Bought with the income of the
SAGE ENDOWMENT FUND

THE GIFT OF
HENRY W. SAGE

1891
BEN JONSON

DISCOVERIES

A CRITICAL EDITION

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES ON THE TRUE PURPORT
AND GENESIS OF THE BOOK

THÈSE

Présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris

PAR

Maurice CASTELAIN

AGRÉGÉ DE L'UNIVERSITÉ
MAÎTRE DE CONFÉRENCES À LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE POITIERS

PARIS
LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE & Cie
79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 79

LONDRES, 18, King William Street, Strand
BEN JONSON

DISCOVERIES
BEN JONSON

DISCOVERIES

A CRITICAL EDITION

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES ON THE TRUE PURPOSE
AND GENESIS OF THE BOOK

THÈSE

Présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris

PAR

Maurice CASTELAIN

AGRÉGÉ DE L'UNIVERSITÉ
MAÎTRE DE CONFÉRENCES À LA FACULTÉ DES LETTRES DE POITIERS

PARIS
LIBRAIRIE HACHETTE & Cie
79, BOULEVARD SAINT-GERMAIN, 79

LONDRES, 18, King William Street, Strand
MEMORIAE MAGISTRI DILECTISSIMI

P. DUPONT

IN UNIVERSITATE INSULENSI GALLICAS LITTERAS NUPER DOCENTIS

Hoc grati devotique animi pignus

D. D. D.
INTRODUCTION

There is a kind of contradiction underlying the present work, its main purport being to prove that the Discoveries might be, without any serious objection, left out of the Jonsonian canon; that, practically, the book is not his; or, at least, that the merit and interest of it are for the most part attributable to other men. In fact, of the 137 observations which make up the book, very few, if any, are quite original: there are not perhaps a hundred lines, which really belong to Jonson. Yet before I proceed to explain what is the probable genesis of the Discoveries, I must preface a few words of general information, concerning the original edition which is the basis of all others, and the conditions in which the book came to light.

Jonson's Timber is a posthumous work: it was first published in the so-called «second Folio» (1640-1641), where it occupies pp. 85-132 (M-R) in the third part of Volume II. This volume, as is well-known, is divided into four sections, the first consisting of Bartholomew Fair, the Staple of News and the Devil is an Ass; the second containing the Masques posterior to 1616 and the Collection of the Underwoods; the fourth consisting of two plays, the Magnetic Lady, the Tale of a Tub and the precious fragment of the Sad Shepherd. The third section comprises: 1st Horace his Art of Poetrie (pp. 1-30); 2ndly, the English Grammar (pp. 31-84); and, thirdly, the book under consideration. We do not mean to examine the different problems, which relate to this edition: we will only notice the fact, that every one of the above-mentioned works has a separate title-page; and they are all dated either 1631 or 1640, save the Sad Shepherd and the Discoveries, which both bear date 1641. It seems probable to me that some doubts had been raised as to
the propriety of including these in this complete edition of Jonson's works, on account of the fragmentary state of the former and the disjointed character of the latter. These doubts having been solved in the affirmative, when the rest of the book had already gone through the press, they were shuffled in, each in its respective place, one among the critical, the other among the dramatic, works. This explains why the Discoveries do not bear the same date as the preceding and following compositions.

The title of the book runs thus: TIMBER: or, DISCOVERIES; Made upon Men and Matter: As they have flow'd out of his daily Readings; or had their reflux to his peculiar Notion of the Times. By Ben Johnson. » The wording is probably Jonson's own, as the motto, taken from Persius:

« Tecum habita, ut noris quam sit tibi curta supellex » (Sat. IV) was of his choice. But there is at least some doubt on the very first word in the title, which must have been devised by the editor to reconcile it with the sylvan titles of the two poetical collections, the Underwoods in the present volume, and the Forest in the other. The fact is that the word Timber does not occur anywhere out of the title-page, and that, at the head of page 87, we only read: « EXPLORATA: or, DISCOVERIES, » which last is to be found alone at the top of each succeeding page. It is also to be noticed that the verso of this title-page bears the following explanation of the word: « SYLVA. Rerum, et sententiarum, quasi ἤγια, dicta a multiplici materia, et varietate, in iis contenta. Quintammodum enim vulgo solemus infinitam arborum nascentium indiscriminatim multituidinem Sylvam dicere: Ita etiam libros suis in quibus variae, et diversae materiae opuscula temere congesta erant, Sylvas appellabant antiqui: Tymber-trees. » Every one will remark how awkwardly this last English word closes the Latin sentence: if Jonson himself had written it, he would never have thought it necessary to add the vernacular translation, which was only introduced as a blind to prevent the reader that runs from noticing that the explanation does not fit here. If we now refer to the title-page of the Underwoods, we read the following: « With the same leave the Ancients called that kind of body Sylva, or ἤγια, in which there were works of divers nature and matter congested: As the multitude call timber-trees promiscuously growing, a Wood or Forest: So am I bold to entitle these lesser poems of later growth, by this of Underwood, out of the analogy they hold to the Forest in my former book, and no otherwise. » As the end of the English, and the beginning
of the Latin, sentence exactly coincide, we may suppose that the editor simply translated Jonson's sentence in the main and arranged the rest to fit his purpose. But it seems more probable still that the Latin definition had been written by Jonson himself to be printed at the head of his *Forest* (*Sylva*), and that the editor transferred it to the new-baptized *Timber*, as the word wanted explanation. This latter hypothesis is all but proved by a superficial examination of the original book (Cf. facsimile, p. 2), where the capital THE, printed at the bottom of the page, implies the recurrence of the same word at the top of the next. Now we must remark that the definite article is not to be found in this character on the first page of the *Discoveries*, while it stands in exactly the same type at the head of: *The Forest*. On the strength of this curious evidence, we may conclude that the word: « *Timber* » is of the editor's choosing; it was substituted to Jonson's *Explorata* (a), to harmonize with the sylvan names of the above mentioned Collections (b).

The book consists of detached thoughts of variable length on all sorts of subjects: they range from two to a hundred lines or more, and treat of moral, political or literary questions. The matter is generally exhausted in one paragraph, though the rule is by no means absolute, some of the longer developments being divided into three or four (43, 46, 63, 113). Each of them has a marginal title, in Latin, which seems to have been added by the editor, as very often it does not correspond with the purport of the paragraph, but only with the first words of it (e.g., 73, 82, 103, 107). Those inappropriate titles must have been thrown in hastily by the editor, for the sake of clearness; but as we have no decisive proof of their not being Jonson's, I would not presume to leave out, or correct them (c). On the other hand, I did not scruple to number the paragraphs, though there is no trace of anything of the kind in the ori-

---

(a) As an explanation of the word we may quote the following statement of Aubrey: « His motto before his (bought) bookes was: *Tanquam Explorator*. Cf. *Conversations*. XVII. « His armes were three spindles or *rhombi*; his own word about them, *Persucetabor* or *Perscrutator* ».

(b) One may object to our reasoning that in the first edition of the *Forrest* (1616), there is no explanation of the title-word; but Jonson may have thought only of adding one, when he prepared his *Underwoods*.

(c) The successive editors, as a rule, have incorporated those titles into the text, and altogether suppressed the marginal references: which greatly alters the physiognomy of the book. It stands here for the first time exactly as it was printed in the folio.
original edition. M. Gollancz is the only one of my predecessors, who bethought himself of this undeniable improvement; for commodity's sake, I have kept to his numbering, though I do not quite agree with him as to the length of certain paragraphs. Some of them, which are separately numbered, would have been better condensed into one (e.g. 13-18; 20-22; 41-44; 102-104; 121-122; 125-126; 132-136); others, on the contrary, might or should have been split into two or three distinct sections (e.g. 35, 48, 111, 119).

Here rises a question, concerning the state of the book, when it came into the hands of the editor: were the different sections in the MS. arranged in the same order as they are printed, or did he interfere to make it less disorderly? Jonson's Discoveries, as every one knows, fall into two great divisions, the latter half forming, as it were, a kind of treatise on the elements of pedagogy and criticism, while the former consists of shorter notes on all sorts of subjects. Now we may remark that, generally speaking, the shorter notes are placed at the beginning of the book, so that the observations grow in length and importance as we proceed in our reading. But the rule admits of so many exceptions that this apparent arrangement may be due entirely to chance. The fact that some notes on analogous topics have been grouped together (for instance the political essays, 88-99, and those on picture, 109-112) is not necessarily attributable to the editor's interference. Jonson himself may have arranged them into this comparative order, even if they were not written at the same time, and we cannot prove anything to the contrary. We may only hint that some essays in the former part, those on eloquence (51), on the vicious judgments of the multitude (63), on the differences in styles (69), on the famous orators (70), might as well have been deferred to the second. As to the short paragraph on style (111), which is visibly out of place among the essays on picture, it was probably stuffed in there by the hasty editor on account of the first words: «In picture light is required no less than shadow»; but it is the only case where we may conclude to the intervention of a stranger's hand (a). I did not however try to fit it into a better place and kept throughout to the order of the folio.

(a) The editor of this posthumous volume of Jonson's Works has been discovered by Mr. W. W. Greg to be no other than the poet's old friend and admirer, Sir Kenelm Digby. (Cf. Introduction to the Sad Shepherd. Materialien zur Kunde des alteren Englischen Dramas. Vol. XI, pp. iv-v).
We need not discuss at length the question of the date when these detached notes were written, which has now lost a great deal of its importance and interest. Nothing is to be made of Howell's letter (wrongly dated June 27, 1629), which is evidently an echo of Jonson's conversation, but does not bear on the particular point at issue (Cf. Schelling, pp. xvi & 150-151). Some of these notes allude to the poet's old age (56), or imply it by their general tone (100); one is evidently posterior to 1630 (45), while the remarks on Bacon (72-73) must have been written after his death in 1626. On the other hand a short passage of § 63 (Censura de Poetis), beginning: « Indeed the multitude commend writers, &c. » is to be found already (together with two other passages from § 65) in the « Address to the Reader », which is prefixed to the Alchemist: Jonson, who never forgot anything he had written, must have been particularly satisfied with this version of Quintilian and copied it again for some unknown end; but we should not attach too much importance to a few lines which are quite destitute of originality. The whole book gives an impression of having been written in the last years of the poet's life, though « it is highly probable, from the nature of the work, that it was written from time to time through a series of years » (Schelling, p. xvi). Other note-books of the same kind may have existed before the burning of his library in 1623: this one might have been begun after the lamentable accident. This supposition agrees with the internal evidence; as the precious note on Shakespeare ' (64), which has been called « the gem of the Discoveries » (Gollancz, p. 139), seems to be contemporaneous with the appearance of the Staple of News in 1624 (Cf. Prologue), and the respectful tribute paid by Jonson to « the late Lord St. Alban » cannot have been written long after 1626. If such be the case, we may also conclude that the book does not follow the chronological order of composition.

Jonson's Discoveries, after enjoying a fair measure of success in the seventeenth century, chiefly on account of the critical utterances, which are to be found at the end of it (a), seems to have fallen into oblivion

(a) Cf. Dryden, An Essay of Dramatic Poesy. (Arber's English Garner. Critical Essays, &c., pp. 87-88) « To conclude of him. As he has given us the most correct Plays ; so in the Precepts which he has laid down in his Discoveries, we have as many and profitable rules as any wherewith the French can furnish us. »
during the 18th, when such treatises as Dryden's Essay on Dramatick Poesy, both more complete and more modern in spirit, had come to supersede it. In fact we find it very seldom alluded to, for more than a hundred years (a); and even Gifford's eulogy, in his edition of 1816, enthusiastic as it was (b), does not seem to have brought back many readers to this forgotten work of the great Elizabethan poet. But in 1889, his noble Victorian successor, Mr. Algernon C. Swinburne, writing a book in honour of the author of Volpone, discovered, as it were, those Discoveries, and tried to vindicate « this wonderful little book » from the most unjust neglect of thankless posterity. The review of the precious booklet occupies nearly as much space (pp. 127-181) in his Essay on Ben Jonson, as the Comedies, Tragedies and Masques (pp. 1-89), as if the chief aim of the critic had been to recall public attention on this unduly forgotten treasure of noble thought and vigorous expression. He lavish upon it a great deal of not undeserved praise; and, comparing it with the famous Book of Essays, which appeared nearly at the same time in its final form (1624) and which has achieved such high reputation in the following ages, he did not hesitate to prefer Jonson's work, as « superior to Bacon's in truth of insight, in breadth of view, in vigour of reflection and in concision of eloquence » (p. 129). Allowing for the natural partiality of an « inventor », we may square with Mr. Swinburne in many of his eulogies, and even accept his sweeping sentence on the Essays, which are certainly not the best, as they are surely the best known, of the great philosopher's works. But, for the present, we must waive aside all considerations of the kind, and stick to the historical point of view. Mr. Swinburne happily succeeded in his effort to

(a) Strange to say, one of the very scarce mentions of the book occurs under the pen of a French writer. Our great maximist Chamfort alludes somewhere to one of the apparently original remarks in the Discoveries: « que tons ceux qui avaient pris les Muses pour femmes étaient morts de faim et que ceux qui les avaient prises pour maîtresses s'en étaient fort bien trouvés. » (Cité par M. F. Caussy. Mercure de France, 1er juillet 1905, p. 56.) Cf Disc., § 63, page 34.

(b) « Those who derive all their knowledge of Jonson from the commentators on Shakespeare, will not (if they should condescend to open these pages) be unprofitably employed in comparing the manly tone, the strong sense, the solid judgment, the extensive learning, the compressed yet pure and classical diction of the declining poet, with the dull, cold, jejune, pompous, and parasi-
tical pedantry of Hurd and others, whom they have been called on to admire, principally, as it should seem, for the supercilious and captious nature of their criticisms on his labours. »
revive this interesting little book, and no less than three separate reprints of it were published in less than ten years, a cheap one by Prof. Henry Morley (Cassell’s Universal Library, 1892), a school edition with numerous notes by Prof. Felix E. Schelling (Boston, 1892), and another for the general reader by Mr. Israel Gollancz (Temple Classics, 1898). The Discoveries have been since mentioned; with highly appreciative respect, by the historians of literature: I can only refer to the pages devoted to it by Mr. Spingarn in his History of Literary Criticism in the Renaissance (passim), by Dr. Harold A. Symmes in his thesis on les Débuts de la critique dramatique en Angleterre (pp. 158-171) and by Prof. Saintsbury in his admirable History of Criticism (II, 197-209).

The general interest created in the book and the particular attention which was paid to it from all quarters, brought to light a curious fact which had escaped the eye of Mr. Swinburne. « It has sometimes been discovered with pride, or surprise, or even scorn, says Prof. Saintsbury (Loc. cit., p. 204), that Ben borrowed from them very largely from the ancients ». I have made out, with no small surprise, though without any feeling of subjective pride or objective scorn, that these borrowings were far more important than the learned critic did anticipate. But I had been forestalled by happy searchers, who were in the field before, and showed the way to me (a). Prof. Schelling, in the Introduction and notes to his edition, has pointed out that part, or the whole, of certain essays of Jonson were mere translations from the Latin writers of the Silver Age; and the identity is in many cases so obvious, that we can only wonder at its having remained so long undetected. In fact, while the former half of the book consists of short jottings on all sorts of subjects, which seldom exceed twenty lines, the latter which treats of literary questions, comprises only ten or twelve continuous essays, some of which cover five or six average pages. Those essays on the education of children, on the methods of teaching, on the principles of style, were so evidently connected with the subject of Quintilian’s Inst-

(a) Whalley seemed to have known, or guessed, as much already, when he said: « Many of the following passages are imitations or observations made upon the authors of Jonson’s daily readings » (Jonson’s Works, VII, p. 71). In fact the author, or his editor, confessed it with great fairness in the very title of the book, to which sufficient attention has not hitherto been paid: « As they have flowed out of his daily readings, or had their reflux to his peculiar notions of the times ». 
titates, that it was sufficient to peruse the book to light on the original of these very sensible remarks (a). Prof. Schelling could not but indicate those similitudes, though he did not always do it with all the desirable minuteness. But there were other passages, in the former half of the Discoveries, which decidedly struck the scholarly reader with the air of « old acquaintances ». Some of the first observations could be traced back to Euripides (6) or Velleius Paterculus (8); the whole development on Loquacity (46) is taken word for word from Aulus Gellius; in the long note « on the differences of wits » (65) certain passages are obviously translated from Quintilian; in the Essays on style and the « famous orators », including Bacon, (69-72) every sentence, and almost every word was inspired by, or taken from, Seneca the Elder (b). I pass by a quantity of quotations and palpable reminiscences from the Ancients, which only testify to the extensive scholarship of old Ben. Nor was the range of his readings limited to the Latin and, occasionally, the Greek classics; as some of the political Essays (89-92) implied an acquaintance with Machiavelli’s Prince, from which the first two were merely verbal translations.

In short, of the 137 sections, which make up those Discoveries, some twenty seemed more or less directly inspired, or literally translated, from older authors; but the credit of the rest was left to Jonson; and even Prof. Schelling, who identified most of those imitations, does not

(a) Mr. Swinburne, as I said, did not suspect the unoriginal character of this part of the book, and highly extolled the wisdom, and even the modernity of some of these remarks (pp. 167-8). The mistake is the more curious as in the preceding page, he makes a reference to Quintilian’s opinion on bodily chastisements, which Jonson simply translated. The same passage is proclaimed by Prof. A. W. Ward « very English in spirit » (Dram. Literature, II, 331).

(b) It is worthy of remark that Jonson gives all those observations as being his own: « I have remarked, I have observed, I have known, » etc. (Cf. 1, 62, 63, 66, 68, 70, 73, 80, 84, 85, 87, 89, 106, 116, 117, 119). This must not tell against his moral character, as the imitation was often so obvious that it could hardly deceive any one in that golden age of scholarship. Still it is somewhat strange to see him apply to Shakespeare or Bacon what Seneca said of Haterius or Cassius Severus. The whole paragraph on Memory (56), which is simply translated from the same writer, the poet here applies to himself. § 68 (Otium studiorum), which is derived from the same source, is generally considered as autobiographical. (Cf. Swinburne. Essay, p. 146; Ward. Dram. Literature, II, 334.)
express any doubt as to the originality of the book taken as a whole. Yet, as I was looking into it, in order to ascertain Jonson's indebtedness to his predecessors, I found other passages in Quintilian, Seneca, Vives, closely resembling some of his utterances, and on further examination and research, I came to the conclusion that the greater part (and most probably the whole) of the book consisted of translations and adaptations from other writers. My purpose in the present edition was to point out those curious similitudes, and to "render unto Caesar", or other writers, what was in fact their own.

All those imitations however have not been made in the same style and spirit, and we must distinguish between them. Some are literal transcriptions, with little or no change at all, of short passages, consisting of one or two sentences (6, 8, 28, 38, 53, 57, 83). When the original text is more developed, Jonson usually manages to make it shorter by fusing several sentences into one or leaving out the less important (13 sqq, 19 sqq, 24, 52, 54, 119, 120, 122) (a). This is particularly the case with the extracts from Seneca the Philosopher, which are generally too prolix and wordy for his taste (52, 54, 61, 74, 75, 101, 102, 103, 104). In a note on the different qualifications of painters (110), he takes Quintilian's survey of the Greek Painters and strikes out all proper names, to make it more general. In § 123, he condenses into a short essay eight or ten pages of the Advancement of Learning, picking up a sentence, or a clause, or even a single word here and there. Sometimes he goes so far as to change the order of sentences, bringing together for instance the beginning and end of one of Pliny's letters (24) or thoughts on the same subject from different treatises of Seneca (1, 61). The successive chapters on the teaching of children and the elements of style (114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119 b), derived from Quintilian's Institutes, are thus made up of sentences taken everywhere in the book and arranged in a different order, as will be seen on a close inspection of the text. But he does not always slavishly adhere to the wording of his model: in § 95, which is entitled: Illiteratus Princeps, the ideas are taken from a passage of Justus Lipsius, but worked out on a quite different plan (See also the former half of § 96). One of the most curious of these attempts at freedom is to be seen in § 59 and 60, both inspired from the same writer, where Jonson not only

(a) The only exception is the long chapter of Heinsius, which has been translated verbatim and which makes up the four last sections of the book (132-136).
interfered with the order of the sentences, but applied them to a
different object, transferring to Truth what the other said of Virtue.
Thus far the personality of our poet has only revealed itself, as
it were, in «a nice derangement» of epithets; we now reach a higher
stage of originality, where thoughts and sentences of different authors
are blended into a more or less coherent whole. By this I do not mean
those quotations and reminiscences, which are inserted here and there
into the fabric of another writer’s style (119, 120, 126). I refer to those
paragraphs, which seem to have been made up of several fragments,
pounded and kneaded, as it were, together. § 95 for instance is the
condensation of an Epistle Dedicatory of Justus Lipsius, touched
up with a pithy apophtegm of Carneades, as reported by Plutarch.
The most remarkable in this kind is the long essay (130), which is
entitled: «But how differs a Poem from what we call a Poesy»? It is
made up of so many fragments that I have not been able to identify
them all; but the thoughts expressed are so destitute of originality,
that not one of them seems to belong to Jonson. In fact the originality
of the book is limited to a few sentences, woven into the warp and
woof of other writers, and which very seldom exceed three or four
lines. These additions are most interesting to study, as they show
Jonson’s personal taste in opposition to that of his model. They gener-
ally are of a pictorial character and strengthen the impression,
which has been noted down elsewhere, of the visual turn of Jonson’s
imagination. (Cf. Barrett Wendell. The temper of the 17th cen-
tury in English Literature, pp. 66-67, and our own Ben Jonson,
chap. vii.) As long as he deals with a merely abstract subject, he
is content with translating the original text without any addition; but
when a chance offers of relieving it by some concrete illustration,
he hardly ever lets it go. Whenever he differs from his model, one
may be sure that the advantage for picturesque is always on his side:
see for instance: § 71, 62, 102, 122. These additions however, scarce as
they are, are not always and exclusively picturesque: the longest and
most important is certainly that in § 100, where a spirited defence of his
own conduct and a contemptuous onslaught on his enemies are forced
in between two extracts from the Apology of Apuleius. But every one
knows that Jonson’s impatience of criticism was most sensitive, and
we are not to wonder if the most genuine passage in the Discoveries
should manifest his combative temper.

