a whining tone, and putting her handkerchief to her eye, The dog is well, I hope.

33. The physician that came to my Lord after his recovery, before he was perfectly well, the first time, he told him his pulse was broken-paced; the next time, it tripped; the third day, it jarred a little. My Lord said, he had nothing but good words for his money.

34. Mr. Anthony Bacon chid his man (Prentise) for calling him no sooner. He said, It was very early day. Nay, said Mr. Bacon, the rooks have been up these two hours. He replied, The rooks were but new up: it was some sick rook that could not sleep.

35. [The following is not given in any of these collections, but comes from a letter of Mr. John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, 11. Oct. 1617. See *Court and Times of James I.*, ii. p. 38.]

The Queen lately asked the Lord Keeper [Sir F. Bacon], What occasion the Secretary [Sir R. Winwood] had given him to oppose himself so violently against him: who answered prettily, "Madam, I can say no more, but he is proud, and I am proud".

which I have often heard and read, but never saw them *before*" (the words "hitherto" and "before" being his own interpolation, and entirely spoiling the story); and proceeds, "To which piece of courtship he returned such answer as became a man in those circumstances, 'Sir, the charity of others does liken me to an angel, but my own infirmities tell me I am a man;'" of which reply there is no hint in Rawley, either in the common-place book or in the life: an addition, I suspect, by a later hand.

INDEX

Butler & Tanner, The Selwood Printing Works, Frome, and London.

560 - stage-playing
558 - big error in quotation