It might be objected to the preceding assertion, that all the different
sections have not yet been identified and that some of them at least may be due entirely to Jonson. Still the proportion of unoriginal passages is so high (about four fifths of the book), that we may risk the conclusion: almost every development of some importance (with three or four exceptions) has been traced to its source, and those that have not, are the shorter notes at the beginning of the book, which were particularly difficult to identify on account of their fragmentary character. Yet I doubt not but a better scholar, more familiar than I can pretend to be with the classics, would have been able to achieve the complete demonstration. In fact many of those sections sound like translations and extracts, rather than spontaneous, direct utterances of Jonson (36, 39, 43, 50, 58, 87, 93, 94, 105, 106, 113). Some of them particularly remind us of Erasmus, from whose writings he was frequently borrowing (35, 36, 40, 81, 82) (a); but though I perused many of his compact folios, could I indulge the hope of spying out every little sentence, that bore a resemblance to one of Jonson's? This impression is borne out by a fact, which is still more conclusive against him. Prof. Schelling has remarked that « Jonson's vocabulary (in the present work) is somewhat more antiquated than that of most of his contemporaries » and that « a comparison of the vocabulary of Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poesie with that of the Discoveries, written nearly 60 years later, will disclose a far larger number of words demanding explanation in the latter » (p. xxi). This undeniable fact, which he ascribes partly to « the conservatism of increasing years », partly « to that of constitution », is only due to the presence of a Latin text, which stands between his thought and the expression of it, and visibly influences his style, either in the choice of words or in the structure of the sentence. It is also remarkable that many words of the Latin type, and even Latin idioms, are to be found in those parts of the book, which are as yet looked upon as original: such as indagations (67), venditations (65), recession (112), simullties (113), fighting as for their fires

(a) § 82 (Morbi), with its sensible tone of tolerant worldly prudence, is very characteristic of Erasmus' attitude towards incipient Reform, and indeed partly coincides with one of his favourite ideas: « Interim igitur mali bonis admicii ferendi sunt, quando minore pertinent tolerantur quam tollerentur » (Paraphrase in Matthæi XIII). Some of Jonson's denunciations of the folly of theologians (35, 36, 37, 81) are quite in the savage manner of the Renaissance, relieved by the Erasmian wit.
and altars (35). Cannot we safely conclude, that these parts are, like the rest, mere translations or imitations? If the thing is not proved, it is to say the least most probable. But Jonson was such an omnivorous reader, that we might have to search through a whole library before lighting on the passage we wanted; and the result, however desirable, would hardly be worth the pains.

Yet, supposing every section of the Discoveries to have been thus identified, could we say that it is nothing but a « common-place book », where he noted down some passages of his favourite authors, which were more to his taste than others? This assertion, though true in the main, must be to some extent corrected and qualified. If some extracts are mere translations, others imply great changes from the original text. We cannot wonder at its being many times condensed and epitomized, but we are at a loss to explain why, in so many cases, the order of the sentences should have been deranged, or the words altered. Sometimes even, when his model savours too much of antiquity, Jonson does not scruple to change some details to harmonize it with the circumstances of modern life (62, 102, 103, 117, 119, 122). Let us admit however that these modernizations were spontaneous, unconscious and unpremeditated, as it were; that Jonson, most alive as he was to reality and feeling the general applicability of certain remarks, naturally transferred to his own time what was said of past ages. But this same feeling of the continued identity of mankind fails to explain why he should apply to Shakespeare or Bacon the very same words which applied to Cassius Severus or Haterius? Is it enough to say that, while reading the Controversies, he was struck by the similitude of the characters, and noting down those passages for their literary excellence, preferred to do it under modern, rather than ancient, names? A most unsatisfactory explanation, which does not account for the other changes that have intervened, and which must decidedly be discarded! Now what shall we say of those paragraphs, where different passages from several books or divers authors have been raked up into a whole (1, 46, 48, 59, 60, 130)? The changes which so many of these Discoveries have undergone testify to some unknown design, which it is our business to clear out, or at least to discuss.

This is indeed the most interesting aspect of the question, the true
gist of the problem. As long as those « Discoveries » were supposed to be Jonson’s own, with only a few exceptions, there was no necessity of ascertaining the purport of these detached notes, which looked so like personal remarks, with their egotistical assertions. If they were simple extracts and translations, there was no need of looking further than the mere fact of their existence. Being, as they are, of a miscellaneous character, quite unoriginal in matter, but partly original in form, we may ask ourselves what was Jonson’s aim, when collecting these « materials »? Here we must first strike a line between the first and second half of the book. The latter, beginning with §114, which Mr. Swinburne described as « an essay on style, continuous in aim, though desultory in treatment » (p. 168), seems to be the rough draft of an unfinished treatise, or a formal letter of the poet to one of his noble patrons (a), on the elements of education and teaching. It is questionable whether we have the book as it would have been published: some paragraphs may be wanting, or out of their proper place; thus §124 would be better placed between 118 and 119. But it is obvious from the beginning of §127 (« We have spoken sufficiently of oratory, let us now make a diversion to poetry »), that after treating of prose (oratory), he meant to give also the principles of poetry, which are to be found in the following sections. An essay on Epistolary style, which seems more original than the rest, though inspired from that of Justus Lipsius on the same subject (b), has been shoed in between both parts, letter-writing being actually the most

(a) Who may have been the correspondent to whom this letter, and probably the whole treatise was addressed, we can only surmise from the known data of Jonson’s later life. The editors generally agree to name the Duke, then Earl of Newcastle; which is indeed the more probable hypothesis.

(b) I could not peruse all the treatises on letter-writing prior to Jonson’s time which are innumerable; but I looked over a dozen of the most famous (viz. those of Libanius, Demetrius Phalereus, Erasmus, Vives, Hegendorph, Sans-bue, C. Celtis, Mulin, &c.) and the one that seemed to me to come nearer to that of Jonson, was the Epistolica Institutio of Justus Lipsius. The ideas and order are the same throughout, and the last two paragraphs look almost like translations. But Jonson assumes here a greater independence than usual over his model, which is all for the better; and §125 contains some of the happiest traits of humour in the whole book, particularly the denunciation of those « that go a-begging for some meaning, and labour to be delivered of the great burden of nothing ». In fact Jonson must have been desirous, not only to condense the original text, but also to enliven and relieve the dry preciseness of the great Flemish scholar.
useful and familiar kind of prose, for a young man of the world, that will probably never practice any other. It is rather doubtful on the other hand, whether the last essays on comedy and tragedy were destined to the same work, though the study of the drama might have logically followed that of poetry. It is evident at any rate that the five sections on tragedy (132-136), which have hitherto been considered as original utterances after Aristotle, but are in fact a literal translation out of Heinsius, de Tragediae Constitutione (1610) (a) are far from exhausting even the essentials of that vast subject. However the unfinished, fragmentary, disjointed state of this part of the book forbids us to pass a final sentence on the question. These last essays may have been designed as the basis of a separate work on dramatic criticism, or for some dogmatic preface to the poet’s second volume; yet I feel inclined to suppose that they belonged to the same treatise, the first part of which only Jonson was able to complete, being arrested towards the end by fatigue, or illness, or death.

We now come to the former half of the book, which is far more perplexing to criticism, on account not only of its miscellaneous character, but chiefly of the variety of imitative forms, which are exhibited in these different sections. The least probable of all explanations, as we have hinted above, is that Jonson, noted down those various passages, because they seemed to him particularly happy in thought or expression. This might be the case with those, that are merely translated with very little, or no change at all; but we may observe that, if the Discoveries were merely a book of extracts, the entries would not only be more numerous, but chiefly more interesting. Jonson was not only a voracious, he was a discriminating reader; and from his multifarious “daily readings”, he might have brought back many remarks of greater weight; while he left out many observations, that strike the unprejudiced reader of the Discoveries as perfectly trivial and utterly uninteresting (e. g. 25, 31, 35, 40). On the other hand, the alterations which have been alluded to, in the order and structure of the sentences, and the modernization of details, seem to imply some after-design, as yet unexplained, which we must now try to realize.

(a) It seems somewhat strange that the unoriginal character of this, by far the most celebrated part of the book, should have gone so long unsuspected, as many people, and Dryden among the rest, must have made a particular study of both.
There is first a distinction to be made between those of a didactic turn and the rest. The literary essays, which are numerous enough, may have been destined to the short treatise that fills up the second part of the book: such might be the case for those on "eloquence" (51, 70, 71, 72, 73), on poets (62, 63, 64), on writing in general (65, 68, 69). Some of them at least look like fragments that have been discarded by the author, or misplaced by the editor. They may also have been written separately for private letters or public compositions, which actually saw the light or remained unused among the poet's papers: Jonson who was only too ready "to swear in the words" of ancient masters, seems to have been particularly alive to the perennial value of the critical utterances, which are to be found in Quintilian or Seneca, and their enduring applicability to the different types of mind, which he could observe around him. He may even, after reading some page of the Institutes or the Controversies, have written those parallel passages on Shakespeare, Bacon and himself, which are so curiously unoriginal, without any deliberate aim, and only for the singularity of the similitude. Some of them also, which have a more polemical accent, might have taken place in the preface or dedication of one of his plays (41, 44, 49, 62); they may also have been composed or copied outto soothe down the rancour of the disabled veteran of letters at the most unjust attacks of his triumphant enemies (100). As to the political essays, they look like the "materials" of a letter to the king on the attributes and duties of the regal function. As they particularly insist on the necessity of clemency, I have sometimes thought that the letter, if ever written, was meant to implore Charles's mercy on behalf of one of the poet's friends. From the tenour of § 78 (de optimo Rege Jacobo), I should feel inclined to believe it was John Selden, who remained in prison from March 1629 to May 1631, and was deprived for a time at least of the society of his friends and the solace of his books (Cf. Dict. of National Biography. Art. Selden). As to the extracts from Vives on the use and qualification of Counsellors, which are to be found in another part of the book (13-18), I cannot say if they were destined to the same, or to a different treatise. The three paragraphs on Picture (109, 110, 112), which are of the most summary description, may have been designed as a concluding chapter to his work on education, the fine arts being considered as part of the liberal sciences and a kind of complement to the study of poetry (109).

The more general remarks on man and society, which now remain
to be examined, are perhaps less difficult to account for, than might be supposed at first. If many of them do not seem very remarkable, the reason may be that they were selected for particular purposes; and I think § 101 (*Amor nummi*) gives us the clue to the mystery. A strange analogy has been pointed out between part of this essay and the following passage from Jonson's *Staple of News* (Act III. Scene ii):

> Ay, but an anger, a just anger, as this is,
> Puts life in man. Who can endure to see
> The fury of men's gullets and their groins?
> What fires, what cooks, what kitchens might be spared?
> What stews, ponds, parks, coops, garners, magazines?
> What velvets, tissues, scarfs, embroideries,
> And laces they might lack? They covet things
> Superfluous still; when it were much more honour
> They could want necessary: what need hath nature
Of silver dishes or gold chamber-pots?
Of perfumed napkins, or a numerous family
To see her eat? poor and wise, she requires
Meat only: hunger is not ambitious:
Say that you were the emperor of pleasures,
The great dictator of fashions for all Europe,
And had the pomp of all the courts and kingdoms,
Laid forth unto the show, to make yourself
Gazed and admired at; you must go to bed,
And take your natural rest: then all this vanisheth.
Your bravery was but shown; 'twas not possest:
While it did boast itself, it was then perishing.
— This man has healthful lungs. — All that excess
Appeared as little yours as the spectators':
It scarce fills up the expectation
Of a few hours, that entertains men's lives.

If we bring together the prose and poetical developments, with the fragment of Seneca's letter, from which it was englished, there is no doubting that the passage in the comedy was a versified arrangement of this short essay on Riches (*b*); it is even most interesting, as we know

---

(a) The coincidence has been signalled by Mr. C. Crawford (*Notes and Queries*, 9th Ser., X, 301).

(b) Cf. also this passage of the preceding scene in the same play (III, 1) which is versified from § 103:

> P. CAN. Why, that's the end of wealth! thrust riches outward,
And remain beggars within; contemplate nothing
But the vile sordid things of time, place, money,
And let the noble and the precious go:
from Jonson's own testimony that « he made all his (verses) first in prose » (Conversations with Drummond of Hawthornden, XV.), to see how he proceeded when he turned his prose into poetry. Nor is this the only instance we have of the fact: the short paragraph on Favourites (97) has become with very little change, one of the stanzas in Hierome Weston's Epithalamion (Underwoods. XCV. Ed. Giff.-Cunn. III, 346):

Stand there; for when a noble nature's raised,  
It brings friends joy, foes grief, posterity fame;  
In him the times, no less than prince, are praised,  
And by his rise, in active men his name  
Doth emulation stir;  
To the dull a spur  
It is, to the envious mean't  
A mere upbraiding grief and torturing punishment...

It is a well-known fact, on the other hand, that Jonson did not scruple to borrow from his predecessors, chiefly from the ancients, those passages which particularly struck his fancy as well-written or finely thought. « Plagiarism is an invention of the 19th century », as Prof. Schelling aptly remarks; and the learned studies of Mr. Sidney Lee on Elizabethan Poetry have curiously illustrated this general tendency (Cf. Introduction to the Elizabethan Sonnets. An English Garner. Constable. 1904). But if the theory of imitation was then current, no one has practiced it with greater freedom than Jonson; in that unscrupulous age, he was one of the most unscrupulous borrowers. Many of these unsolicited «loans» have been detected, but they are far from having all been brought to light. Some of the finest passages we admire in his works are decidedly not his: such is the case for instance of the grand Epistle Dedicatory to his Volpone, some of the best sentences in which were simply translated from Strabo, Erasmus and Minturno; and the same may be said of the famous Epistle to Sackville (Underwoods, XXX), one of the highest flights of his muse, which is all but a cento of Plutarch and Seneca (a). In the face of such evidence, we

Virtue and honesty; hang them, poor thin membranes  
Of honour! Who respects them? O the fates,  
How hath all just true reputation fallen  
Since money, this base money, 'gan to have any!

(a) I thought fit to give in an appendix some specimens of that patch or chequer work, the elements of which have been taken from the same writers,
feel entitled to conclude that the different extracts from ancient or modern writers, which make up those Discoveries, were only the "rough materials" of his future poetry. They were probably selected on account of the possibility of their being versified some day or other, as the subject seemed to lie among the poet's favourite preoccupations. The more or less important changes they have undergone are explicable that way: these fragments represent the first stage, as it were, in his poetical manufacturing. It is however a question whether those particular passages were chosen for some definite purpose, or laid by in case of emergency, as Jonson was reading Seneca or Pliny. In this latter hypothesis, other note-books of the same description may have existed, which were burnt away in 1623.

If our suppositions are correct, we must then conclude those Discoveries to be only a collection of "materials" for further compositions, either in poetry or in prose. The greater part of these "observations upon men and matter" are borrowed from other writers, and it is highly probable that those which have not yet been identified stand in the same predicament. After stating this negative conclusion, I cannot but experience some pangs of remorse: I feel the necessity of tendering apologies, not to Jonson who knew better what was the purport of his Discoveries, but to Mr. Swinburne, who constituted himself the enthusiastic advocate of this little book, and must be disappointed to hear that Jonson's part in it is so very small. But after ascertaining the fact, I could not help making it public: it was a case of Amicus Plato, magis amica Veritas. The deep and noble thoughts, the strong manly expressions, which we used to admire as his, we must now give back to their right owners. But even reduced to its true significance, the book is far from uninteresting. The opinions expressed in these Discoveries, even when borrowed word for word from other people, must have been approved and shared by Jonson, and give us some information as to his person and character. I do not insist on the wide range of reading

Seneca, Pliny, Quintilian, Erasmus, etc.; many others might have been added. This frontless plundering must not impair the moral credit of Jonson, since it was the received habit of the times; but it may diminish in some measure his reputation as a great writer. On the other hand this process, if it were applied to his whole work, would enable us to distinguish between the details which Jonson borrowed and the passages which really belong to him, thus to ascertain the most marking traits of his literary personality.
which they imply and which is only too well-known; but his preference for, and familiarity with, Latin authors, which was only suspected, is here made conspicuous by the number of references we had to point out. If our conjectures are right, we have here some specimens at least of his future poetry in its former stage, when it was still in prose; and the fact is curious enough. It is also evident that some of the essays, if not all, have been written from memory, those for instance which are taken from divers authors or several passages in the same book; this testifies to the wonderful memory which Jonson still possessed, even when impaired by disease and age: he must have known by heart whole chapters from Quintilian and Seneca « the Rhetorician ». But the chief interest of the book lies in the comparison between Jonson's imitation and his original: in certain cases, the things he has left out throw a light on his own ideas, and those he added are most characteristic of his particular turn of mind, his biting satirical propensities and the realistic tendency of his imagination.

There remains to say a few words on the present edition. I have naturally followed the text of the 1641 folio, which is the one authority for the Discoveries; but I corrected it whenever there was a palpable misprint, or a fault in the punctuation. The critical apparatus gives the different readings, which have been proposed or adopted by the successive editors, by Mr. Swinburne in his Essay on Ben Jonson, and the anonymous writer who suggested some judicious emendations in the Guardian (1893, p. 1693). I only neglected the small changes in punctuation, which did not affect the sense. On the other hand I kept to Jonson's orthography and punctuation, as more picturesque. I give at the bottom of each page the corresponding passages of other writers from which Jonson was borrowing: the sentences or words which he translated are printed in italics.
ABBREVIATIONS USED

F. 1 : Folio (1640-1641).
F. 2 : Folio (1692).
Whall. : Whalley (1756).
Giff. : Gifford (1816).
Cornw. : Barry Cornwall (1838).
Cunn. : Cunningham (1875).
Schell. : Schelling (1892).
Morl. : H. Morley (1892).
Goll. : Gollancz (1898).
Swinb. : Swinburne's Essay (1899).
CORRIGENDA

10, 15. For: in their sole. Authority, read: in their sole Authority
13, 4. For: and most exalted wits, read: and exalted wits
14, 20, For: there is a little to be, read: there is little to be
16, 10. For: belles and ribbands, read: bels and ribbands
16, 18. For: Hee is a narrow-minded man, read: He is an narrow-minded man
16, 18. For: an elephant, in '630, read: an elephant, '630,
26, 15. For: I scap'd pirates, read: I scap'd Pyrats
27, 5. For: The fees of the one and, read: the fees of the one or
29, 24. For: not as the Philosopher, read: But not as the Philosopher
53, 23. For: his proper embattling them, read: his proper embattaling them
60, 3. (marg) For: Nicolas, read: St Nicolas.
66, 18. For: grievous, which makes, read: grievous ; which makes
69, 8. For: offer'd us, wee search, read: offer'd us ; wee search
75, 14. For: all sortes of creatures, read: all sort of creatures
79, 22. For: Antony of Correggio, read: Antonie of Correggio
81, 8. For: about those disquisitions, read: about these disquisitions
94, 16. For: use of things, Many, read: use of things. Many
95, 2. For: A barbarous phrase has, read: A barbarous Phrase hath
97, 17. For: all the Illustrations, read: all his Illustrations
98, 7. For: an honest error, read: an honest errour
TIMBER:

OR,

DISCOVERIES:

MADE UPON MEN
AND MATTER: AS THEY
have flow'd out of his daily Read-
ings; or had their refluxe to his
peculiar Notion of the Times.

By

Ben: Johnson

Tecum habita, ut noris quam sit tibi curta supellex.
PERSIUS, SAT. IV.

LONDON
Printed M.DCXLII
1641
SYLVA

RERUM, et sententiarum, quast "\(\lambda\)\(\lambda\) dicta a multi-
plici materia et varietate in iis contenta. Quemad-
modum enim vulgo solemus infinitam arbôrum nasce-
tium indiscriminatim multitudinem Sylvam dicere: Ita
etiam libros suos in quibus variae, et diversae materiae
opuscula temere congesta erant, Sylvas appellabant
antiqui: Tymber-trees.
Ill fortune never crush’t that man, whom good fortune deceived not. I therefore have counsell’d my friends, never to trust to her fairer side, though she seemed to make peace with them: but to place all things she gave them so, as she might aske them againe without their trouble; she might take them from them, not pull them: to keepe alwayes a distance between her, and themselves. Hee knowes not his owne strength that hath not met Adversity. Heaven prepares good men with crosses; but no ill can happen to a good man. Contraries are not
mixed. Yet, that which happens to any man, may to every man. But it is in his reason, what hee accounts it, and will make it.

Change into extremity is very frequent, and easy. As when a beggar suddenly growes rich, he commonly becomes a prodigall; for, to obscure his former obscurity, he puts on riot and excesse.

No man is so foolish, but may give an other good counsel sometimes; and no man is so wise, but may easily erre, if he will take no others counsell but his 10 owne. But very few men are wise by their owne counsel; or learned by their owne teaching. For hee that was only taught by himselfe, had a foole to his master.

A Fame that is wounded to the world, would be better cured by another’s Apologie then its owne: For few can apply medicines well themselves. Besides, the man that is once hated, both his good, and his evil deeds oppresse him: Hee is not easily emergent.

In great Affaires it is a worke of difficulty to please all. And oft times wee lose the occasion of carrying a busines well, and thoroughly, by our too much haste. For Passions are spirituall Rebels, and raise sedition against the understanding.

There is a Necessity all men should love their countrey: He that professeth the contrary, may be delighted with his words, but his heart is there.

---

Seneca, Consolatio ad Marciam. IX. Egregium versum et dignum audi, qui non a Publio periret:

Caivis potest accidere, quod cuiquam potest.

Idem. De Providentia. IV.... Calamitas virtutis-occasio est. Quos Deus amat, quos probat, indurat, recognoscit, exercet; eos autem quibus indulgere videtur, quibus parere, molles venturis malis servat.

Natures that are hardned to evill, you shall sooner breake, then make straight; they are like poles that are crooked, and dry: there is no attempting them.

We praise the things wee heare, with much more willingnesse, then those wee see: because wee envy the present, and reverence the past; thinking our selves instructed by the one, and overlaid by the other.

Opinion is a light, vaine, crude, and imperfect thing, settled in the Imagination; but never arriving at the understanding, there to obtaine the tincture of Reason. Wee labour with it more then Truth. There is much more holds us, then presseth us. An ill fact is one thing, an ill fortune is another; Yet both oftentimes sway us alike, by the error of our thin-king.

Many men beleeve not themselves, what they would perswade others; and lesse doe the things, which they would impose on others: but least of all, know what they themselves most confidently boast. Only they set the sign of the Crosse over their outer doores, and sacrifice to their gut, and their groyne in their inner Closets.

What a deal of cold busines doth a man misspend the better part of life in! in scattering complements, tendering visits, gathering and venting newes, following Feasts and playes, making a little winter-love in a darke corner.


Hypoerita. Puritanus Hypocrita est Haereticus, quem opinio propriae perspicaciae, quâ sibi videtur, cum paucis in Ecclesiâ dogmatibus, errores quosdam animadvertisse, de statu mentis deturbavit: unde sacro furore percitus, phrenetice pugnat contra magistratus, sic ratus obedientiam praestare Deo.

Matua Auxilia. Learning needs rest: Soveraigny gives it. Soveraigny needs counsell: Learning affords it. There is such a Consociation of offices, betwene the Prince, and whom his favour breeds, that they may helpe to sustain his power, as hee their knowledge. It is the greatest part of his Liberality, his favour: And from whom doth heare discipline more willingly, or the Arts discours'd more gladly, then from those, whom his owne bounty, and benefits have made able and faithfull?

Cognit. univers. In being able to counsell others, a Man must be furnish'd with a universall store in himselfe, to the knowledge of all Nature: That is, the matter and seed-plot: there are the seats of all argument and invention. But especially, you must be cunning in the nature of Man: There is the variety of things, which are as the Elements, and Letters, which his art and wisdom must ranke, and order to the present

2. Pers. conj.: videtur, cum paucis, in Ecclesiæ dogmatibus

13-18. Vives, Opera omnia. (Ed. 1555.) t, 322-323. Epistola Nuncupatoria. (in fine)... Tum intelligis quanta sit inter principes et eruditos homines numerum consensio: ut non sint duo hominum genera, quae amica inter se magis et conjuncta esse conveniat: ut alterum ab altero fulciatur, et quasi mutuum inter se auxilium praebant. Sunt utrisque civitatibus et populis a Deo tributis, ut bene illis consulat. eruditi praeceps, principes edictis et jussu, ambo exemplo sui. Eruditio quie te indiget, qua praestat regia potestas: haec vero consilia ad molem tantarum rerum tractandam, quod praestant docti prudentia ex disciplinis collecta: ut appareat si alterutris alteri desint, exequi eos munus suum ac tueri non posse. Talis tui et eorum, quos enutris, erit consociatio officiorum, ut tu illorum peritiam, illi tuam potentiam adjuvent, et sustentent: quod erat liberalitatis tuae pretium amplissimum. Nam quos audias alios rectius, aut quorum vel accuratorium vel fidoloribus uteris consiliis, quam illorum, qui beneficio tuo tales evaserunt, ut adesse tibi maximis de rebus deliberanti merito possent?
occasion. For wee see not all letters in single words; nor all places in particular discourses. That cause seldom happens, wherein a man will use all Arguments.

The two chiefe things that give a man reputation in counsell are the opinion of his Honesty; and the opinion of his Wisdome: The authority of those two will perswade, when the same Counsels utter'd by other persons lesse qualified are of no efficacy, or working.

Wisedome without Honesty is meere craft, and coosinage. And therefore the reputation of Honesty must first be gotten; which cannot be, but by living well. A good life is a maine Argument.

Next a good life, to beget love in the persons wee counsell, by dissembling our knowledge of ability in ourselves, and avoyding all suspition of arrogance, ascribing all to their instruction, as an Ambassador to his Master, or a Subject to his Soveraigne; seasoning all with humanity and sweetnesse, only expressing care and sollicitude. And not to counsell rashly, or on the suddaine, but with advice
and meditation: (Dat nox consilium). For many foolish things fall from wise men, if they speak in haste, or be extemporall. It therefore behooves the giver of counsell to be circumspect; especially to beware of those, with whom hee is not thoroughly acquainted, lest any spice of rashnesse, folly, or selfe-love appeare, which will be mark'd by new persons, and men of experience in affaires.

And to the Prince, or his Superior, to behave himselfe modestly, and with respect. Yet free from Flattery, or Empire. Not with insolence, or precept; but as the Prince were already furnish'd with the parts hee should have, especially in affairs

efficiunt. Porro prudentia detracta justitia, nihil valet ad faciendam fidem, ut inquit Plato, quippe quae fras, et astutia existimatur, prudentes enim nisi et probos esse arbitramur, vafros, callidos, veteratores, fugiendo esse ducimus, nec est qui se illis credat, facilius bono imprudenti. Existimatio probitatis duabus potissimum rebus vel paratur, vel confirmatur. Parabitur primum si honeste, et sancte vivas, ac consulas, unde vetus illud, vitam maxime persuadere, nec est quod perinde avertat homines a persuasione, quam si vitam dictis videant dissentire. Caput est apud Quintilianum, in extremo libro, non posse oratorem nisi virum bonum esse, quum alii de causis, tum vero quod non persuadebit, nisi credatur talis, quod si qua in parte valet, praecipe in suadendo, ad hor-tando, monendo. In locum probitatis sucedeat, ut amare illum credaris cui consulis, ac nescio an istud fortius sit, quam credi virum bonum, adeo natura fert, ut amici nostri semper meliores nobis esse videantur quam inimici. Ita totum consilium sive temperandum est ut commoda et rem illius, qui consultit, videaris spectare, non tua, vel alterius eujusquam. Prudentiam modice nobis arrogabimus, eamque paratam potius usu ac labore, quam acumine ingenii, atque ita, ut in ea re de qua deliberatur. aliquid nobis tribuamus. Quod si hoc consequitur invidia, ad eam leniendam detrahamus in aliis rebus. Omnino vitanda est suspicio arrogantiae, quam ne in maximis quidem viris, et omnem laudem supergressis ferimus, et si commode possimus, id quod nobis sumimus, condiamus assensu ac benevolentia, vel ejus qui deliberat, vel consulentium, nos haec scire quae quidem didicimus cum illis, vel ab illis, vel per illos, et eorum cura, aut beneficio, ut si eorum ope aut opera, aut ab illis missi, ut qui legatus fuit, ut tu, principi suo potest dicere se experimentis illa didiciesse, dum ejus negotia gereret. Cicero quos pro sua sententia adducit, etc... Amoris comes est cura et sollicitudo rerum, amici major interdum quam nostrarum, prodest: id quoque ad opinionem prudentiae, quando hoc est prudentis amici multum de rebus amicorum cogitare, et illis prospiceere. Consularium est (inquit Cicero) vigilare, cogitare, adesse animo, semper aliquid pro republica aut facere, aut dicere. Et in eam rem, super qua deliberatur, curam ostentare non inconveniet.
of State. For in other things they will more easily suffer themselves to be taught, or reprehended: they will not willingly contend. But hear (with Alexander) the answer the Musician gave him: Absit, o Rex, ut tu melius haec scias, quam ego.

A man should so deliver himself to the nature of the subject, whereof he speaks, that his hearer may

--- 9 ---

Plutarch. in vita Alex. (P. 89).

[N] Perspicuitas.

3. Schell. Morl. : contend, but hear  Goll. : contend ; but hear

Nam saepenumero viris cordatis et callidis, ut stulta verba excidant, sic parum recta consilia, quam ex tempore dicunt… Nam ut in genere causae judiciales extempore existimari dicere magnum affert causae robur, quoniam videmur tantum fidere veritati, non astutiae vel ingenio, sic in suasoribus plus habet fidei meditata oratio, sicuti verbo vetere summonemur, Nos Consilium. Quare non est hic affectanda laus ingenii omnium horarum aut extemporales facundiae. Ergo tota oratione danda opera est, ne quid dicas, quod opinionem vel probitatis, vel amicitiae, vel prudentiae imm nutat, augeat potius quantum licebit. Quo de causa apud parum notum agendum circum spectius, ne qua species eminente seu temperatissima, seu arrogantium, seu impudentiae, seu turarum utilitatum, quorum vitiorum suspicio maliciis mentium humanarum facile ingerere se solet judiciis novis de homine incognito, et potissimum ipsis hominibus qui multos experti sunt malos, velut senibus, et qui in variis civitatis, aut cum multis haehuerunt commercium. Apud majorem modestius et reverentius, principem praeceptor, sed sic ut ab sit assentatio, quae grata initio, post cognitam omnem adimit fidem. Neque vero haec ita consultandum, tanquam praecipias imperito, nisi puer sit, et ejus actatem regas, sin adulutor, veluti amonendas occupatum. Quippe ad principem ita loquendum tanquam praeditus eo sit, quod est maxime principis, magna prudentia, et judicio de rebus sano, hoc quaum de negotiis regni tractatur, nam in aliis rebus facillius patiantur illi doceri et reprehendi, quemadmodum citharaedus ille responsit Alexandro, nescio quid de pulsi fidium cavillanti, Absit, o Rex, ut tu melius haec scias, quam ego.

take knowledge of his discipline with some delight: and so apparell faire, and good matter, that the studious of elegancy be not defrauded; redeeme Arts from their rough, and braky seates, where they lay hid, and overgrowne with thornes, to a pure, open, and flowry light: where they may take the eye, and be taken by the hand.

I cannot think Nature is so spent, and decay’d, that she can bring forth nothing worth her former yeares. She is always the same, like her selfe: And when she collects her strength, is abler still. Men are decay’d, and studies: Shee is not.

I Know Nothing can conduce more to letters, then to examine the writings of the Ancients, and not to rest in their sole Authority, or take all upon trust from them: provided the plagues of
cognitione adhaerescerent: quod hactenus fere accidit, taedio nimirum infrugiferae ac horridae molestiae, quae in percipiendis artibus diutissime erat devoranda. Itaque venietur paulatim ad utilitatem doctrarum linguarum, quas ideo tanta diligentia paramus, vel quia disciplinas continent, vel quia sunt illis continendis idem. Conatus sum etiam artem ab impii scrupulis repurgare, atque a gentilitiis tenebris ad lucem traducere pietatis nostrae: ut quod olim veteres illos scriptores feffetit, non id factum humani ingenii vitio, sicut nonnulli arbitratur, sed illorum ostendam. Ideoque rationes attuli petitus ex Natura, non e divinis oraculis: ne ex philosophia in Theologiam transilirem. Quod si quandotenus patefecero, profecto laboris mei fructum capiam uberrimum. Nam quid excogitari utilius potest, quam homines a tenebris ad ejus lucis intuitum transferre, quam intueri adeo refert omnium, ut sine illa perpetuo futuri simus miserrimi? et si qui maligne se illam suspicabantur videre, planius et apertius conspiciant: atque illo modo, quo se clarissime patent cernere. Nec inter prima studia gentilitatis erroribus imbuti mox religionem illis contaminemus: sed ab exordio statim rectis sanisque persuasionibus assuecamus, quae paulatim nobissem adolescent. Verum quod antiquorum hominum in tradendis artibus confirmata esset authoritas. ne illa vel praeipienti mihi oficeret, vel studiosia, qui sese libenter ac facile duci aliiui receptae fievi committunt, declarandum mihi fuit, quibus in rebus lapsos esse illos censerem: sic rectius commodiusque existimavi posse me de artibus disserere. In quo opere multa fuerunt mihi contra priscos authorum disputanda, non omnes quidem, nam id infinitum atque inutile fuisse, sed receptos solum et diutino consentu approbatos. Hic meipsum, si qua est fides, suscepti hujus mei saepenumber puduit, et confiden tiam ipse meam damno, qui scriptoribus aequi conscreratis audeam repugnare. Aristotelis in primis, cujus ego in humanis artibus ingenium, industriam, diligent-
Judging, and Pronouncing against them, be away; such as are envy, bitterness, precipitation, impudence, and scurrile scoffing. For to all the observations of the Ancients, we have our owne experience, which, if wee will use, and apply, wee have better means to pronounce. It is true they open’d the gates, and made the way that went before us; but as Guides, not Commanders: Non Domini nostri, sed Duces fuere. Truith lyes open to all; it is no mans severall. Patet omnibus veritas; 10 nondum est occupata. Multum ex illa, etiam futuris relic tum est.

[22] Dissentire licet

If in some things I dissent from others, whose Wit, Industry, Diligenee, and Judgement I looke up at, and admire: let me not therefore heare presently of Ingratitude, and Rashnesse. For I thanke those, that have taught me, and will ever: but yet dare not thinke the scope of their labour, and enquiry, was to envy their posterity what they also could adde and find out.

Sed cum ratione.

12. Fr: relicta Schell., Goll.: relic tum Cet.: relicta

tiam, judicium, unice praeter ceteros et admiror et suspicio. Sed rogo, ne quis me idcircio vel ingratiudinis, vel temeritatis damnet. Nam et habendam ego illis maximam gratiam semper duxi, qui quod et solertia potuerunt exculpere, non inviderunt nobis suis posteris, et si quo lapsi sunt loco, ignoscendum humanae infirmitat i in culpa communi. Porro de scriptis magnorum authorum estimare multo est literis condici bilius, quam authoritate sola acquisecer e et fide semper aliena accipere omnia: absint modo judicandi et pronunciandi pestes, livor, acerbitas, praecipitatio, impudentia, et dicocitias scurrilis. Neque enim effeota est jam vel exhausta Natura, ut nihil prioribus annis simile pariát; eodem est semper sui simili: nec raro tonguam collectis viribus pollentior, ac potentior: qualen nunc esse credi par est robore adjutam et confirmatam, quod sensim per tot secula accevit. Quantum enim ad disciplinas percipiedas omnes aditum nobis inventa superiorum seculorum aperitum, et experientia tam diuturna? ut appareat posse nos, si modo applicaremus eodem animum, melius in universum pronunciare de rebus vitae ac naturae, quam Aristotelem, Platonem, aut quemquam antiquorum: videlicet post tam longam maximarum et abditorum rerum observationem, quae novae illis ac recentes admirationem magis pariebant, sui quam cognitionem adscerebant. Quid Aristoteles ipse, an non superiorum omnium placita convellere ausus est? Nobis examinare saltem ac censere
If I erre, pardon me: *Nulla ars simul et inventa est, et absoluta.* I doe not desire to be equall to those that went before; but to have my reason examined with theirs, and so much faith to be given them, or *me*, as those shall evict. I am neither *Author*, or *Fautor* of any sect. I will have no man addict himselfe to me; but if I have anything right, defend it as Truth's, not mine (save as it conduceth to a common good. It profits not me to have any man fence, or fight for me, to flourish, or take a side. *Stand for Truth*, and 'tis enough.

*Arts* that respect the mind, were ever reputed nobler, then those that serve the body: though wee lesse can be without them: As *Tillage, Spinning,*

---

2. *Schell, Goll.* : cedendum  
10. *Giff, Morley* : take my side


23 *Vives, De Canis corruptarum Artium Liber Primus* (Opera, 1, 326). Et quamadmodum videmus in vita contingere, ut homines perfuncti domesticis et necessariis negotiiis applicent animum ad aliquid altius ac liberalius cognoscendum, ita artibus, quae praesenti atque urgenti necessitati opeferent rite inventis ac constitutis, visum est humano ingenio sensim ad pulchriora sese
Weaving, Building, etc., without which, wee could scarce sustain life a day. But these were the works of every hand; the other of the braine only, and those the most generous, and most exalted wits, and spirits that cannot rest, or acquiesce. The mind of man is still fed with labour: Opere pascitur.

There is a more secret Cause: and the power of liberall studies lyes more hid then that it can bee wrought out by profane wits. It is not every mans way to hit. There are men (I confess) that set the Caract and Value upon things, as they love them; but science is not every mans Mistresse. It is as great a spite to be praised in the wrong place, and by a wrong person, as can be done to a noble nature.

If divers men seek Fame, or Honour, by divers ways; so both bee honest, neither is to be blam'd; but they that seek Immortality, are not onely worthy of leave, but of praise.

Non vulgi sunt.

(P. 90).


Maritus improbus.

Afflictio pia magistra.

Deploratis facilis descessus Averni.

The Dwell take all.

Mgidius cursu saperat.

Prodigo unnim nauci.

Munda et sordida.

Debitum deploratum.

Latro sesquipedalis.

With a great belly.
Comes de Schortenhien.

Calumniae fructus.

Hee hath a delicate Wife, a faire fortune, and family to goe to and be welcome; yet hee had rather be drunke with mine Host, and the Fidlers of such a Towne, then goe home.

Affliction teacheth a wicked person sometime to pray: Prosperity never.

Many might goe to heaven with halfe the labour they goe to hell, if they would venture their industry the right way: But "The divell take all"! (quoth he) that was choak'd in the Mill-dam, with his four last words in his mouth.

A Cripple in the way out-travels a Footman, or a Post out of the way.

Bags of money to a prodigall person, are the same that Cherry-stones are with some boyes, and so throwne away.

A woman, the more curious she is about her face. is commonly the more carelesse about her house.

Of this Spill water, there is little to bee gathered up: it is a desperate debt.

The Theife that had a longing at the Gallows to commit one Robbery more, before hee was hanged.

And like the German Lord, when hee went out of Newgate into the Cart, tooke order to have his Arms set up in his last Herborough: said he was taken, and committed upon suspicion of Treason; no witnesse appearing against him: but the Judges intertain'd him most civilly, discours'd with him, offer'd him the court'sie of the racke; but he confessed, &c.

I am beholden to Calumny, that shee hath so endeavour'd and taken paines to belye mee. It shall make mee set a surer Guard on my selfe, and keepe a better watch upon my Actions.

28. Bacon, De Augmentis Scientiarum. Liber Secundus. (Ed. Spedding, i. 486.)
Claudus in via antecedit cursorem extra viam. (See also Novum Organum. Aphorisms. LXI, Spedd IV, 62.)
Impertinent. A tedious person is one a man would leap a steeple from; gallop down any steepe Hill to avoid him; forsake his meat, sleepe, nature it selfe, with all her benefits, to shun him. A meere Impertinent; one that touch'd neither heaven nor earth in his discourse. Hee open'd an entry into a faire roome, but shut it againe presently. I spake to him of Garlicke, he answered Asparagus; consulted him of marriage, hee tells mee of hanging; as if they went by one, and the same Destiny.

What a sight it is to see Writers committed together by the eares, for Ceremonies, Syllables, Points, Colons, Comma's, Hyphens, and the like? fighting as for their fires, and their Altars; and angry that none are frightened at their noyses, and loud brayings under their asses' skins?

There is hope of getting a fortune without digging in these quarries. Sed meliore (in omne) ingenio am-noque quam fortuna, sum usus.

"Pingue solum lassat; sed juvat ipse labor"

Imposture is a specious thing, yet never worse, then when it faines to be best, and to none discover'd sooner, then the simplest. For Truth and

36. Martialis, Epigrammata, I, cvii.

Saepe mihi dicis. Luci Clarissime Iuli,
   "Scribe aliquid magnum, desidiosus homo es"...
In steriles noluit campos juga ferre juveneci:
   Pingue solum lassat, sed juvat ipse labor.
Goodnesse are plaine, and open; but Imposture is ever ashamed of the light.

A puppet-play must be shadow'd, and seen in the darke; For draw the Curtaine, Et sordet gesticulatio.

There is a great difference in the understanding of some Princes, as in the quality of their Ministers about them. Some would dresse their Masters in gold, pearle, and all true Jewels of Majesty; Others furnish them with feathers, bellies, and ribbands; and are therefore esteemed the fitter servants. But they are ever good men, that must make good the times; if the men be naught, the times will be such. Finis exspectandus est in unoquoque hominum; animali, ad mutationem promptissimo.

It is a quick saying with the Spaniards: Artes inter hoeredes non dividit. Yet these have inherited their fathers' lying, and they brag of it. Hee is a narrow-minded man that affects a Triumph in any glorious study; but to triumph in a lye, and a lye themselves have forg'd, is frontlesse. Folly often goes beyond her bounds; but Impudence knowes none.

Envy is no new thing, nor was it borne onely in our times. The ages past have brought it forth, and the comming Ages will. So long as there are men fit for it, quorum odium virtute relictâ placet, it will never be wanting. It is a barbarous envy, to take from those mens vertues, which because thou canst not arrive at, thou impotently despairest to imitate. Is it a crime in me that I know that, which others had not yet knowne but from me? or that I am the Author of many things, which never would have come in thy thought, but that I taught them? It is a new, but a foolish way you have found out, 35

that whom you cannot equall, or come neere in doing, you would destroy, or rape with evill speaking: As if you had bound both your wits, and natures prentises to slander, and then came forth the best Artificers, when you could forme the foulest calumnies.

Indeed, nothing is of more credit, or request now, then a petulant paper, or scoffing verses; and it is but convenient to the times and manners we live with; to have then the worst writings, and studies flourish when the best begin to be despis'd. Ill arts begin, where good end.

The time was, when men would learne, and study good things; not envie those that had them. Then men were had in price for learning: now, 15 letters onely make men vile. Hee is upbraidingly call'd a Poet, as if it were a contemptible Nick-name. But the Professors (indeed) have made the learning cheape. Rayling, and tinkling Rimmers, whose writings the vulgar more greedily reade; 20 as being taken with the scurrility, and petulancie of such wits. Hee shall not have a Reader now, unlesse he jeere and lye. It is the food of mens natures: the diet of the times! Gallants cannot sleepe else. The Writer must lye and the gentle Reader rests happy, to heare the worthiest workes mis-interpreted; the clearest actions obscured: the innocent'lt life traduc'd. And in such a licence of lying, a field so fruitfull of slanders, how can there be matter wanting to his laughter? Hence comes 30 the Epidemical Infection; for how can they escape the contagion of the Writings, whom the virulence of the calumnies hath not stay'd off from reading?

Nothing doth more invite a greedy Reader then an 35 unlook'd-for subject. And what more unlook'd-for, then to see a person of an unblam'd life made ridiculous, or odious, by the Artifice of lying? but it is the disease of the Age: and no wonder if the
world, growing old, begin to be infirme: Old Age it selfe is a disease. It is long since the sick world began to doate, and talke idly: Would she had but doated still, but her dotage is now broke forth into a madness, and become a meere phrenzy.

This Alastor, who hath left nothing unsearchd, or unassayld by his impudent, and licentious lying in his aguish writings (for he was in his cold quaking all the while): what hath he done more, then a troublesome base curre? bark'd and made a noysse afarre off; had a foole, or two, to spit in his mouth, and cherish him with a musty bone? But they are rather enemies of my fame, then me, these Barkers.

It is an Art to have so much judgement, as to apparell a Lye well, to give it a good dressing; that though the nakednesse would shew deform'd and odious, the suitting of it might draw their Readers. Some love any Strumpet (be she never so shop-like, or meretricious) in good clothes. But these nature could not have form'd them better, to destroy their owne testimony; and overthrow their calumny.

That an elephant, in '630, came hither Ambassadour from the Great Mogull (who could both write and read) and was every day allow'd twelve cast of bread, twenty Quarts of Canary sack, besides Nuts and Almonds the Citizens' wives sent him. That hee had a Spanish Boy to his Interpreter, and his chiefe negotiation was, to conferre or practise with Archy, the principall fool of State, about stealing hence Windsor Castle, and carrying it away on his back if he can.

A wise tongue should not be licentious, and wandering; but mov'd and (as it were) govern'd with

20. F.1.: meritorious Ceteri: meretricious

46. Aulus Gellius, Noctes Atticae, I, 15. Qui sunt leves et futtiles et importuni locutores quiue nullo rerum pondere innixi verbis uvidis et lapsantibus
certaine raines from the heart, and bot tomme of the
brest : and it was excellently said of that Philoso-
pher ; that there was a Wall, or Parapet of teeth set
in our mouth, to restraine the petulancy of our
words ; that the rashnesse of talking should not
only bee retarded by the guard, and watch of our
heart ; but be fenced in, and defended by certaine
strengths, placed in the mouth it selfe, and within
the lips. But you shall see some, so abound with
words, without any seasoning or taste of matter, in
so profound a security, as while they are speak-
ing, for the most part they confesse to speak they
know not what.

Of the two (if either were to bee wisht) I would
rather have a plaine downright wisdome, then a foolish and affected eloquence. For what is so fu-
rious, and Bel'lem like, as a vaine sound of chosen
and excellent words, without any subject of sen-
tence, or science mix'd ?

Whom the disease of talking still once possesseth, hee can never hold his peace. Nay, rather then hee
will not discourse, hee will hire men to heare him.

diffuunt, eorum orationem bene existimatum est in ore nasci, non in pectore :
linguam autem debere aiunt non esse liberam nec vagam, sed vinculis de pectore
ino ac de corde aptis moveri et quasi gubernari. Si enim videas quosdam scat-
tere verbis sine ullo judicii negotio cum securitate multa et profunda, ut lo-
quentes plerumque videantur loqui sese nescire. Ulxen contra Homerus, virum
sapienti facundia praeditum, vocem mittere ait non ex ore, sed ex pectore ; quod
scilicet non ad somum magis babitumque vocis quam ad sententiarum penitus
concepturn altitudinem pertinaret : petulantiaeque verborum coercendae vallum
esse oppositum dentium luculente dixit, ut loquendi imeritas non cordis tan-
tum custodia atque vigilia cohibeatur, sed et quibusdam quasi excubiis in ore
positis saepiatur...... M. Tullii quoque verba posui, quibus stultam et inanem
dicendi copiam graviter et vere detestatus est : « Dummodo, inquit, hoc cons-
tet, neque infantiam ejus qui rem norit, sed eam explicare dicendo non queat,
neque inscientiam illius cui res non subpetat, verba non desint, esse laudandum;
quorum si alteram sit optandum, malim equidem indiscretam prudentiam, quam
stultam loquacitatem ». Item in libro De Oratore primo verba haec posuit :
« Quid enim est tam furiosum quam verborum vel optimorum atque ornatosi
orum sonitus inanis, nulla subjecta sententia nec scientia ? » Cumprimis aut-
tem M. Cato atrocissimus hujusce vitii insectator est. Namque in oratione quae
And so heard, not hearken'd unto, hee comes off most times like a Mountebanke, that when hee hath prais'd his med'cines, finds none will take them, or trust him. Hee is like Homers Thersites.

'Αμετροπησης, 'Αχριτόμυθος: speaking without judgement, or measure.

Loquax magis, quam facundus,
Satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum.
Γλώσσης τοι θησαυρός ἐν ἀνθρώποισιν άριστος
Φείδωλης, πλείστη δὲ χάρις κατὰ μέτρον θολης.  
Optimus est hominis linguae thesaurus, et ingens Gratia, quae parcis mensurat singula verbis.

Ulysses in Homer, is made a long-thinking man, before hee speaks; and Epaminondas is celebrated by Spinthar, to be a man, that though he knew much, yet hee spoke but little. Demaratus, when on the Bench he was long silent, and said nothing; one asking him, if it were folly in him, or want of language, he answer'd, « A foole could never hold his

Valerium Probum grammaticum illustrem, ex familiarì ejus docto viro comperi, Sallustianum illud: « Satis eloquentiae, sapientiae parum », brevi antequam vita decederet, sic legere coepisse, et sic a Sallustio relictum affirmasse: « Satis loquentiae, sapientiae parum », quod loquentia novatori verbalorum Sallustio maxime congrueret; eloquentia cum insipientia minime conveniret.
For too much talking is ever the Indice of a fool.

Dum tacet indoctus, poterit cordatus haberi;
Is morbos animi namque tacendo tegit.

Nor is that worthy speech of Zeno the philosopher to be past over, without the note of ignorance: who being invited to a feast in Athens, where a great Princes Ambassadours were entertain'd, and was the onely person had said nothing at the table; one of them with courtesie asked him, «What shall we return from thee, Zeno, to the Prince our Master, if hee asks us of thee?» «Nothing, he replyed, «more, but that you found an old man in Athens, that knew to be silent amongst his cups». It was nere a Miracle, to see an old man silent; since talking is the disease of Age; but amongst cups makes it fully a wonder».

It was wittily said upon one that was taken for a great and grave man, so long as he held his peace, «This man might have been a counsellor of State till he spoke: But having spoken, not the Beadle of the Ward». Ἐξεμυθία Pythag. quam laeabilis! ἀλλότριος πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων κρατεῖ, θεὸς ἐπιμενος. Lingnam cohibe, prae aliis omnibus, ad deorum exemplar. Digito compesce labellum.

Vide Apuleium. Iuvenal.

Plutarchus, De recta Audiendi ratione. III... Nam Epaminondam lardans Spintharus, aiebat, non facile se cum alio rem habuisse qui et plura nosset et pauciora dicaret...

Erasmus, Lingua (Ed. 1703, vol. IV, pag. 674). Silentium vero tametsi non semper e prudentia nascitur, tamen gravitatis ac sapientiae speciem habet. Unde cuidam in convivio silenti, non ineleganter dictum est a quodam. Si sapiens es, rem stultam facis; si stultus, rem sapientem facis. Et in alium quendam. Philosophus hic videri poterat, si silentisset. Nihil enim impatientius silentii quam stultitiae. Ita cum Demaratus Lacedemoniorum rex in concessu quodam silens, interrogaretur, Utrum stultitia sileret, an ob sermonis inopiam: Atqui, inquit, stultus tacere non potest. Hunc simillimum est, quod de Biante proditum est:
There is almost no man, but hee sees clearlier and sharper, the vices in a speaker, then the vertues. And there are many, that with more ease, will find fault with that is spoken foolishly, then can give allowance to (that) wherein you are wise silently. The treasure of a fool is always in his tongue (said the witty comick Poel) and it appeares not in any-thing more then in that nation; whereof one when hee had got the inheritance of an unlucky old Grange, would needs sell it; and to draw buyers, proclaim’d the vertues of it. Nothing ever thriv’d on it (saith he). No Owner of it, ever dyed in his bed; some hung, some drown’d themselves; some werebanish’t, some starv’d; the trees were all blasted; the

4-5. F.r. : then can give allowance to wherein than that can give allowance to that wherein
gall. : than can give allowance to that wherein.


48. Plautus, Trinummus (II, 4, v. 520 sqq.).

ST. Per deos atque homines dico, ne tu illunce agrum
Tuam siris umquam sieri neque gnati tui :
Ei rei argumenta dicam. PH. Audire edepol lubet.
ST. Primum omnium olim terra quom proscinditur,
In quineti quoque sulco moriuntur hoves. :
Post id, frumenti quom alihi messis maxumast,
Trihus tantis illi minus redit quam opseveris ..
Neque umquam quisquamst, quos ille ager fuit.
Quin pessume ei res vorterit. Quorum fuit,
Alii exulatum abierunt, ali quom mortui,
Alii se suspendere, en, nunc hie quos est
Ut ad incitast redactus. PH. Apage a me istum agrum
ST. Magis apage dicas, si omnin (ex) me audieris
Swine dyed of the Measils, the Cattell of the Mur-rein, the Sheepe of the Rot: they that stood, were ragg’d, bare, and bald as your hand; nothing was ever rear’d there; not a Duckling, or a Goose. Hospitium fuerat calamitatis. Was not this man like to sell it?

Expectation of the Vulgar is more drawne, and held with newnesse, then goodnesse; we see it in Fencers, in Players, in Poets, in Preachers, in all, where Fame promiseth anything; so it be new, though never so naught, and depraved, they run to it, and are taken. Which shews, that the only decay, or hurt of the best mens reputation with the people, is, their wits have out-liv’d the people’s palats. They have beene too much, or too long a feast.

Greatnesse of name in the Father, ofttimes helpes not forth but o’rewhelms the Sonne: they stand too

---

Sim. Mart. lib 1, ep. 85.


(V. 94).

[50] Claritas patris.

---


---

Nam fulguritae sunt (ibi) alternae arbores:
Sues moriuntur angina (acri) acerrume:
Oves scabrae sunt, tam glabrae, en, quam haece est manus.
Tum autem Surerum, genus quod patientissumunst
Hominum, nemo extat qui ibi sex mensis vixerit:
Ita cuncti solstitiali morbo decidunt.....
Hospitiumst calamitatis : quid verbis opust?
Quamvis malam rem quaeras, illic reperias.

MARTIALIS, Epigrammata, 1, 86.

Venderet excultos colles cum praeco facetus,
Atque suburbani jugera pulchra soli;
Errat, nit, si quis Mario putat esse necessa,
Vendere: nil debet; foenorat immo magis.
Quae ratio est igitur? servos ubi perdidit omnes,
Et pecus, et fructus, non amat inde locum,
Quis faceret pretium, nisi qui sua perdere vellet
Omnia? Sic Mario noxius haeret ager.

49. SENECA MAJOR, Controversiarum, Liber IV (1). Quod munerarii solent facere, qui ad expectionationem populi detinendum nova paria per omnes dies dispensant, ut sit quod populum et delectet et revocet, hoc ego facio: non semel omnes produco; aliud novi semper habeat libellus, ut non tantum sententiarum vos. sed etiam anctorum novitate sollicitet. Acrior est cupiditas ignota cognoscendi quam nota repetendi. Hoc in histrionibus, in gladiatoribus, in oratoribus, de quibus modo aliud fama promisit, in omnibus denique rebus videmus accidere: ad nova homines concurrunt, ad nota non veniunt.
near one another. The shadow kils the growth; so much, that wee see the Grandchild come more, and ofterner to be heire of the first, then doph the second: He dies betweene; the possession is the thirds.

Eloquence is a great, and diverse thing: Nor did she yet favour any man so much, asto become wholly his. Hee is happy, that can arrive to any degree of her grace. Yet there are, who prove themselves Masters of her, and absolute Lords; but I believe, 10 they may mistake their evidence: For it is one thing to be eloquent in the Schooles, or in the Hall; another at the Barre, or in the Pulpit. There is a difference between Mooting and Pleading; betweene Fencing and Fighting. To make Arguments in my study, and confute them is easie; where I answer my selfe, not an Adversary. So, I can see whole volumes dispatch’d by the umbratical Doctors on all sides: But draw these forth into the just lists; let them appear sub dio, and they are chang’d with the 20 place, like bodies bred in the shade; they cannot suffer the Sunne, or a Showre, nor beare the open Ayre; they scarce can find themselves, that they were wont to domineere so among their Auditors: but indeed I would no more chuse a Rhetorician, for 25 reigning in a Schoole, then I would a Pilot, for rowing in a Pond.

51. Seneca Major, Controversiarum, Liber III. Praefatio. (11). Miraris cum-dem non aequo bene declamare quam causas agere... Magna et variá res est eloquentia neque adhuc alli sic induxis, ut tota contingeret; satis felix est, qui in aliquam partem ejus receptus est. (12) Ego tamen et propriam causam videor, posse reddere: assuevi non auditorem spectare, sed judicem; assuevi non mihi respondere, sed adversario... Indicabo tibi affectum meum: cum in foro dico, aliquid ago; cum declamo,... videor mihi in somniis laborare. (13) Deinde res ipsa diversa est: totum aliud est pugnare, aliud ventilare... Agedum istos declamatores produc in senatum, in forum: cum loco animum mutabunt; velut assueta clausa et delicatae umbrae corpora sub dio stare non possunt, non imbrem ferre, non solem sciant, vix se inveniunt; assuerunt enim suo arbitrio diserti esse. (14) Non est quod oratorem in hoc puerili exercitazione spectes. Quid si velis gubernatorem in piscina aestimare?
7. F.1.: country Schell. Goll.: courtesy Cet.: Country

52. Seneca, De Beneficiis, VI, 25. « His ingratis, et repudiantibus beneficia, non quia nolunt, sed ne debeant, similes sunt ex diverso nimis grati, qui ali- quid incommodi preecari solent his quibus obligati sunt, aliquid adversi, in quo affectum memorem accepti beneficii approbent. An hoc recte faciant, et pia voluntate. quaeritur: quorum animus simillimus est prave amore flagrantiibus, qui amicæ suæ aptant exsiliun, ut desertam fugientemque comitentur; aptant inopiam, ut magis desideranti donent; aptant morbum, ut assideant; et quidquid inimicæ optarent, amantes vovent. Fere idem itaque exitus est odii, et amoris insanii. Tale quiddam et his accidit, qui amicis inconmoda aptant, quae detra- hant, et ad beneficiuin injuria veniunt; quem satius sit vel cessare, quam per see-clus officio locum quæreere.


54. Seneca, De Beneficiis, VI, (7).... Itaque si huic satisfactum existimas. illo transcamus, an ci debitur aliquid, qui nobis invitus profuit. Hoc apertius po- tui dicere, nisi propositio debereet esse confusion, ut distinctio statim subsequnata ostenderet utrumque quaeri. an ci deberemus, qui nobis. dum non vult profuit; et an ci, qui dum nescit. Nam si quis coactus aliquid honi fecit, quin nos non obliget manifestus est, quam ut uma in hoc verba impendenda sint. Et haec
that they be favouring, and fill our sayles; or meats, that they be nourishing. For these are, what they are necessarily. Horses carry us, Trees shade us; but they know it not. It is true, some man may receive a Courtesie and not know it; but never any man received it from him, that knew it not. Many men have beene cured of diseases by Accidents; but they were not Remedies. I myself have knowne one helped of an Ague by falling into a water; another whip'd out of a Fever; but no man would ever use these for med'cinés. It is the mind, and not the event, that distinguisheth the courtesie from wrong. My Adversary may offend the Judge with his pride, and impertinences, and I win my cause; but he meant it not to me as a Courtesie. I scap'd pirates by being ship-wrack’d; was the wrack a benefit therefore? No: the doing of Courtesies aright, is the mixing of the respects for his owne sake, and for mine. He that doth them merely for his owne sake is like one that feeds his Cattell to sell them: he hath his horse well drest for Smithfield.
The price of many things is farre above, what they are bought and sold for. *Life* and *Health*, which are both inestimable, we have of the *Physician*; As *Learning* and *Knowledge*, the true tillage of the mind, from our *Schoolemasters*. But the fees of the one and the salary of the other never answer the *value* of what we received; but serv’d to gratifie their labours.

*Memory* of all the *powers* of the mind, is the most *delicate* and *fraile*; it is the first of our *faculties* that *Age* invades. *Seneca*, the father, the *Rhetorician*, confesseth of himselfe, hee had a miraculous one; not only to receive but to hold. I my selfe could in my youth, have repeated all, that ever I had made;

silia fortuna defexit in melius... *Beneficium* ab *injuria* *distinguit* non eventus, *sed animus*. *Adversarius meus dum contraria dicit, et judicem superbia offendit*, et in unum testem de *me rem* *demittit*, *causam meam* erexit. *Non quero an pro* ‘*me erraverit, contra me voluit*... (9)... Quam multas *militiae morbus eripuit*? *Quosdam* ne ad *ruinam domus suae* *occurrerent*, *inimicus vadimonio tenuit*; *ne in pirata* *ruman* *manus* *pervenirent*, *quidam naufragio consecuti sunt*. Nec his tamen *beneficium* *debemus*: *quoniam extra sensum officii casus est*; nec *inimico cujus nos* *lis servavit, dum vexat ac detinet*. *Non est beneficium*, nisi *quod a bona voluntate proficiscitur*, nisi *illud agnoscit*, qui *dedit*. *Profuit aliquid mihi dum nescit*; *nisi illi debeo*: *profuit quam vellet nocere; imitator ipsum... (12)*... *Multum enim interest*, *utrum aliquid* *beneficium nobis det sua causa, an nostra; an sua et nostra. Ille qui totus ad se spectat, et nobis prodest, quia aliter sibi prodesse non potest; eo loco *mihi* est, *quo qui pecori suo hibernum et aestivum pabulum prospicit*; *eo loco, quo qui captivos suos, ut commodius vaeneant, pascit, et opimos boves saginat ac defricat*; *quo lanista, qui familiam suam summa cura exercet, atque ornat*. *Multum, ut ait* *Cleanthes*, a *beneficio distat negotiatio*.

55. *Seneca*, De *Beneficiis*, VI, 15. *Adversus hoc respondetur, quaedam pluris esse*, *quam emuntur*. *Emis a medico rem inaequabilis, vitam ac valetudinem bonam*: *a bonarum artium praeceptore studia liberalia, et animi cultum*. *Itaque his non rei pretium*, *sed *operae* *solvitur*, *quod deserviunt*, *quod a rebus suis avocati nobis vacant*; *mercedem non meriti*, *sed occupationis suae ferunt*.

56. *Seneca Major*, Contr., Liber I (2)... *Memoria est res ex omnibus animi partibus maxime delicata et fragilis*, *in quam primam senectus incurrit*. *Hanc aliquando adeo in me floruisse*, *ut non tautum ad usum sufficeret*, *sed in miraculum usque procederet*, *non nego*; *nam et duo millia nominum recitata quo erant ordine dicta reddedam et ab his*, *qui ad audiendum praeceptorem mecum convenerant*, *singulos versus a singulis datos*, *cum plures quam ducenti*
and so continued, till I was past fortie; Since, it is much decay'd in me. Yet I can repeate whole books that I have read, and Poems, of some selected friends which I have lik'd to charge my memory with. It was wont to be faithfull to me, but shaken with age now, and sloath (which weakens the strongest abilities); it may performe somewhat, but cannot promise much. By exercise it is to be made better, and serviceable. Whassoever I pawn'd with it, while I was young, and a boy, it offers me readily, and without stops: but what I trust to it now, or have done of later yeares, it layes up more negligently, and oftentimes loses; so that I receive mine owne (though frequently call'd for) as if it were new, and borrowed. Nor do I always find presently from it, what I doe seek; but while I am doing another thing, that I labour'd for, will come; And what I sought with trouble, will offer it selfe, when I am quiet. Now in some men I have found it as happy as nature, who, whatsoever they reade, or pen, they can say without booke presently; as if they did then write in their mind. And it


efficerentur, ab ultimo incipiens ad primum usque recitabam. (3) Nec ad completenda tantum quae vellem velox mihi erat memoria, sed etiam ad continenda quae acceperat solebat bonae esse fidei. Nunc et actate quassata et longa desidia, quae juvenilem quoque animum dissolvit, eo perducta est, ut, etiansi potest ali- quid praestare, non possit promittere. Diu ab illa nihil repetivi; nunc quia jube- tis, quid possit experiar et illum, omni cura scrutabor. Ex parte enim bene spero: nam quae eamque apud illam aut puer aut juvenis deposui, quasi recentia aut modo audita sine cunctatione profert; at si qua illi intra proximos annos commisi sic perdidit et amissi, ut, etiamsi saepius ingeruntur, tamen tam- quam nova audiam ... (5) Sententias fortasse pluribus locis ponam in una controversia dictas: non enim dum quaero aliquid invenio semper; soepe quod quaeren ti non comparuit alius agenti praesto est; quaedam vero, quae observ- vantia mihi et ex aliqua parce ostendentia non possum occupare. eadem securro et reposito animo subito emergunt; aliquando etiam seriam rem agenti et occupa- pato sententia diu frustra quasiæta intempestive molesta est.... (17)... Memoria ei (P. Latroni) natura quidem felix, plurimum tamen arte adjuta: nunquam ille quae dicturus erat ediscendi causa relegabat; edidicerat illa, cum scripsaret.
is more a wonder in such, as have a swift style, for their memories are commonly slowest; such as torture their writings; and go into council for every word, must needs fixe somewhat, and make it their owne at last, though but through their owne vexation.

*Suffrages* in Parliament are numbred, not weigh'd; nor can it bee otherwise in those publike Councils, where nothing is so unequall, as the equality; for there, how odde soever mens braines or wisdomes are, their power is always even, and the same.

Some actions, be they never so beautifull, and generous, are often obscure by base, and vile misconstructions; either out of envy, or ill-nature, that judgeth of others, as of itselfe. Nay, the times are so wholly growne, to be either partiall or malitious; that if hee be a friend, all sits well about him; his very vices shall be vertues: if an enemy, or of the contrary faction; nothing is good, or tolerable in him; insomuch, that we care not to discredit, and shame our judgments, to sooth our passions.

*Man* is read in his face; *God* in his creatures; not as the Philosopher, the creature of glory reads him; But, as the Divine, the servant of humility; yet even hee must take care not to bee too curious. For to utter Truth of God (but as he thinkes onely)

*Id eo magis in illo mirabile videri potest, quod non lente et anxie, sed eodem paene quo dicebat impetu scribbat.* (18) *Illi qui scripta sua torment, qui de singulis verbis in consilium eunt, necesse est quae totiens animo suo admovent novissine affigant; at quorumcumque stilus velox est, tardior memoria est.* In illo non tantum naturalis memoriae felicitas erat, sed ars summa et ad comprehendenda quae tenere debebat et ad custodienda, adeo ut omnes declamationes suas, quascunque dixerat, teneret etiam; itaque supervacuos sibi fecerat codices; *aiebat se in animo scribere.*

57. *Plinius Junior, Epistolae II, 12, 5... Sed hoc pluribus visum est. Name- rantur enim sententiae, non ponderantur; nec aliiud in publico consilio potest fieri, in quo nihil est tam inaequale quam aequalitas ipsa. Nam cum sit impar prudentia, par omnium jus est.*
may be dangerous, who is best knowne, by our not knowing. Some things of him, so much as hee hath revealed, or commanded, it is not only lawfull, but necessary for us to know: for therein our ignorance was the first cause of our wicked-

nesse.

Veritas

[60] Proprium hominis.

Truth is mans proper good, and the onely immortal thing, was given to our mortality to use. No good Christian, or Ethnick, if he be honest, can misse it; no Statesman, or Patriot should. For without truth all the Actions of mankind are craft, malice, or what you will, rather then Wisdome. Homer sayes he hates him worse then hell-mouth, that utters one thing with his tongue and keepes


Proprium hominis bonum. (Tacit., IV, Histor.)

Cetera humana pereunt... .

Hoc unum contingit immortale mortali.

(Sen., Epist., XCIX)

..... Nec plura addam:

Quia de Deo etiam vera dicere periculosum est:

(Cyprian., in Symb.)

Qui melius scitur nesciendo.

(August., lib. II, de Ord.)

..... Haec talia non fas solum, sed necesse tibi scire: quia revera

... prinae scelerum caussae mortalibus aegris.

Naturam nescire Deum.

(Silius, IV.)

Sed scire temperanter. Quoniam et hoc verum Sanctius ac reverentius esse. de actis deorum credere quam scire.

(Tacit., in Germ.)

Homeri Ilias, IX, 313-314.

'Εχόσε γὰρ κυρὶον τὸν χαῖρειν όμοιος Ἄιδρον πίλησιν
δέχθη ἔτερον μεν καθ' ἐνελθ' ἐνεπεσιν, ἄλλῳ δὲ εὔπεπηρ.
(Inimicus enim mihi ille aequatque Inferni portae,
Qui aliud quidem occultat in animo, aliud vero dicit.)
another in his brest. Which high expression was grounded on divine Reason. For a lying mouth is a stinking pit, and murthers with the contagion it venteth. Beside, nothing is lasting that is fain’d; it will have another face then it had, ere long: As Euripides saith, « No lie ever growses old. »

It is strange, there should be no vice without his patronage, that (when wee have no other excuse) we will say, wee love it, wee cannot forsake it: as if that made it not more a fault. Wee cannot, because wee think wee cannot: and wee love it, because wee will defend it. Wee will rather excuse it, then be rid of it. That wee cannot, is pretended; but that wee will not, is the true reason. How many have I knowne, that would not have their vices 15 hid? Nay, and, to bee noted, live like Antipodes, to others in the same Citie; never see the Sunne rise, or set, in so many yeares: but be as they were

61. *Seneca*, Epist. ad Lucilium. CXXII. *Nullum est vitium sine patrocinio; nulli non iuitium verecundum est et exorabile; sed ad hoc latius funditur... Seis, quare non possimus ista? quia, nos posse, non credimus. Imo meneules, aliu et in re! Vitia nostra, quia amamus, defendimus; et malumus excusare illa, quam excutere. Satis natura homini dedit roboris, si illo utanur, si vires nostras colligamus, ac totas pro nobis, certe non contra nos, concitemus. Nolle in causa est; non posse praetenditur.

*Idem*, *Ibidem*. (Antea)... Sunt qui officia lucis noctisque perverterint nec ante diducant oculos hesterna graves crapula, quem appetere nox coept. Qualis illorum contitio dicitur, quos natura, ut ait Virgilius, sedibus nostris subditos e contrario posuit,

...Nesque ubi primus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis, Illic sera rubens ascendit lumina Vesper:

talis horum contraria omnibus, non regio, sed vita est. *Sunt quidam in eadem urbe Antipodes*, qui, ut M. Cato ait, « nec orientem unquam solem viderunt, nec occidentem ». Hos tu existimas scire, quemadmodum vivendum sit, qui nesciunt quando? Et hi mortem timent, in quam se vivi condiderunt; tam infausti, quam nocturnae aves sunt! Licet in vino unguentoque tenebras suas exigant; licet epulis, et quidem in multa fercula discretis totum perversae vigiliae tempus educant; non convivatur, sed justa sibi faciunt... Post prandium aut caenam bibere, vulgare est; hoc patres familiae rustici faciunt, et verae voluptatis ignari... Quum instituerunt omnia contra naturae consuetudinem velle, novissime in totum ab illa desciscant... Non oportet id facere, quod populus;
watching a Corps by Torch-light; would not sinne the common way: but held that a kind of Rusticity; they would doe it new, or contrary, for the infamy? They were ambitious of living backward; and at last arrived at that, as they would love nothing but the vices, not the vicious customs. It was impossible to reforme these natures; they were dry'd, and hardned in their ill. They may say, they desir'd to leave it, but doe not trust them; and they may thinke they desir'd it, but they may lye for all that; they are a little angry with their follies, now and then; marry they come into grace with them againe quickly. They will confess, they are offended with their manner of living: like enough, who is not? When they can put me in security, that they are more then offended; that they hate it: then I'le hearken to them; and, perhaps, beleeve them: But many now-a-dayes, love and hate their ill together.

I doe heare them say often: Some men are not witty; because they are not everywhere witty; then which nothing is more foolish. If an eye or a nose bee an excellent part in the face, (should we) there-


res sordida est, trita ac vulgari via vivere. Dies publicus relinquatur; proprium nobis ac peculiare mane fiat.


62. Quintilianus, De Institutione oratoria. Liber II, v, 11. Nam sermo rectus, et secundum naturam enuntiatus, nihil habere ex ingenio videtur; illa vero, quae utcumque deflexa sunt, tamquam exquisitora miramur, non aliter quam distortis, et quocumque modo prodigiosus corporibus apud quosdam majus est pretium, quam iis, quae nihil ex communi habitu boni perdiderunt, atque etiam qui specie capiuntur, vulsisque levatisque, et inustas comas acu comentibus, et non suo colore nitidis, plus esse formae putant, quam possit tribuere incorrupta natura, ut pulchritudo corporis venire videatur ex malis moribus.
fore be all eye or nose? I thinke the eye-brow, the forehead, the cheeke, chyn, lip, or any part else, are as necessary, and naturall in the place. But now nothing is good that is naturall: Right and natural language seeme to have least of the wit in it; That which is writh'd and tortur'd, is counted the more exquisite. Cloath of Bodkin, or Tissue, must be imbrodered; as if no face were faire, that were not pouldred, or painted! No beauty to be had, but in wrestling, and writhing our own tongue? Nothing is fashionable, till it bee deform'd; and this is to write like a Gentleman. All must bee as affected, and preposterous as our Gallants cloathes, sweet-bags, and night-dressings: in which you would thinke our men lay in; like Ladies, it is so curious.

Nothing in our age, I have observ'd, is more preposterous then the running Judgements upon Poetry, and Poets; when wee shall heare those things commended, and cry'd up for the best writings, which a man would scarce vouchsafe, to wrap any wholesome drug in; hee would never light his Tobacco with them. And those men almost nam'd for Miracles, who yet are so vile, that if man should goe about, to examine, and correct them, hee must make all they have done, but one blot. Their good is so intangled with their bad, as forcibly one must draw on the others death with it. A sponge dipped in inke will doe all:

Mart. 1. 4. Epig. 10. « ...... Comitetur Punica librum Spongia. »

1. F.1. etc.: therefore be all eye Pers. Conj.: (should we) therefore

63. Martialis, Epigrammata IV, 10.

1 puer, et caro perfer leve munus amico,
Qua meruit nugas primus habere meas.
Curre, sed instructus: comitetur Punica librum
Spongea: numeribus convenit illa meas.
Non possunt nostros multae, Faustine, liturae
Emendare jocos: una litura potest:
Yet their vices have not hurt them: Nay, a great many they have profited; for they have beene lovd for nothing else. And this false opinion growes strong against the best men: if once it take root with the Ignorant. Cestius, in his time, was preferr’d to Cicero; so farre, as the Ignorant durst. They learn’d him without booke, and had him often in their mouths: But a man cannot imagine that thing so foolish, or rude, but will find, and enjoy an Admirer; at least a Reader, or Spèctator. The Puppets are seene now in despight of the Players: Heath’s Epigrams, and the Skuller’s Poems have their applause. There are never wanting, that dare preferre the worst Preachers, the worst Pleaders, the worst Poets: not that the better have left to write, or speake better, but that they that heare them judge worse; Non illi pejus dicunt, sed hi corruptius judicant. Nay, if it were put to the question of the Water-rimers workes against Spencers; I doubt not, but they would find more Suffrages; because the most favour common vices, out of a Prerogative the vulgar have, to lose their judgements; and like that which is naught.

Poetry, in this latter Age, hath prov’d but a mean Mistresse, to such as have wholly addicted themselves to her; or given their names up to her family. They who have but saluted her on the by; and now

Seneca Major, Controversiarum Liber III, Praefatio, (15) .... Utrum ergo putas hoc dicentium vitium esse an audientium? Non illi pejus dicunt, sed hi corruptius judicant: pueri fere aut juvenes scholas frequentant; hi non tantum dissertissimis viris, quos paulo ante rettuli, Cestium suum praeferunt, sed etiam Ciceroni praeferrent, nisi lapides timerent. Quo tamen uno modo possunt praeferunt: bujus enim declamationes omnes ediscunt, illius orationes non legunt nisi eas, quibus Cestius rescripsit.
and then tendred their visits, she hath done much for, and advanced in the way of their owne professions (both the Law, and the Gospel) beyond all they could have hoped, or done for themselves, without her favour. Wherein she doth emulate the judicious, but preposterous bounty of the times Grandees: who accumulate all they can upon the Parasite, or Freshman in their friendship; but think an old Client, or honest servant, bound by his place to write, and starve.

Indeed, the multitude commend Writers, as they doe Fencers; or Wrestlers; who if they come robustiously, and put for it, with a deale of violence, are received for the braver-fellows; when many times their owne rudeness is a cause of their disgrace; and a slight touch of their Adversary, gives all that boisterous force the foyle. But in these things, the unskilfull are naturally deceiv'd, and judging wholly by the bulke, thinke rude things greater than polish'd; and scatter'd more numerous, then compos'd: Nor thinke this only to be true in the sordid multitude, but the neater sort of our Gallants; for all are the multitude, only they differ in cloaths, not in judgement or understanding.

I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing

Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, Liber II, xii, (1-3). Ne hoc quidem negaverim, sequi plerumque hanc opinionem, ut fortius dicere videantur indocti: primum vitio male judicantium, qui majorem habere vim credunt ea, quae non habent artem; ut effringere quam aperire, rumpere quam solvere, trahere quam ductore, putant robustius. Nam et gladiator, qui armorum inscius in pugnam ruit; et luctator, qui totius corporis nisi in id, quod senex invasit, incumbit, fortior ab his vocatur; quam interim et hic frequenter suis viribus ipse proster-nitur, et illum vehementis impulsus, excipit adversarii mollis articulus. Sed sunt in hac parte, quae imperitos etiam naturaliter fallant; nam et divisio, cum plurimum valeat in causis, speciem virium minuit, et rudia politis major, et sparsa compositis numerosiora, creduntur.

Seneca Major, Controversiarum Liber IV, Praefatio. (7) Tanta erat illi velocitas orationis, ut vitium fieret. Itaque divus Augustus optime dixit: « Ha-
commend as friend
And should brave had was Augustus « quotiens " there adeo Impudicitia (8) wherein Caesar\vni etc.... (10) « rem discrimina. nee Nee modum lerius ingenuo cui derisum sed flevit, et ceiebantur. " Non modo, consumi dum objiciebatur, (P. verhoTum et Ingeniorum QuintiliANUs, saepe noster declamatione. facis quamdiu 98). MULTa crimen effugere in nihil magnus est, habebat officium non necessitas, nisi 1 

65. Quintilianus, Institutio, Liber II, viii (1-11). Virtus praecceptoris haberi

(whatever he penn’d) hee never blotted out line. My answer hath beene, would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by, wherein he most faulted. And to justifie mine owne candor (for I lov’d the man, and doe honour his memory (on this side Idolatry) as much as any). Hee was (indeed) honest, and of an open, and free nature ; had an excellent Phanisie ; brave notions, and gentle expressions : wherein hee flowed with that facility, that sometime it was necessary he should be stop’d. « Sufflaminandum erat », as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his owne power ; would the rule of it had beene so too. Many 15 times hee fell into those things, could not escape laughter : as when he said in the person of Caesar, one speaking to him; « Caesar, thou dost me wrong ». Hee replyed, « Caesar did never wrong, but with just cause »; " and such like, which were ridiculous. But 20 hee redeemed his vices, with his vertues. There was ever more in him to be praysed, then to be pardon-ed.

In the difference of wits, I have observed ; there are many notes ; And it is a little Maistry to know 25

P. 98. Augustus in Hat.
them to discerne what every nature, every disposition will beare; For, before wee sow our land, we should plough it. There are no fewer forms of minds, then of bodies amongst us. The variety is incredible; and therefore wee must search. Some are fit to make Divines, some Poets, some Lawyers, some Physicians; some to be sent to the plough, and trades.

There is no doctrine will doe good, where nature is wanting. Some wits are swelling, and high; 10 others low and still: Some hot and fiery; others cold and dull: One must have a bridle, the other a spurre.

Not. 2.

*There* he some that are forward, and bold; and these will doe every little thing easily: I meane 15 that is hard by, and next them; which they will utter, unretarded without any shamefastnesse. These never performe much, but quickly. They are, what

solet, nec immerito, diligenter in iis, quos erudiendos susceperit, *notare discrimina ingeniorum, et quo quemque natura maxime ferat, scire*. Nam est in hoc incredibilis quaedam varietas, nec pauciores animorum paene, quam corporum formae.... *Ita praeeptorem eloquentiae, quem sagaciter fuerit intiusus, cujus ingenium presso limaetque genere dicendi, cujus acri, gravi, dulci, aspero, nitido, urbano, maxime gaudeat; ita se commodaturum singulis, ut in eo, quo quisque eminet, provehatur; quod et adjuta cura natura magis evalescat; et qui in diversa ducatur, nec in his, quibus minus aptus est, satis possit efficere, et ea, in quae natus videtur, deserendo faciat *infirmiora*.

Quod mihi (libera enim, vel contra receptas persuasiones, rationem sequenti sententia est) in parte verum videtur. Nam proprietates ingeniorum disipicare prorsus necessarium est: in his quoque certum studiorum facere delectum nemo dissuaserit; *namque erit alius historiae magis idoneus, alius compositus ad carmen, alius utilis studio juris, ut nonnulli rus fortasse mittendi.... Nam et omnino supravacua erat doctrina, si natura sufficeret. An si quis ingenio corruptus ac timidus, ut plerique sunt, inciderit, in hoc eum ire patiemur? *aridum atque jejunum* non alemus, et quasi vestiemus?... An vero clarissimus praeeptor Isocrates, quem non magis libri bene dixisse, quam discipuli bene docuissesse testantur, quem de Ephoro atque Theopompo sic judicaret, ut *alteri frenis, alteri calcaribus opus esse* diceret; aut in illo lentiore tarditatem, aut in illo paene praecipiti concitationem adjuvandum docendo existimavist?

Quintilianus. *Ibid. Liber I, iii (2).* Non dabit mihi spem bonae indolis, qui hoc imitandi studio petet, ut rideatur; nam probus quoque imprimis erit ille
they are on the sudden; they show presently, like Graine that, scatter’d on the top of the ground, shoots up, but takes no root; has a yellow blade, but the ear empty. They are wits of good promise at first, but there is an ingenistitium: they stand still at sixteene, they get no higher.

A wit-stand.

You have others, that labour only to ostentation; and are ever more busy about the colours, and surface of a worke, then in the matter, and foundation:

For that is hid, the other is seen.

Others, that in composition are nothing, but what is rough, and broken. Quae per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt. And if it would come gently, they trouble it of purpose. They would not have it run without rubs, as if that stile were more strong and manly, that stroke the ear with a kind of unevennesse. These men erre not by chance, but kno-wingly. and willingly; they are like men that affect a fashion by themselves; have some singularity in a Ruffe, Cloake, or Hat-band; or their beards, specially cut to provoke beholders, and set a marke upon

veri ingeniosus; alioqui non pejus duxerim tardi esse ingenii, quam mali. Pro-bus autem ab illo segni et jaceute plurimum abierit. Hic meus, quae tradentur, non difficulter accipiet; quaedam etiam interrogabit; sequetur tamen magis quam praecurrat. Illud ingeniorum velut praecox genus, non temere unquam pervenit ad frugem. Hi sunt, qui parva facile faciant, et audacia provecti, quid-quad illic possunt, statim ostendunt. Possunt autem id demum, quod in proximo est; verba continuant; haec veluti interrito, nullo tardati verecundia proferunt; non multum praestant, sed ito; non subest vera vis, nec penitus immissis ra-dicibus nititur, ut quae summo solo sparsa sunt semina, celerius se effundunt, et imitatae spicas herbulae inanibus aristis ante messem flavescunt. Placent haec annis comparata; deinde stat profectus, admiratio decrescit.

Martialis, Epigrammata XI, 90.

Carmina nulla probas, molli quae limite currunt,
   Sed quae per salebras altaque saxa cadunt.....
Attonitusque legis, terrai frugiferai,
Accius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt.

Seneca, Epist. ad Lucilium. CXIV. Ad compositionem transeamus. Quot genera tibi in hac dabo, quibus pecetur? Quidam præfreactam et asperam probant; disturbant de industria, si quid placidius effluxit; nolunt sine salebra esse juncturam; virilem putant et fortum, quae aurem inaequalitate percutiat.
themselves. They would be reprehended, while they are look'd on. And this vice, one that is in authority with the rest, loving, delivers over to them to bee imitated; so that oft-times the faults, which he fell into, the others seeke for. This is the danger, when vice becomes a Precedent.

Others there are, that have no composition at all; but a kind of tuneing, and riming fall, in what they write. It runs and slides, and onely makes a sound. Womens Poets they are call'd, as you have womens Taylors.

They write a verse, as smooth, as soft, as cream, In which there is no torrent, nor scarce stream.

You may sound these wits, and find the depth of them, with your middle finger. They are Cream-bowle, or but puddle-deepe.

Some that turne over all bookes, and are equally searching in all papers; that write out of what they presently find or meet, without choice; by which means it happens, that what they have discredited, and impugned in one worke, they have before, or after extolled the same in another. Such are all the Essayists, even their Master Mountaigne. These in all they write, confesse still what bookes they have read last; and therein their owne folly, so much, that they bring it to the Stake raw, and undigested: not that the place did need it neither; but that they thought themselves furnished, and would vent it.

Some againe, who (after they have got authority, or, which is lesse, opinion, by their writings, to have read much), dare presently to faine whole

Quorundam non est compositio, modulatio est; adeo blanditir, et molliter labi-tur.... Quod vides istos sequi, qui aut vellunt barbam, aut intervellunt; qui labra pressius tondent et abradunt, servata et submissa caetera parte; qui lacer-nas coloris improbi sumunt, qui perlucentem togam; quivolent facere quid- quam, quod hominum oculis transire liceat; irritant illos. et in se adverlunt; volunt vel reprehendi, dum conspici: talis est oratio Maccenatis, omniumque aliorum, qui non casu errant, sed scientes volentesque.
bookes, and Authors, and lye safely. For what never was, will not easily be found; not by the most curious.

And some, by a cunning protestation against all reading, and false venditation of their owne naturals, think to divert the sagacity of their Readers from themselves, and coole the scent of their owne fox-like thefts; when yet they are so ranke, as a man may find whole pages together usurp'd from one Author. Their necessities compelling them to read for present use, which could not be in many books; and so come forth more ridiculously, and palpably guilty, then those; who because they cannot trace, they yet would slander their industry.

But the Wretched are the obstinate contemners of all helps, and Arts; such as presuming on their own Naturals (which, perhaps, are excellent), dare deride all diligence, and seeme to mock at the terms, when they understand not the things: thinking that way to get off 'wittily, with their Ignorance. These are imitated often by such, as are their Peeres in negligence, though they cannot be in nature. And they utter all they can thinke, with a kind of violence, and indisposition; unexamin'd, without relation, either to person, place, or any fitness else; and the more wilfull, and stubborn, they are in it, the more learned they are esteem'd of the multitude, through their excellent vice of Judgement; Who thinke those things the stronger, that have no Art; as if to breake, were better then to open; or to rend asunder, gentler then to loose.

31. F.2. Whall. Giff. Cornw. Cunn. = or to rent asunder

Quintilianus, De Institutione oratoria. Liber II, xi (1-3). Jam hinc ergo nobis inchoanda est ea pars artis, ex qua capere initium solent, qui priora omiserunt: quauquam video quosdam in ipso statim limine obstaturos mihi, qui nihil egere hujusmodi praeceptis eloquentiam putent; sed, natura sua, et vulgari modo, et scholarum exercitatione contenti, rideant etiam diligentiam nostram; exemplo magni quoque nominis professorum, quorum aliquis, ut
It cannot but come to pass, that these men, who commonly seeke to doe more then enough, may sometimes happen on something that is good, and great; but very seldom: And when it comes, it doth not recompence the rest of their ill. For their jests, and their sentences (which they onely, and ambitiously seek for) sticke out, and are more eminient; because all is sordid, and vile about them; as lights are more discern'd in a thick darknesse, then a faint shadow. Now because they speak all they can (however unfitly), they are thought to have the greater copy; Where the learned use ever election, and a meane; they looke back to what they intended at first, and make all an even, and proportion'd body: The true Artificer will not run away from nature, as hee were afraid of her; or depart from life, and the likenesse of Truth; but speak to the capacity of his hearers. And though his language differ from the vulgar somewhat; it shall not fly from all humanity, with the Tamer-chams, and 20 Tamer-chams of the late Age, which had nothing in them but the scenicall strutting, and furious vociferation to warrant them to the ignorant gapers.
Hee knowes it is his onely Art, so to carry it, as none but Artificers perceive it. In the meane time perhaps hee is call'd barren, dull, leane, a poore Writer (or by what contumelious word can come in their cheeks), by these men, who without labour, judgement, knowledge, or almost sense, are receiv'd, or preferr'd before him. He gratulates them, and their fortune. An other Age, or juster men, will acknowledge the vertues of his studies: his wisdom in dividing, his subtilty, in arguing: with what strength hee doth inspire his Readers, with what sweetnesse hee strokes them: in inveighing, what sharpnesse; in Jest, what urbanity hee uses; how hee doth raigne in mens affections; how invade, and breake in upon them; and makes their 15

copiam habere majorem, quod dicunt omnia; doctis est et electio, et modus: his accedit, quod a cura docendi quod intenderint, recedunt; itaque illud quaestionum et argumentorum apud corrupta judicia frigus evitant, nihilque alid, quam pro vel pravis voluptatibus aures assistentium permulcánt, queraunt. Sententiae quoque ipsae, quas solas petunt, magis eminent, quum omnia circa illas sordida et abjecta sunt; ut lumina, non inter umbras quemadmodum Cicero dicit, sed plané in tenebris clariora sunt; itaque ingeniosi vocentur, ut libet, dum tamen constet, contumeliose sic laudari disertum.... Verum hi pronuntiatione quoque famam dicendi fortius queraunt: nam et clamant ubique, et omnia levata, ut ipsi vocant, manu, emugiant, multo discursu, anhelicu, jactatione, gestu, motu capitis, furentes. Jam collidere manus, terrae pedem in cutere, femur, pectus, frontem caedere, mire ad pullatum circulum facit: quum ille eruditus, ut in oratone multa submittere, variare, disponere, ita etiam in pronuntiando suum cuiquam eorum, quae dicet, colori accommodare actum sciat; et si quid sit perpetua observatione dignum, modestus et esse, et videri malit. At illi hanc vin appellant, quae est potius violentia. Quum interim non actores modo aliquos invenias, sed quod est turpius praecipitores etiam, qui brevem dicendi exercitacionem consecuti, omissa ratione, ut tulit impetus, passim tumultuentur, eosque, qui plus honoris litteris tribuernunt, et ineptos, et jejunos, et tredidos, et infrimos, ut quodque verbum contumeliosissimum occurrit, appellant. Verum illis quidem gratulenur, sine labore, sine ratione, sine disciplina disertis......

Idem... Ibidem. Liber II v (7 sqq)... tum, exposita causa in quam scripta legetur oratio, nam sic clarius, quae dicentur, intelligi poterunt, nihil otiosum pati, quodque in inventione, quodque in elocutione autotandum erit; quae in proemio conciliand judicis ratio; quae narrandi lux, brevitas, fides; quod aliquando consilium, et quam occulta calliditas; namque ea sola in hoc ars est,
minds like the thing he writes. Then in his *Elocution* to behold what word is proper: which hath ornaments: which height: what is beautifully translated: where figures are fit: which gentle, which strong to show the composition *Manly*. And how he hath avoided faint, obscure, obscene, sordid, humble, improper, or effeminate *Phrase*: which is not only prais'd of the most, but commended, (which is worse) especially for that it is naught.

I know no disease of the *Soule*, but *Ignorance*: not of the Arts and Sciences, but of it selfe; Yet relating to those, it is a pernicious *evil*: the darkner of mans life: the disturber of his *Reason*, and common Confounder of *Truth*: with which a man goes groping in the darke, no otherwise, then if hee were blind. Great understandings are most wrack'd and troubled with it: Nay, sometimes they will rather choose to dye, then not to know the things they study for. Thinke, then, what an evill it is, and what good the contrary.

*Knowledge* is the action of the *Soule*; and is perfect without the *senses*, as having the seeds of all *Science*, and *Vertue* in its selfe; but not without the service of the *senses*: by those Organs, the

---

1. Schell. Goll.: and make their minds
2. Schell. Goll.: ornament

---

*quae intelligi, nisi ab artifice, non possit; quanta deinceps in dividendo prudentia; quam subtilis et crebra argumentatio; quibus viribus inspiriet, qua jucunditate perlmeat; quanta in maledictis asperitas, in jocis urbanitas; ut denique dominetur in affectibus, atque in pectora irrupat, animumque judicium similem iis, quae dicit, efficat. Tum in ratione eloquendi, quod verbum proprium, ornatum, sublime: ubi amplificatio laudanda, quae virtus ei contraria; quid speciose translatum: quae figura verborum: quae levis et quadrata, sed virilis tamen compositio. Ne id quidem inutile, etiam corruptas aliquando et vitiosas orationes. quas tamen plerique judicorum pravitate mirentur, legi palam pueris. ostendique in his, quam multa impropria, obscura, tumida, humilia, sordida, lasciva, effeminata sint, quae non laudantur modo a plerisque, sed, quod pejus est, propter hoc ipsum, quod sunt prava, laudantur: nam sermo rectus, et secundum naturam enunciatus, nihil habere ex ingenio videtur; illa vero, quae utcumque deflexa sunt, tanquam exquisitiora miramur....*
Soule works: She is a perpetual Agent, prompt and subtle; but often flexible, and erring; intangling her selfe like a Silkeworme: but her Reason is a weapon with two edges, and cuts through: In her Indagations oft-times new Scents put her by; and shee takes in errors into her, by the same conduits she doth Truths.

Ease, and relaxation, are profitable to all studies. The mind is like a Bow, the stronger by being unbent. But the temper in Spirits is all, when to command a mans wit; when to favour it. I have known a man vehement on both sides; that knew no meane, either to intermit his studies, or call upon them againe. When hee hath set himselfe to writing, hee would joyne night to day; presse upon himselfe without release, not minding it, till hee fainted; and when hee left off, resolve himselfe into all sports, and loosenesse againe; that it was almost a despaire to draw him to his booke: But once got to it, hee grew stronger, and more earnest by the ease. His whole powers were renew'd: he would worke out of himselfe, what hee desired; but with such excesse, as his study could not be rul'd: hee knew not how to dispose his owne abilitie, or husband them, hee was of that immoderate power against himselfe. Nor was hee onely a strong, but an absolute Speaker, and Writer: but his sub-

68. Seneca Major, Controversiarum Liber I, Praefatio. (13) Nihil illo viro (Latroni) gravius, nihil suavius, nihil elocuentia sua dignius; nemo plus ingeniuo suo imperavit, nemo plus indulsit. In utramque partem vehementi viro modus de rat: nec intermittere studium sciebat nec repetere. (14) Cum se ad scribendum concitaverat, jungebantur noctibus dies et sine intervallo gravius sibi instabat nec desinebat, nisi defecerat; rursus cum se remiserat, in omnem lusum, in omnes jocos se resolvebat: cum vero se silvis montibusque tradiderat, in silvis ac montibus natos, homines illos agrestes, laboris patientia et venandi solertia provocabat et in tantum perveniebat sic vivendi cupiditatem, ut vix posset ad priorem consuetudinem retrahit. At cum sibi injicerat manum et se blandienti otio abduxerat, tantis viribus incumbebat in studium, ut non tantum nihil perdidisse sed multum acquisisse desidia videretur. (15) Omnibus quidem prodest subinde animum relaxare; excitatur enim otio vigor et omnis tristitia,
tility did not shew itselfe; his judgement thought that a vice. For the ambush hurts more that is hid. Hee never force'd his language, nor went out of the highway of speaking; but for some great necessity, or apparent profit. For hee denied Figures to he invented for ornament, but for ayde; and still thought it an extreme madnesse to bend, or wrest that which ought to be right.

It is no Wonder, mens eminence appeares but in their owne way. Virgils felicity left him in prose, 10 as Tullies forsooke him in verse. Salusts Orations are read in the honour of Story: yet the most eloquent Plato's speech, which he made for Socrates, is neither worthy or the Patron, or the Person defended Nay, in the same kind of Oratory, and 15 where the matter is one, you shall have him that reasons strongly, open negligently: another that prepares well, not fill so well: and this happens, not onely to brains, but to bodies. One can

14. F.1.: worthy or the person or the... F.2. Giff. Cunn. worthy of the patron or... Cornw. Schell. Goll. Mor. worthy of... nor...;
18. F.1.& : fit Pers. Conj. : fill

quae continuatione pertinacis studii adducitur, feriarum hilaritate discutitur: nulli tamen intermissio manifestus proderat..... (21) Nihil est iniquius his, qui nusquam putant esse subtilitatem, nisi ubi nihil est praeter subtilitatem; et in illo cum omnes oratoriae virtutes essent, hoc fundamentum superstructis tot et tantis molibus obruebatur nec deerrat in illo, sed non eminebat; et nescio an maximum vitium subtilitatis sit nimirum ostendere. Magis nocent insidiae, quae latent: utilisima est dissimulata subtilitas, quae effectu appareat, habitu latet...., (23) Et putant illum homines hac virtute caruisse, cum ingenium quidem ejus et hac dote abundaverit? Judicium fuit strictius; non placebat illi orationem inflectere nec unquam recta via decedere, nisi cum hoc aut necessitas coegisset aut magna suaissimae utilitas. (24) Schema negabat decoris causa inuentum, sed subsidii, ut quod aures offensurus esset, si palam diceretur, id oblique et fortim subreperet; summam quidem esse dementiam detorquere orationem, cui esse rectam liceret

69. Seneca Major, Controversiarum Liber III, Praefatio. (8) Sed quae r e n t i mhi quare in declamationibus impar sibi esset, haec aiebat: a Quod in me miraris, paene omnibus eventit. Magna quoque ingenia, a quibus multum abesse me scio, quando plus quam in uno eminuerunt opere? Ciceronem eloquentia sua in carminibus destinuit; Vergilium illa felicitas ingenii sui in oratione soluta reli-
wrastle well; another runne well; a third leape, or throw the barre; a fourth lift, or stop a Cart going: Each hath his way of strength. So in other creatures; some dogs are for the Deere, some for the wild Boare: some are Fox-hounds, some Otter-hounds. Nor are all horses for the Coach, or Saddle; some are for the Cart, and Panniers.

I have knowne many excellent men, that would speake suddenly, to the admiration of their hearers; who upon study, and premeditation have been forsaken by their owne wits; and no way answered their fame: Their eloquence was greater, then their reading: and the things they uttered, better then those they knew. Their fortune deserved better of them, then their care. For men of present spirits, and of greater wits, then study, doe please more in the things they invent, then in those they bring. And I have heard some of them compell'd to speake, out of necessity, that have so infinitly exceeded themselves, as it was better, both for them, and their Auditoriy, that they were so surpriz'd, not prepar'd. Nor was it safe then to crosse them, for their adversary, their anger made them more eloquent. Yet these men I could not but love, and admire, that they return'd to their studies. They

quit; orationes Sallustii in honorem historiarum leguntur; eloquentissimi Platonis oratio, quae pro Socrate scripta est, nec patrono nec reo digna est. (9) Hoc non ingeniis tantum sed corporibus videtis accidere, quorum vires non ad omnia quae viribus efficiuntur, aptae sunt: illi nemo luctando par est; ille ad tollendam magni ponderis sarcinam praevalet; ille, quidquid apprehendit, non remittit, sed in proclive nitentibus vehiculis moraturas manus injicit. Ad animalia veno: alii ad aprum, alii ad cervum canes faciunt; equorum non omnium, quamvis celerrimi sint, idonea curriculis velocitas est; quidam melius equitem patiuntur, quidam jugum.

70. Seneca Major, Controversiarum Liber III, Praefatio. (1) Quosdam discretissimos cognovi viros non respondentes famae suae cum declamarent: in foro maxima omnium admiratione dicentes, simul ad has domesticas exercitationes secesserant, desertos ab ingeniosu.... (3) Non est' quad illum, ex his, quae edidit, aestimetis; sunt quidem et haec, quibus eloquentia ejus agnoscatur; tamen auditus longe major erat quam lectus,.... (4) Vir enim praesentis animi
left not diligence (as many doc) when their rash-
nessesse prosper'd. For diligence is a great ayde, even
to an indifferent wit; when wee are not contented
with the examples of our owne Age, but would
know the face of the former. Indeed, the more wee
5 conferre with, the more wee profit by, if the persons
be chosen.

One, though hee be excellent, and the chiefe, is not
to bee imitated alone. For never no imitator, ever
grew up to his Author; likenesse is always on this
side Truth: Yet there hapn'd, in my time, one
noble Speaker, who was full of gravity in his speak-
ning. His language (where hee could spare, or pass
by a jest) was nobly censorious. No man ever spake
more neatly, more pressly, more weightily, or suf-
er'd lesse emptinessse, lesse idlenessse, in what hee
utter'd. No member of his speech, but consisted of
his owne graces. His hearers could not cough, or
looke aside from him, without losse. Hee comman-
ded where hee spoke; and had his Judges angry,

15. F.1. Schell. Gall. : presly
17. F.1. : of the own graces

et majoris ingenii quam studii magis placebat in his, quae inveniebat, quam in
his, quae attulerat. Jam vero iratus commodius dicebat, et-ideo diligentissime
cavebant homines ne dicentem interpellarent. (5) Uni illi proderat excuti; me-
lius semper fortuna quam cura de illo merebatur. Nunquam tamen haec felicitas
illi persuasit neglegentiam...... (6) Ex tempore coactus dicere infinito se anteece-
debat: namquam non utilius erat illi deprehendi quam praeparari; sed magis
illum suspiceres quod diligentiam non relinquebat, cum illi tam bene teneritas
cederet.

71. Seneca Major, Controversiarum Liber I, Praefatio. (6) Facitis autem,
juvenes mei, rem necessarium et utilem, quod non contentis exemplis saeculi
vestri, prioris quoque vultis cognoscere, primum quia, quo plura exempla ins-
pecta sunt, plus in eloquentiam proficitur. Non est unus. quamvis praecipius
sit, imitandus, quia nunquam par fit imitator auctori. Haec rei natura est:
semper citra veritatem est simulitudo.

Ibidem, liber III. (2) Oratio ejus (Severi Cassii) erat valens, culta, ingeniosis
plena sententiiis; nemo minus passus est aliquid in actione sua otiosi esse; nulla
pars erat, quae non sua virtute staret, nihil in quo auditor sine damno aliud
ageret; omnia intenta, aliquid potestia; nemo magis in sua potestate habuit
audientium affectus. Verum est, quod de illo dixit Gallio noster: « Cum dice-
and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power. The fear of every man that heard him, was, lest hee should make an end.

Cicero is said to bee the only wit, that the people of Rome had equall'd to their Empire. Ingenium par imperio. We have had many, and in their several Ages (to take in but the former Seculam) Sir Thomas Moore, the elder Wiat, Henry, Earle of Surrey; Chancellor, Smith, Eliot, B. Gardiner, were for their times admirable: and the more, because they began Eloquence with us. Sir Nico: Bacon was singular, and almost alone, in the beginning of Queene Elizabeths times. Sir Philip Sydney, and Mr. Hooker (in different matter) grew great Masters of wit, and language; and in whom all vigour of Invention, and strength of judgement met. The Earle of Essex, noble and high; and sir Walter Rawleigh, not to be contemn'd, either for judgement, or stile. Sir Henry Savile, grave, and truly letter'd: Sir Edwin Sandes, excellent in both: Lo: Egerton, the Chancellor, a grave, and great Orator; and best when hee was provok'd. But his learned, and able (though unfortunate) Successor is he, who hath fill'd up all numbers; and perform'd that in our tongue, which may be compar'd, or preferr'd, either to insolent Greece, or haughty Rome. In short, within his view, and about his times, were all the wits borne, that could honour a language, or helpe study. Now things daily fall, wits grow downward, and Eloquence growes backward: So that hee may be nam'd, and stand as the marke, and ἀξιωτην of our language.

I have ever observ'd it, to have beene the office of a wise Patriot, among the greatest affaires of the


[73] De augmentis Scientiarum.

bat, rerum potiebatur: adeo omnes imperata faciebant; cum ille voluerat, irasciebantur. Nemo non illo dicente timebat ne desineret. . . . (4) Nee enim quicquam magis in illo mirareris, quam quod gravitas, quae deerat vitae, actioni supererat: quamdiu citra jocos se continebat, censorship oratio erat.

72. SENECa MAjOr, Controversiarum Liber I, Praefatio. (6) Deinde ut possitis
State, to take care of the Commonweal th of Learning. For Schooles, they are the Seminaries of State: and nothing is worthier the study of a Statesman, then that part of the Republicke, which wee call the advancement of Letters. Witnesse the care of Julius Caesar; who, in the heat of the civill warre writ his bookes of Analogie, and dedicated them to Tully. This made the late Lord St. Albane, entitle his worke, Novum Organum: Which though by the most of superficiall men; who cannot get beyond the Title of Nominals, it is not penetrated, nor understood: it really openeth all defects of Learning, whatsoever; and is a Booke

« Qui longum nolo scriptori proroget aevum ».

My conceit of his person was never increased toward him, by his place, or honours. But I have, and doe reverence him for the greatnesse, that was onely proper to himselfe, in that hee seemed to mee ever, by his worke one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had beene in many Ages. In his adversity I ever prayed, that God would give him strength; for Greatnesse hee could not want. Neither could I condole in a word, or syllable for him; as knowing no Accident could doe harme to vertue; but rather helpe to make it manifold.


aestimare in quantum cotidie ingenia decrescant et nescio qua iniquitate naturae eloquentia se retro tulerit : quidquid Romana facundia habet, quod insolenti Graeciae aut opponat aut praferat, circa Ciceronem effloruit; (7) omnia ingenia, quae lucem studiis nostris attulerunt tune nata sunt. In deterius deinde cotidie data res est..... (11) Omnes autem magni in eloquentia nominis, excepto Cicerone, videor audisse nec Ciceronem quidem aetas mihi eripuerat, sed bello- rum civilium furor, qui tune orbem totum pervagabatur, iutra coloniam meam me continuat : aliquis in illo atriolo, in quo duos grandes praetextatos ait secum declamasse, potui adesse illudque ingenium, quod solum populus Romanus par imperio suo habuit, cognoscere, et quod vulgo aliquando dici solet, sed in illo proprie debet, potui vivam vocem audire.
There cannot be one colour of the mind; another of the wit. If the mind be staid, grave, and compos'd; the wit is so, that vitiated, the other is blowne, and deflower'd. Doe wee not see, if the mind languish, the members are dull? Looke upon an effeminat person: his very gate confesseth him. If a man be fiery, his notion is so: if angry, 'tis troubled, and violent. So that wee may conclude: Wheresoever, manners, and fashions are corrupted; Language is. It imitates the publicke riot. The excess of Feasts, and apparell, are the notes of a sick State: and the wantonnesse of language, of a sick mind.

If wee woulde consider, what our affaires are indeed; not what they are call'd, wee should finde more evils belong us, then happen to us. How often doth that, which was call'd a calamity, prove the beginning; and cause of a mans happinesse? And, on the contrary: that which hapued, or came to another with great gratulation, and applause, how it hath 20 lifted him, but a step higher to his ruine? As, if hee stood before, where hee might fall safely.

The vulgar are commonly ill-natur'd; and always

74. Seneca, Epist. ad Lucillium, CXIV. « Non potest alius esse ingenio, alius animo color. Si ille sanus est, si compositus, gravis, temperans; ingenium quoque siccum ac sobrium est: illo vitiali, hoc quoque afflatur. Non vides, si animus elanguit, trahi membra, et pigre moveri pedes? Si ille effeminatus est, in ipso incessu apparere mollitium? Si ille acer est et ferox, concitari gradum? Si furit, aut, quod furori simile est, irascitur, turbatam esse corporis motum, nec ire, sed ferri? Quanto hoc magis accidere ingenio putas, quod totum animo permixtum est? Ab illo fingitur, illi paret, inde legem petit... Itaque, ubicunque videris orationem corruptam placere, ibi mores quoque a recto descivisses non erit dubium. Quomodo conviviorum luxuria, quomodo vestitum, aegrae civitatis indica sunt; sic orationis licentia, si modo frequens est, ostendit animos quoque, a quibus verba exeunt, procidisse.

75. Seneca, Epist. ad Lucillium, CX. « Adhibe diligentiam tuam, et intuere, quid sint res nostrae, non quid vocentur; et scies plura mala contingere nobis, quam accidere. Quoties enim felicitatis et causa et initium fuist, quod calamitas vocabatur? Quoties magna gratulatione excepta res gradum sibi struxit in praeceps, et aliquem jam eminentem allevavit etiamnunc, tanquam ibi adhuc stare, unde tuto caderet?"
grudging against their *Governours* : which makes, that a Prince has more busines, and trouble with them, then ever *Hercules* had with the Bull, or any other beast: by how much they have more heads, then will be rein'd with one bridle. There was not that variety of beasts in the Arke; as is of beastly natures in the multitude; especially when they come to that iniquity, to censure their *Soveraign’s* actions. Then all the *Counsels* are made good, or bad by the events: And it falleth out, that the same facts receive from them the names; now of diligence; now of vanity; now of Majesty; now of fury: where they ought wholly to hang on his mouth; as hee to consist of himselfe; and not others counsels.

[77] *Princeps.*

After *God* nothing is to be lov’d of man like the Prince: He violates nature, that doth it not with his whole heart. For when he hath put on the care of the publick good, and common safety; I am a wretch, and put off man, if I doe not reverence, and honour him: in whose charge all things divine and humane are plac’d. Doe but aske of nature, why all living creatures are lesse delighted with meat, and drinke, that sustaines them, then with Venery, that wastes them? And she will tell thee, the first respects but a private; the other, a common good, *Propagation.*

*De eodem.*

Hee is the Arbiter of life, and death: when hee finds no other subject for his mercy, hee should spare himselfe. All his punishments are rather to correct, then to destroy. Why are prayers with *Orpheus* said to be the daughters of Jupiter; but that princes are thereby admonished, that the petitions


Καὶ γὰρ τὸ Άιττί ἐστὶ Διὸς κυρρι το μεγαλον,  
γυναῖ τῆς Ῥοοτί τε παραβλάψι τ’ ἀθραμάτοι.  
(Ετενίμ Preces sunt Jovis filiae magni,  
Claudaeque, rugosaeque, strabaeque oculis).
of the wretched, ought to have more weight with
them, then the Lawes themselves.

It was a great accumulation to his Majesties deserv-
ed prayse ; that men might openly visit, and pitty
those, whom his greatest prisons had at any time
received, or his Lawes condemned.

Wise, is rather the Attribute of a Prince then
learned, or good. The learned man profits others,
rather then himselfe; the good man, rather himselfe
then others : But the Prince commands others, and
doth himselfe. The wise Licurgus gave no Law, but
what himselfe kept. Sylla, and Lysander, did not so;
the one living, extremely dissolute himselfe, infor-
ced frugality by the Lawes : the other permitted
those Licences to others, which himselfe abstained
from. But the Princes Prudence is his chiefe Art,
and safety. In his Counsels, and deliberations hee
foresees the future times: In the equity of his judg-
ment, hee hath remembrance of the past ; and know-
ledge of what is to be done, or avoyded for the 20
present. Hence the Persians gave out their Cyrus, to
have been nurs'd by a Bitch, a creature to encounter
ill : as of sagacity to seeke out good ; shewing that
Wisdome may accompany fortitude, or it leaves to
be, and puts on the name of Rashnesse.

There be some men are borne onely to sucke out
the poyson of bookes : Habent venenum pro victu :

22. F. t. & : to encounter it     Anon. Goll. : to encounter ill

79. Erasmus, Institutio Prinicipis Christiani, ch. 1 (Opera IV, 583). Si potes
simul esse Princeps et vir bonus, fungere pulcerrimo munere : sin minus,
abjice Principem potius quam ut ea gratia vir malus fas. Virum bonum invenire
licet, qui bonus principem non possit agere. At bonus princeps esse non potest,
qu qui non sit idem vir bonus .. Nee alius potes imperare nisi prius ipse parueris
honesto.

80. Quintilianus, Institutio Oratoria, liber I. Prooem. (10) Neque enim hoc
concesserim, rationem rectae honestoque vitae (ut quidam putaverunt) ad philo-
sophos relegandam; quam vir ille vere civilis et publicarum privaturnque
rerum administrationi accommodatus, qui regere consilii urbes, fundare legibus,
emendare judiciis possit, non alius sit profecto, quam orator... Ideoque non
imq, pro deliciis. And such are they that onely relish the obscene, and foule things in Poets; Which makes the profession taxed. But by whom? men, that watch for it (and, had they not had this hint) are so unjust valuers of Letters; as they think no Learning good, but what brings in gaine. It shewes they themselves would never have beene of the professions they are; but for the profits and fees. But, if another Learning, well used, can instruct to good life, informe manners, no lesse perswade and leade men, then they threaten, and compell, and have no rewarde, is it therefore the worst study? I could never thinke the study of Wisdome confin'd only to the Philosopher: or of Piety to the Divine: or of State to the Politicke. But that he which can faine a Commonwealth (which is the Poet) can gowne it with Counsels, strengthen it with Lawes, correct it with Judgements, informe it with Religion, and Morals; is all these. Wee doe not require in him meere Elocution; or an excellent faculty in verse; but the exact knowledge of all vertues; and their Contraries; with ability to render the one lov'd, the other hated, by his proper embattling them. The Philosophers did insolently, to challenge only to themselves that which the greatest Generals, and gravest Counsellors never durst. For such had rather doe, then promise the best things.

Some Controverters in Divinity are like Swaggerers in a Taverne, that catch that which stands next

14. F.1. F.2. Whall. : or of Poetry to the Divine Ceteri : or of piety to the divine

dicendi modo eximiam in eo facultatem, sed omnes virtutes exigimus. (14) Nomen tamen sibi insolentissimum arrogaverunt, ut soli sapientiae studiosi vocarentur: quod neque summi imperatores, neque in consiliis rerum maxima- rum ac totius administratione reipublicae praecerassime versati, sibi unquam vindicare sunt ausi. Facere enim optima, quam promittere, maluerunt.

81. ERASMUS, Apophtegmata, liber VIII (iv, 374). Demonax Cynicus interrogatus quid sentiret de conflictu duorum, quorum alter inepo proponebat, alter
them, the candlesticke, or pots; turne everything into a weapon: ofttimes they fight blindfold; and both beat the Ayre. The one milks a Hee-goat, the other holds under a Sive. Their Arguments are as fluxive as liquour spilt upon a Table; which with your finger you may draine as you will. Such Controversies, or Disputations (carried with more labour, then profit) are odious: where most times the Truth is lost in the midst; or left untouch'd. And the fruit of their fight is: that they spit one upon another, and are both defil'd. These Fencers in Religion, I like not.

The Body hath certaine diseases, that are with lesse evill tolerated, then remov'd. As if to cure a Leprosie, a man should bathe himselfe with the warme blood of a murthered Child: So in the Church, some errors may be dissimuled with lesse inconvenience, then they can be discover'd.

Men that talke of their owne benefits, are not beleev'd to talke of them, because they have done them: but to have done them, because they might talke of them. That which had beene great, if another had reported it of them, vanisheth; and is nothing, if hee that did it speake of it. For men, when they cannot destroy the deed, will yet be glad to take advantage of the boasting, and lessen it.

absurde respondebat, ait, sibi videri alterum mulgere hircum, alterum supponere cribrum. (Cf. Lucianus, Demonax, 38.)

82. Erasmus, Hyperaspistes Diatribae adversus Servum Arbitrium, liber I, 30 (x, 1279). Ut sunt morbi quidam qui minore malo tolerantur quam tolluntur, ita quaedam irreperunt in populum Christianum, quae satius est ferre. quam ut dum conaris submovere, malum exasperes (Cf. In Evangelium Matthaei Paraphrasis. Cap xiii Interim igitur mali bonis admixti ferendi sunt, quando minore pernicie tolerantur, quam tollerentur).

I have seen, that Poverty makes men do unfit things; but honest men should not do them; they should gaine otherwise. Though a man bee hungry, hee should not play the Parasite. That houre, wherein I would repent me to be honest: there were 5 ways enough open for me to be rich. But Flattery is a fine Pick-lock of tender eares; especially of those, whom fortune hath borne high upon their wings, that submit their dignity, and authority to it, by a soothing of themselves. For indeed, men could never be taken in that abundance, with the sprindges of others Flattery, if they began not there; if they did but remember, how much more profitable the bitternesse of Truth were, then all the honey distilling from a whorish voice; which is not praise, but poynson. But now it is come to that extreme folly, or rather madnesse with some: that he that flatters them modestly, or sparingly, is thought to maligne them. If their friend consent not to their vices, though hee do not contradict them: hee is nevertheless an enemy. When they doe all things the worst way, even then they looke for praise. Nay, they will hire fellowes to flatter them with suites, and suppers, and to prostitute their judgements. They have

23. Giff. Cornw. : to flatter them, with suits and suppers

84. Seneca, Quaestiones Naturales, liber IV, Praefatio... A turba, quantum potes, te separa, nec adulatoribus latus praebeas; artifices sunt ad captandos superiores. Par illis, etiamsi bene caveris, non eris. Mihi crede, proditione, si capteris, ipse te trades. Habeant hoc in se naturale blanditiae; etiam quem rejiciuntur, placent; saepe exclusae, novissime recipiuntur. Hoc enim ipsum imputant, quod repelluntur, et subigii ne contumelia quidem possunt. Incredibile est, quod dicturus sum, sed tamen verum. Ea maxime quisque patet, qua petitur. Fortasse enim ideo, quia patet, patitur. Sic ego formare, ut scias non posse te consuequi, ut sis impenetrabilis; quam omnia caveris, per ornamenta feriet... Demetrium egregium virum memini dicere eundam libertino potenti, facilem sibi esse ad divitiias viam, quo die poenituisset bonae mentis... Ita est, mi Junior, quo aperior est adulatio, quo impobior, quo magis frontem suam perfricuit, cecidit alienam, hoc citius expugnat. Eo enim jam dementiae venimus, ut qui parce adulatur, pro maligno sit.
Livery-friends, friends of the dish, and of the Spit, that wait their turnes, as my-Lord has his feasts, and guests.

I have considered our whole life is like a Play: Wherein every man forgetfull of himselfe, is in travaile with expression of another. Nay, wee so insist in imitating others, as wee cannot (when it is necessary) retorne to our selves: like Children, that imitate the vices of Stammerers so long, till at last they become such; and make the habit to another nature, as it is never forgotten.

Good men are the Stars, the Planets of the Ages wherein they live, and illustrate the times. God did never let them be wanting to the world: As Abel, for an example, of Innocency; Enoch of purity, Noah of Trust in Gods mercies, Abraham of Faith, and so of the rest. These sensuall men thought mad, because they would not be partakers, or practisers of their madnesse. But they plac’d high on the top of all vertue, look’d downe on the Stage of the world, and contemned the Play of Fortune. For though the most be Players, some must be Spectators.

I have discovered, that a fain’d familiarity in great ones, is a note of certaine usurpation on the lesser. For great and popular men, faine themselves to bee servants to others, to make those slaves to them. So the fisher provides baits for the Trowte, Roch, Dace, etc., that they may be food to him.

The complaint of Caligula, was most wicked, of the condition of his times: when hee said; They were not famous for any publike calamity, as the reigne of Augustus was, by the defeat of Varus, and...
the Legions; and that of Tiberius, by the falling of the Theater at Fidenae; whilst his oblivion was imminent, through the prosperity of his affairs. As that other voice of his, was worthier a headsman, then a head; when he wished the people of Rome had but one neck. But he found (when he fell) they had many hands. A Tyranne, how great and mighty soever hee may seeme to Cowards and Sluggards; is but one creature, one Animal.

I have mark'd among the Nobility, some are so addicted to the service of the Prince, and Common-wealth, as they looke not for spoyle; such are to be honour'd, and lov'd. There are others, which no obligation will fasten on; and they are of two sorts. The first are such as love their own ease: or, out of vice, of nature, or self-direction, avoide busines and care. Yet, these the Prince may use with safety. The other remove themselves upon craft, and designe (as the Architects say) with a premeditated thought to their owne rather than their Princes profit. Such let the Prince take heed of, and not doubt to reckon in the List of his open enemies.

There is a great variation betweene him, that is rais'd to the Soveraignity, by the favour of his

---

3. F.i.: eminent Ceteri: eminent Pers. Conj.: imminent

---

89 Machiavelli, Il Principe, cap. ix. Del Principato civile. ... E per chiarire meglio questa parte, dico, Come i grandi si debbono considerare in duo modi principalmente: cioè, si governano in modo col proceder loro, che si obli-
gano in tutto alla tua fortuna. o no: quelli che s'obligano, o non sieno rapaci, si debbono honorare ed amare; quelli che non s'obligano, s'hanno a considerare in duo modi: o fanno questo per pusillanimità e difetto naturale d'animo; ed allora ti debbi servir dir loro, e di quelli massime che sono di buon consiglio; perché nelle prosperità te ne onori, e nelle avversità non hai da temere: ma quando non si obli-gano ad arte e per cagione ambitiosa, è segno come e' pensano più a sè che a tè; E da quelli si deve il Principe guardare, e tenergli come se fossero scoperti nimici, perché sempre nelle avversità l'aiuteranno rovinare.

90. Machiavelli, Il Principe, cap. ix. Del Principato civile... Colui che viene al principato con l'aiuto de' Grandi, sì mantiene con più difficoltà, che quello che diventa con l'aiuto del Popolo; perché si trova Principe con di molti
Pieres; and him that comes to it by the suffrage of the people. The first holds with more difficulty; because he hath to doe with many, that think themselves his equals; and rais'd him for their own greatnesse, and oppression of the rest. The latter hath no upbraiders; but was rais'd by them, that sought to be defended from oppression: whose end is both easier, and the honester to satisfie. Beside, while he hath the people to friend, who are a multitude, he hath the lesse feare of the Nobility, who are but few. Nor let the common Proverb of (Hee that builds on the people, builds on the dirt) discredit my opinion: For that hath only place, where an ambitious, and private person, for some popular end, trusts in them against the public Justice, and Magistrate. There they will leave him. But when a Prince governs them, so as they have still need of his Administration (for that is his art) hee shall ever make, and hold them faithfull.

A prince should exercise his cruelty, not by 20

intorno che a loro pare essere eguali a lui, e per questo non gli puo nè maneggiare nè comandare a suo modo. Ma colui che arriva al principato col favor popolare, vi si trova solo, ed ha intorno o nessuno o pochissimi che non sieno parati ad ubbidire. Oltre a questo, non si puo con onesta satisfare a' grandi, e senza ingiuria d'altri; ma sibbene al popolo: perché quello del popolo è più onesto fine che quel de' grandi, volendo questi opprimere, e quello non esser oppresso. Aggiungesi ancora, che del popolo inimico il Principe non si puo mai assicurare, per essere troppi: de'grandi si puo assicurare, per esser pochi. E non sia alcuno che repugni a questa mia opinione con quel proverbio trito, che chi fonda in sul popolo, fonda in sul fango: perché quello è vero quando un cittadino privato vi fa su fondamento, e dassi ad intendere che in popolo lo liberi quando esso fussi oppresso dagl'inimici o da' magistrati: ... non si troverà ingannato da lui, e gli parrà aver fatti i suoi fondamenti buoni ... Pero, un Principe savio deve pensare un modo per il quale li suoi cittadini, sempre, ed in ogni modo e qualità di tempo, abbino bisogno dello stato di lui; e sempre poi gli saranno fedeli.


91 Machiavelli, Il Principe, cap. vii (page 17) ... E perché cognoceva
himselfe, but by his Ministers: so hee may save himselfe, and his dignity with his people, by sacrificing those, when he list, saith the great Doctor of State, Macchiavell. But I say he puts off man, and goes into a beast, that is cruell. No vertue is a 5 Princes owne; or becomes him more, then this Clemency: And no glory is greater, then to be able to save with his power. Many punishments sometimes, and in some cases, as much discredit a Prince, as many Funerals a Physician. The state of things is secur'd by Clemency; Severity represeth a few, but irritates more. The lopping of trees makes the boughes shoot out thicker; And the taking away of some kind of enemies increaseth the number. It is then, most gracious in a Prince to pardon, when many about him would make him cruell; to thinke then, how much he can save, when others tell him, how much he can destroy: not to consider what the impotence of others hath demolish'd, but what his owne greatnesse can sustaine. These are a Princes vertues; and they that give him other counsels, are but the Hangmans factors.

(Cesare Borgia) le rigorositá passate avergli generato qualche odio, per purgar gli animi di quelli popoli, e guadagnarseli in tutto, volsese mostrare che se crudeltà alcuna era seguita, non era nata da lui, ma dall' acerba natura del ministro.....

Hee that is cruell to halves (saith the said Saint-Nicolas) loseth no lesse the opportunity of his cruelty, then of his benefits: For then to use his cruelty, is too late; and to use his favours will be interpreted feare and necessity; and so hee loseth the thankes. Still the counsell is cruelty. But Princes by harkning to cruell counsels, become in time obnoxious to the Authors, their Flatterers, and Ministers; and are brought to that, that when they would, they dare not change them: they must 10 goe on, and defend cruelty with cruelty: they cannot alter the Habit. It is then growne necessary, they must bee as ill, as those have made them: And in the end, they will grow more hatefull to themselves, then to their Subjects. Whereas, on the 15 contrary, the mercifull Prince is safe in love, not in feare. He needs no Emissaries, Spies, Intelligencers, to intrap true Subjects. Hee feares no Libels,

92. MACHIAVELLI, Il Principe, cap. vni, in finem (page 22)... Perch\`e le ingiu-rie si debbono fare tutte insieme, accioch\`e, assaporandosi meno, offendono meno: li beneficii si debbono fare a poco a poco, accioch\`e si assaporino meglio. E deve, sopra tutto, un Principe vivere con li suoi sudditi in modo, che nissuno acci- dente o di male o di bene lo abbia a far variare: perch\`e venendo per li tempi avversi la necessit\`a, tu non sei a tempo al male; ed il bene che tu fai non ti giova, perch\`e \`e giudicato forzato, e non grado alcuno ne riporti.

SENECA, De Clementia Liber primus. (13) Non potest habere quisquam bonae ac fidae voluntatis ministros, quibus in tormentis, et equuleo, et ferramentis ad mortem paratis utitur, quibus non aliter quam bestiis homines objectat: omnibus rebus noxior ac sollicitior. ut qui homines deosque testes ac vindices faciunorum timeat, eo perductus. ut non liceat illi mutare mores. Hoc enim inter cetera vel pessimum habet crudelitas, quod perseverandum est, nec ad meliora patet regressus. Scelera enim sceleribus tuenda sunt; quid autem eo infelicius, cui jam esse malo necesse est? O miserabilem illum. sibi certe! nam ceteris miseri\'eri ejus nefas sit qui caebibus ac rapinis potentiam exercuit, qui suspecta sibi cuncta reddidit, tam externa quam domestica; quam arma metuat, ad arma confugiens; non amicorum fidei credens, non liberorum pietati Qui ubi cir-cumspectix quaeeque fecit, quaeeque facturus est. et conscientiam suam plenam sceleribus ac tormentis adaperuit, saepe mortem timet, saepius optat. invisior sibi quam saevientibus. E contrario is cui curae sunt universa, quamquam alia magis, alia minus tueatur, nullam non reipublicae partem tanquam sui nutrit, inclinatius ad miti\'or, etiamsi ex usu est animadvertere, ostendens quam invitus aspero remedio manus admoveat; in cujus animo nihil hostile, nihil efferum
no Treasons. His people speake, what they thinke; and talke openly, what they doe in secret. They have nothing in their brests, that they need a Cipher for. He is guarded with his owne benefits.

The strength of Empire is in Religion. What else is the Palladium (with Homer) that kept Troy so long from sacking? Nothing more commends the Sovereigne to the Subject, then it. For hee that is religious must be mercifull and just necessarily. And they are two strong ties upon mankind. Justice is the vertue, that Innocence rejoyczeth in. Yet even that is not always so safe; but it may love to stand in the sight of mercy. For sometimes misfortune is made a crime, and then Innocence is succor'd, no less then vertue. Nay, oftentimes vertue is made Capitall; and through the condition of the times, it may happen, that that may be punish'd with our praise. Let no man therefore murmur at the Actions of the Prince, who is plac'd so farre above him. If hee offend, he hath his Discoverer. God hath a height beyond him. But where the Prince is good, Euripides saith: « God is a guest in a humane body. »

There is nothing with some princes sacred above their Majesty; or prophane, but what violates their Scepters. But a Prince, with such Counsell, is like the God Terminus, of Stone, his owne Land-marke; or (as it is in the Fable) a crowned Lyon. It is dangerous offending such a one; who, being angry,
knowes not how to forgive: That cares not to doe anything, for maintaining, or inlarging of Empire; kils not men, or Subjects; but destroyeth whole Countries, Armies, mankind, male and female; guilty or not guilty, holy or prophane: Yea, some that have not seen the light. All is under the Law of their spoyle and licence. But Princes that neglect their proper office thus, their fortune is oftentimes to draw a Seianus, to be neere about them, who will at last affect to get above them and put them in a worthy feare, of rooting both them out, and their family. For no men hate an evill Prince more, then they that help’d to make him such. And none more boastingly, weep his ruine, then they, that procur’d and practis’d it. The same path leads to ruine, which did to rule, when men professe a Licence in govern-ning. A good king is a publike Servant.

A prince without Letters, is a Pilot without eyes. All his Government is groping. In Soveraignity it is a most happy thing, not to be compelled; but so it is the most miserable not to be counsell’d. And how can he be counsell’d that cannot see to read the best Counsellors (which are books). For they neither flatter us, nor hide from us? Hee may heare, you

9. F.1. F.2. Whall.: about him... above 'him Ceteri: about them... above them


Seianus.

Illeteratus princeps.
will say, But how shall he alwayes be sure to heare Truth? or be counsell'd the best things, not the sweetest? They say Princes learne no Art truly but the Art of Horsemanship. The reason is, the brave beast is no flatterer. Hee will throw a Prince, as soone, as his Groome. Which is an Argument, that the good Counsellors to Princes are the best instruments of a good Age. For though the Prince himselfe be of a most prompt inclination to all vertue: Yet the best Pilots have needs of Mariners, besides Sayles, Anchor, and other Tackle.

If men did know, what shining fetters, gilded miseries, and painted happinesse, Thrones and Scepters were; There would not bee so frequent strife about the getting, or holding of them: There would be more Principalities, then Princes. For a Prince is the Pastor of the people. Hee ought to sheere, not to flay his sheepe; to take their fleeces, not their fels. Who were his enemies before, being

---

9. F. 2. Cunn. : of most prompt inclination  18. F. 1.: flea  Cet.: flay

cogi: ita miserrimum, non suaderi. Sunt apud vos, fateor. qui consilii sui copiam assidue faciant: sed utinam consilii fidi semper et recte! Alphonsus olim, eximius ille regum, interrogatus, Qui essent optimi consiliarii? Mortui, respondit Libros scilicet et haec talia monimenta intelligens, qui nihil blandientes, nihil celantes, puram meramque propinat veritatem.


96. Justus Lipsius, Politicorum sive Civilis Doctrinae libri sex. (Opera, II, 75) Apage istos, qui rem auferunt cum pulviculo. »

(Plaut., Bacch.)
Quibus aerarium est « spotiarum ciuium, cruentarumque praedarum receptaculum ».  
(Plin., Paneg.)
Tu cum Tiberio, « tondere pecus » malis « quam deglubere ».  
(Sueton., Tib.)
Alexander olim recte: « Hortulanum odi, qui ab radice olera exsindicunt ».  
(Plutarch.)
a private man, become his children now hee is publicke. Hee is the soule of the Commonwealth; and ought to cherish it, as his owne body. Alexander the Great was wont to say, « Hee hated that Gardiner that pluck’d his herbes, or flowers up by the roots. » A man may milke a beast, till the blood come; Churne milke, and it yeeldeth butter: but wring the nose, and the blood followeth. Hee is an ill Prince, that so pulis his Subjects’ feathers, as hee would not have them grow againe; that makes his Exchequer a receipt for the spoyls of those hee governs. No, let him keepe his owne, not affect his Subjects’: strive rather to be call’d just, then powerfull. Not, like the Romans Tyrans, affect the Surnames that grow by humane slaughters: Neither to seeke warre in peace, or peace in warre; but to observe faith given, though to an Enemy. Study Piety toward the Subject; shew care to defend him Bee slow to punish in diverse cases; but be a sharp and severe Revenger of open crimes. Breake no decrees, or dissolve no orders, to slacken the strength of Lawes. Choose neither Magistrates, civill or ecclesiastick, by favour, or Price: but with long disquisition, and report of their worth, by all Suffrages. Sell no honours, nor give them hastily; but bestow them with counsell, and for reward; If he doe, acknowledge it (though late), and mend it. For Princes are easeie to be deceiv’d. And what wisdome can escape it; where so many Court-Arts are stu-


27. F. 1.: doe acknowledge

\[\text{Et ego sane Principem, qui a pennas ita incidit, ut nequeant renasce.}\]

(Ex Cic. iv, Ad Atticum Epist. II.)

\[\text{Profecto qui nimis emungit, elicit sanguinem.}\]

(Prov. Salom., cap. xxx.)

\[\text{Atnoster ille Princeps, qui a suae pecuniae parceus, publicae avarus.}\]

(Tacit., I Histor.)
died? But, above all, the Prince is to remember, that when the great day of Account comes, which neither Magistrate, nor Prince can shunne, there will be requir'd of him a reckoning for those, whom he hath trusted; as for himselfe, which hee must provide. And if Piety be wanting in the Priests, Equity in the Judges, or the Magistrate be found rated at a price; what Justice or Religion is to be expected? which are the onely two Attributes make Kings a kinne to Gods; and is the Delphick sword, both to kill Sacrifices, and to chastise offenders.

When a vertuous man is rais'd, it brings gladnesse to his friends; griefe to his enemies, and glory to his Posterity. Nay his honours are a great part of the honour of the times: when by this meanes he is growne to active men, an example; to the sloathfull, a spurre; to the envious, a Punishment.

Hee, which is sole heire to many rich men, having beside his Fathers, and Uncles) the states of diverse his kindred come to him by accession; must needs bee richer then Father, or Granfather: So they which are left heires ex Asse, of all their Ancestors vices; and by their good husbandry improve the old, and daily purchase new; must needs be wealthier in vice, and have a greater revenue, or stock of ill to spend on.

The great thieves of a State are lightly the officers of the Crowne; they hang the lesse still; play the Pikes in the Pond; eate whom they list. The Net

Erasmus, Adagiorum liber II, iii, 69. Delphicus gladius, de re dicebatur ad diversos usus accommodabili Quemadmodum iisdem vasculis, et poculorum vice in convivis, et clypeorum vice in hellis utebantur. Nam Delphicus gladius ad eum modum erat fabricatus, ut eodem simul et sacras mactarent victimas, et nocentes afficerent supplicio.

99. Juvenal, Satirae, II, 63:

De nobis post haec tristis sententia fertur:
Dat veniam corvis, vesat censura columbas.

Terence, Phormio, II, ii, 16.

G. Qui istuc? Pho. Quia non rete acciprii tenditur, neque milvio, Qui male faciunt nobis; illis, qui nil faciunt, teuditur.
was never spread for the Hawke or Buzzard that hurt us, but the harmlesse birds, they are good meate.

Juvenalis.  
Plautus.  

Dat veniam corvis, oexat censura columbas.  
Non rete accipitri tenditur, neque milvio.

But they are not alwayes safe though, especially when they meet with wise Masters. They can take down all the huffe, and swelling of their lookes; and like dexterous Auditors, place the Counter, where he shall value nothing. Let them but remember Lewis the eleventh, who to a Clarke of the Exchequer, that came to be Lord Treasurer, and had (for his device) represented himselfe sitting upon fortune's wheele; told him, hee might doe well to fasten it with a good strong nayle, lest turning about, it might bring him, where hee was againe. As indeed it did.

A good man will avoide the spot of any sinne. The very aspersion is grievous, which makes him choose his way in his life, as hee would in his journey. The Ill man rides through all confidently; hee is coated and booted for it. The ofter hee offends, the more openly, and the fowler, the fitter in fashion. His modesty, like a riding Coat, the more it is worn, is the lesse car'd for. It is good enough for the durt

13. F.1. F.2.: wheel, told him, he might  
Corn. Morl.: told him he might  
Giff. Cunn.: told, he might

100. Apuleius, Apologia (in the beginning).... Quippè insimulari quivis innocens potest: revinci, nisi nocens, non potest..... Quippè qui sciens innocen-tem criminatur: eo sanè facilius, quod jam, ut dixi, mentiens apud praefectum urbi in amplissima causa convictus est. Namque pecatum semel, ut bonus quisque postea sollicitius cavet, ita qui ingenio malus est, confidentius integrat; ac jam de cetero, qua saepius, eo apertius delinquit. Pudor enim, veluti vestis, quanto obsoletiar est, tanto incuriosius habetur. Et ideo necessarium arbitror, pro integitate pudoris mei, priusquam ad rem aggregiar, maledicta omnia refutare. Sustineo enim non modo meam, verum etiam philosophiae defensio- nem, cujus magnitudo vel minimam reprehensionem pro maximo crimine adsperratur.... tamen vel mea causa paucis refellenda sunt, ne iis qui sedulo laboro, ut ne quid maculae aut inhonestamenti in me admittam, videar cuipiam,
still; and the ways he travels in. An Innocent man needs no Eloquence: his Innocence is in stead of it: else I had never come off so many times from these Precipices, whether mens malice hath pursued me. It is true I have bene accused to the Lords, to the King; and by great ones: but it hap’ned my accusers had not thought of the Accusation with themselves; and so were driven for want of crimes, to use invention, which was found slander: or too late, (being entred so farre) to seeke starting-holes for their rashnesse, which were not given them. And then they may thinke, what accusation that was like to prove, when they, that were the Ingeniers, fear’d to be the Authors. Nor were they content, to faine things against mee, but to urge things fain’d by the Ignorant, against my profession; which though from their hired, and mercenary impudence, I might have past by as granted to a nation of Barkers, that let out their tongues to lick others sores; yet I durst not leave my selfe undefended, having a paire of ears unskilfull to heare lyes; or have those things said of me, which I could truly prove of them. They objected, making of verses to me, when I could object to most of them, their not being able to reade them, but as worthy of scorne. Nay, they would offer to urge mine owne Writings against me; but by pieces (which was an excellent way of malice) as if any mans Context, might not seeme dangerous, and of-


---

si quid ex frivolis praeteriero, id agno visse potius, quam contempsiisse. Est enim pudendis animi et verecundi, ut mea opinio fert. vel falsas vituperationes gravari: quum etiam hi, qui sibi delicti alicujus conscii sunt, tamen quum malè audiant, impendio commoveantur, et obirascantur; quamquam, exindè nt malefacere coeperunt, consueurint malè audire. ... Enimvero bonus et innoxius quisque rudes et imperitas aures ad malè audiendum habens, et landis assuetudine contumeliae insolens, multo tanto ex animo laborat, ea sibi immetito dici. quae ipse possit alis verè objectare.... Sanè quidem, si verum est, quod Statium Caecilium in suis poetamibus scripsisse dicunt, innocentiam eloquentiam esse......
fensive, if that which was knit, to what went before, were defrauded of his beginning; or that things by themselves utter’d, might not seeme subject to Calumnie, which read entire, would appeare most free. At last they upbraided my poverty; I confess, she is my Domestick; sober of diet, simple of habit; frugall, painfull; a good Counsellor to me; that keeps me from Cruelty, Pride, or other more delicate impertinences, which are the Nurse-children of Riches. But let them looke over all the great, and monstrous wickednesse, they shall never find those in poore families. They are the issue of the wealthy Giants, and the mighty Hunters: Whereas no great worke or worthy of praise, or memory, but came out of poore cradles. It was the ancient poverty, that founded Common-weales; built Cities, invented Arts, made wholesome Lawes; armed men against vices; rewarded them with their owne vertues; and preserv’d the honour, and state of Nations, till they betray’d themselves to Riches. Money never made any man rich, but his mind. He that can order himselfe to the Law of Nature, is not onely without the sense, but the feare of po-

Iadem mihi etiam paupertatem opprobravit, acceptum philosopho crimem; et ulro profiendum. Enim paupertas olim philosophiae vernacula est, frugi, sobria, parvo potens, aemula laudis, adversum divitas possessa, habitu secura, cultu simplex, consilio benesuada: neminem unquam superbiae inflavit, neminem impotentia depravavit, neminem tyrannide effervavit: delicias ventris et ingui-num neque vult ullas, neque potest. Quippe haec et alia flagitia, divitiarum alumni solent. Maxima quae scelera, si ex omni memoria hominum persecosas, nullum in illis pauperem reperies; uti contra, haud temeré inter illustres viros, divites comparent; sed quemcumque in aliqua laude miramus, eum paupertas ab incunabulis nutricata est. Paupertas, inquam, prisca apud secula omnium civitatum conditrix, omnium artium repertrix, omnium peccatorum inops, omnis gloriae munifica, cunctis laudibus apud omnes nationes perfucta ....

101. SENEC. Epistolae ad Lucilium, CX...... Nee intra haec humani ingenii sagacitas sistitur: prospicere et ultra mundum libet, quo feratur, unde surrexerit, in quem exitum tanta rerum velocitas properet. Ab hac divina contemplatione abductum animum in sordida et humilia pertractimus, ut avaritiae serviret, ut, relicktus mundo terminisque ejus, et dominis cuncta versantibus, terram rima-retur, et quae reret, qui ex illa mali effoderet, non contentus oblatis. Quidquid
verty. O! but to strike blind the people with our wealth, and pome, is the thing! what a wretched-nesse is this, to thrust all our riches outward, and be beggars within: to contemplate nothing, but the little, vile, and sordid things of the world; not the great, noble, and pretious: wee serve our avarice, and not content with the good of the Earth, that is offer'd us, wee search, and digge for the evill that is hidden. God offer'd us those things, and plac'd them at hand, and neere us, that hee knew were profita-ble for us; but the hurtfull hee laid depe, and hid. Yet doe wee seeke onely the things, whereby wee may perish; and bring them forth, when God and nature hath buried them. Wee covet super-fluous things; when it were more honour for us, if wee would contemnne necessary. What need hath nature of silver dishes, multitudes of Waiters, delicate Pages, perfum'd Napkins? She requires meat only, and hunger is not ambitious. Can wee thinke no wealth enough, but such a state, for which a man 20 may be brought into a Praemunire, beg'd, proscrib'd,

16. F.2.: Schell. Gall.: if we could contemn

or poyson’d? O! if a man could restraine the fury of his gullet, and groyne, and thinke how many fires, how many kitchins, Cookes, Pastures, and plough’d Lands; what Orchards, Stewes, Ponds and Parkes, Coupes, and Garners, he could spare: What Velvets, Tissues Embroiderjes, Laces, he could lacke; and then how short, and uncertaine his life is; Hec were in a better way to happinesse, then to live the Emperour of these delights; and be the Dictator of fashions? But wee make our selves slaves 10 to our pleasures; and wee serve Fame, and Ambition, which is an equall slavery. Have not I seen the pompe of a whole Kingdome, and what a forraigne King could bring hither also, to make himselfe gaz’d, and wonder’d at, laid forth, as it were, to the 15 shew, and vanish all away in a day? And shall that which could not fill the expectation of few hours, entertaine, and take up our whole lives? when even

it appear'd as superfluous to the Possessors, as to me that was a Spectator? The bravery was shewne, it was not possess'd; while it boasted it selfe, it perish'd. It is vile, and a poor thing to place our happiness on these desires. Say we wanted them all. Famine ends famine.

There is nothing valiant, or solid to be hop'd for from such, as are always kempt'd, and perfum'd; and every day smell of the Taylor: The exceedingly curious, that are wholly in mending such an imperfection in the face, in taking away the Morphew in the neck; or bleaching their hands at Mid-night, gumming, and bridling their beards, or making the waste small, binding it with hoops, while the mind runs at waste: Too much pickednesse is not manly. Nor from those that will jeast at their owne outward imperfections, but hide their ulcers within, their Pride, Lust, Envie, ill-nature, with all the art and authority they can. These persons are in danger; For whilst they thinke to justifie their ignorance by impudence; and their persons by clothes, and outward ornaments, they use but a Commission to deceive themselves. Where, if wee will look with our understanding, and not our senses, wee may

6. Schell. Goll.: all, famine
16. F.1.: Not from those Pers. conj.: Nor from those Cet. as in F.1.

siam faciamus! » Faciamus, oro te, etiam si ista defuerint! Turpe est, beatam vitam in auro et argento reponere: aequae turpe, in aqua et polenta.... Quid ergo faciam, si ista non fuerint?... Quaeris, quod sit remedium inopiae? Famine fames finit. Aliquin, quid interest, magna sint, an exigua, quae servire te cogunt? Quid refert, quantum sit, quod tibi possit negare fortuna? Haec ipsa aqua et polenta in alienum arbitrium cadit; liber est autem non in quem parum licet fortunae, sed in quem nihil. Ita est! Nihil desideres oportet, si vis Jovem provocare nihil desiderantem ». Haec nobis Attalus dixit: natura dixit omnibus. Quae si voles frequentar cogitarcre, id ages, ut sis felix, non ut videaris; et ut tibi videaris, non alius.

102-104. SENECA, Epistolae ad Lucilium, CXV...... Nosti complures juvenes, barba et coma nitidos. de capsula totos: nihil ab illis speraveris forte, nihil solidum. Oratio vultus animi est; si circumtonsa est, et fucata, et manufacta, ostendit illum quoque non esse sincerum, et habere a liquid facti. Non est or-
behold vertue, and beauty, (though cover’d with rags) in their brightnesse; and vice, and deformity so much the fowler, in having all the splendor of riches to guild them, or the false light of honour and power to help them. Yet this is that, wherewith the world is taken, and runs mad to gaze on: Clothes and Titles, the Birdlime of Fools.

What petty things they are, wee wonder at? like children, that esteeme every trifle; and preferre a Fairing before their Fathers: what difference is betweene us, and them? but that we are dearer Fooles, Cockescombes, at a higher rate? They are pleas’d with Cockleshels, Whistles, Hobby-horses, and such like: wee, with Statues, marble Pillars, Pictures, guilded Roofes, where under-neath is 15 Lath, and Lime; perhaps Lome. Yet, wee take plea-

— 72 —

namentum virile concinnitas. Si nobis animum viri boni liceret inspicere, o quam pulchram faciem, quam sanctam, quam ex magnifico placidoque fulgentium videremus! etc.... Nemo, inquam, non amore ejus arderet, si nobis illam videre contingeret: nunc enim multa obstrigillant, et aciem nostram aut splendore nimio repercuiunt, aut obscuretate retinent. Sed si, quemadmodum visus oculorum quibusdam medicamentis acui solet et repurgari, sic nos aciem animi liberare impedimentis voluerimus, poterimus perspicere virtutem, etiam obrutam corpore, etiam paupertate opposita, etiam humiliitate et insania objacentibus; cernemus, inquam, pulchritudinem illam, quamvis sordido obtectam. Rursus aequæ malitiam et aeramnosi animi veternum perspicuentes, quamvis multus circa divitiarum radiuntiam splendor impediat, et intuentem hinc honorum, illinc magnarum potestatum, falsa lux verberet. Tunc intelligere nobis licebit, quam contemnenda miremur, simillimi pueris, quibus omne ludierum in pretio est. Parentibus quippe, nec minus fratribus, praeferunt parvo aere empta monilia. « Quid ergo inter nos et illos interest, ut Ariston ait, nisi quod nos circa tabulas et statuas insanimus, carius inepti? » Illos reperitos in litorie calculi laeves, et aliquid habentes varietatis, delectant: nos ingentiurn maculæ columna; sive ex Aegyptis arenis, sive ex Africae solitudinibus-advercae, porticum aliquam vel capaecem populi caenationem ferunt. Miramus parietes tenui marmore inductos, quam sciamus, quae sit quod absconditur, oculus nostris imponimus. Et, quam auro tecta perfundimus, quid alius quam mendacio gaudemus? Scimus enim sub illo auro faeda linea latitare. Nee tantum parietibus - aut lacunarisb ornamental tenue praelenditur; omnium istorum, quos incedere altos vides, braocta felicitas est. Inspice, et seies, sub ista tenui membrana dignitatis, quantum mali jaceat. Haec ipsis res, quae tot magistratus, tot judices detinet, quae et magistratus et judices facit, pecunia, ex quo in honore
sure in the lye, and are glad, wee can cousen our selves. Nor is it onely in our wals, and seelings; but all that wee call happinesse, is meere painting, and guilt: and as for money: what a thin Membrane of honour that is? and how hath all true reputation falne, since money began to have any? yet the great heard, the multitude; that in all other things are divided; in this alone conspire, and agree: To love money. They wish for it, they embrace it, they adore it, while yet it is possesst with greater stirre, and torment, then it is gotten.

Some men, what losses soever they have, they make them greater, and if they have none, even all that is not gotten, is a losse. Can there be creatures of more wretched condition, then these; that continually labour under their owne misery, and others envie? A man should study other things, not to covet, not to feare, not to repent him: To make his Base

4. F. i.: and all for money Cet. as in F. i. Pers. conj.: and as for money

such, as no Tempest shall shake him: to be secure of all opinion; and pleasing to himselfe, even for that, wherein he displeaseth others: For the worst opinion gotten for doing well, should delight us: would'st not thou be just, but for fame; thou 5 ought'st to be it with infamy: Hee that would have his vertue published, is not the servant of vertue, but glory.

It is a dangerous thing, when mens minds come to sojourn with their affections; and their diseases eate into their strength: that when too much desire, and greedinesse of vice, hath made the body unfit, or unprofitable; it is yet gladded with the sight, and spectacle of it in others: and for want of ability to be an Actor; is content to be a Witnesse. It enjoyes the pleasure of sinning, in beholding others sinne; as in Dicing, Drinking, Drabbing, &c. Nay, when it cannot doe all these, it is offended with his owne narrownesse, that excludes it from the universal delights of Man-kind, and oftimes dies of a 20 Melancholy, that it cannot be vicious enough.


tempestas nulla concutiat, non perdueant te apte verba contexta, et oratio fluens leniter. Eant, ut volent; dum animo compositio sua constet, dum sit magnus et opinionum securus, et ob ipsa, quae aliis displicient, sibi placens; qui profectum suum vita aestimet, et tantum scire se judicet, quantum non cupit, quantum non timet... .

105. Seneca, Epist. ad Lucilium, CXIV. Rex noster est animus: hoc incolumi, cetera manent in officio, parent, obtemerant: quot ille panum vaclilavit, simul dubitant. Quum vero cessit voluptati, artes quoque ejus actusque marcent, et omnis ex languido fluxoque conatus est... . Tuue illum excipiunt affectus impotentes, et instant; qui initio quidem gaudent, ut solet populus largitione nocitura frustra plenus. et, quae non potest haurire, contractat quum vero magis ac magis vires morbus exedit, et in medullas nervosque descendere deliciae; conspectu eorum quibus se nimia aviditate inutilem reddidit, laetus, pro suis voluptatibus habet spectaculum alienarum, subministrator libidinum testisque, quorum usum sibi ingerendo abstulit: nec illi tam gratum et abundare jucudis, quam acerbum, quot non omnem illum apparatum per gulam ventremque transmittit, quot non cum omni exolotorum feminarumque turba
I am glad, when I see any man avoid the infamy of a vice; but to shun the vice itself were better. Till he doe that he is but like the Prentise, who, being loth to bee spied by his Master, comming forth of Black-Lucis, went in againe; to whom his Master cried; the more thou runnest that way to hide thy selfe, the more thou art in the Place. So are those, that keepe a Taverne all day; that they may not be seene at night. I have knowne Lawyers, Divines; yea, great ones of this Heresy.

There is a greater Reverence had of things remote, or strange to us, then of much better, if they bee nearer, and fall under our sense. Men, and almost all sorts of creatures have their reputation by distance. Rivers, the farther they runne and more from their spring, the broader, they are, and greater. And where our originall is knowne, we are the lesse confident: Among strangers wee trust fortune. Yet a man may live as renown'd at home, in his owne countrey, or a private Village, as in the whole world. For it is vertue that gives glory: That will endenizen a man everywhere. It is onely that can naturalize him. A native, if hee be vicious, deserves to bee a stranger, and cast out of the Common-wealth, as an Alien.

A dejected countenance, and meane clothes beget often a contempt; but it is with the shallowest creatures: Courtiers commonly: looke up even with


106. Plutarchus, Quomodo quis suos in virtute sentiat profectus (Mor. Ed. Didot, III), XI.... Equidem vereri debemus et fugere nomen vitiosi: sed cui vitium ipsum molestius est quam infamia inde nota, is ut emendari possit, non verebitur male audire, ac sihi loqui. Scitum est enim Diogenis illud in quemdam dictum adolescentem, qui visus in caupona intro in eam fugiebat: Quanto, dicebat, magis intro fugies, tanto magis in caupona eris.
them in a new suite; you get above 'hem streight. Nothing is more short-liv'd then (their) Pride: It is but while their clothes last; stay but while these are worn out, you cannot wish the thing more wretched, or dejected.

Poetry, and Picture are arts of a like nature; and both are busie about imitation. It was excellently said of Plutarch, Poetry was a speaking Picture, and Picture a mute Poesie. For they both invent, faine, and devise many things, and accommodate all they invent to the use, and service of nature. Yet of the two, the Pen is more noble, then the Pencill. For that can speake to the understanding; the other, but to the Sense. They both behold pleasure, and profit, as their common Object; but should abstaine from all base pleasures, lest they should erre from their end: and, while they seeke to better mens minds, destroy their manners. They both are borne Artificers. not made. Nature is more powerfull in them then study.

Whosoever loves not Picture, is injurious to Truth: and all the wisdome of Poetry. Picture is the invention of Heaven: the most ancient, and most a kinne to Nature. It is it selfe a silent worke: and alwayes of one and the same habit: Yet it doth so enter, and penetrate the inmost affection (being done by an excellent Artificer) as sometimes it orcomes the
power of speech, and oratory. There are diverse graces in it; so are there in the Artificers. One excels in care, another in reason, a third in easiness, a fourth in nature and grace. Some have diligence, and comeliness, but want Majesty. They can express a human forme in all the graces, sweetness, and elegance; but they miss the Authority. They can hit nothing but smooth cheeke; they cannot express roughnesse, or gravity. Others aspire to Truth so much, as they are rather Lovers of likeness, then beauty. Zeuxis, and Parrhasius, are said to be contemporaries: The first, found out the reason of lights, and shadowes in Picture: the other, more subtly examined the lines.

[111] De stylo. / In Picture, light is requir'd no lesse then shadow:

sunt, clari pictores fuisset dicuntur Polygnatus atque Aglaophon..... Post Zeuxis atque Parrhasius non multum antè distantes, circa peloponnesia ambo tempora (nam cum Parrhasio sermo Socratis apud Xenophontem inventur), plurimum arti addiderunt. Quorum prior luminum umbrarumque invenisse rationem, secundus examinasse subtilius lineas traditur: nam Zeuxis plus membris corporis dedit, id amplius atque Augustinius ratus, atque, ut existimant, Homerus secutus, cui validissima quaeque forma etiam in feminis placet; ille vero ita circumscripsit omnia, ut cum legum latorem vocent, quia deorum atquo heroum effigies, quales ab eo sunt traditae, ceteri tanquam ita necessity sit, sequuntur. Floruit autem circa Philippum, et usque ad successores. Alexandri pictura praecipue, sed diversis virtutibus: nam cura Proxogenes. ratione Pammphilus ac Melanthius; facilitate Antiphilus; concipiendis visionibus, quas καννατιξις vocant, Theon Samius; ingenio et gratia. quam in se ipse maximé jactat, Apelles est praestantissimus. Euphranorem admirandum facit. quod et ceteris optimis studiis inter praecipuos et pingendi fingendique idem mirus artifex fuit. Similis in statuis differentia: nam duriora, et Tuscanieis proxima Callon atque Hegesias, jam minus rigida Calamin. molliora adhuc supra dictis Myron fecit Diligentia ac decor in Polyeleto supra ceteros, cui quamquam a plerisque tribuitur palma, tamen, ne nihil detrahiratur, deesse pondus putant: nam ut humanae formae decorum addiderit supra verum, ita non expelisse deorum auctoritate videtur; quia aetatem quoque graviorum dicitur refugisse, nihil ausus ultra leves genus. At quae Polycleto defuerunt .... Ad veritatem Lysippum ac Praxitelem aeessisse optimé affirmant: nam Demetrius tanquam nimius in ea reprehenditur, et fuit similitudinis quam pulchritudinis amantior.

111. PLINIUS JUNIOR, Epistolae, liber III. 13 (4) .... Nec vero affectanda sunt semper elata et excelsa: nam, ut in pictura lumen non alia res magis quam
so in stile, height, as well as humblenesse. But beware they be not too humble; as Pliny pronounc'd of Regulus writings. You would thinke them written, not on a child, but by a child. Many out of their owne obscene Apprehensions, refuse proper and fit words; as occupie, nature, and the like: So the curious industry in some, of having all alike good, hath come neerer a vice, then a vertue.

Picture tooke her faining from Poetry; from Geometry her rule, compasse, lines, proportion, and the whole Symmetry. Parrhasius was the first wan reputation, by adding Symmetry to Picture: hee added subtilty to the countenance, elegancy to the haire, loveliness to the face; and, by the publike voice of all Artificers, deserved honour in the outer lines. Eupompiis gave it splendor by numbers, and other elegancies. From the Opticks it drew reasons; by which it considered, how things plac'd at distance, and a farre off, should appeare lesse; how above, or beneath the head, should deceive the eye, &c. So from thence it tooke shadowes, recessor, light, and heightnings. From morall Philosophy, it tooke the soule, the expression of Senses, Perturbations, Manners, when they would paint an angry person, a proud, an inconstant, an ambitious, a brave, a magnanimous, a just, a mercifull, a com-

---

14. F.i.: love-lines to the face. Ceteri: as in F.i. Pers. conj.: loveliness to the face.


umbra commendat, ita orationem tam submittere, quam attollere decet. Ibid. Lib. IV. 7 (7)....Est enim tam ineptus, ut risum magis possit exprimere, quam gemitum. Credas non de puero scriptum, sed a puero.

Plinius Major, Hist. Nat., liber XXXV, caput xxxvi. ... Parrhasius Ephesi natus, et ipse multa contulit. Primum symmetriam picturam dedit, primus argutias vultus, elegantiam capilli, venustatem oris, confessione artificum in lineis extremis palmam adepit. ...

Vitruvius, De Architectura. liber VII, caput v.... Sed haec quae (a veteribus) ex veris rebus exempla sumebantur, nunc iniquis moribus improbatur. Nam pinguentur tectorii monstra potius quam ex rebus finitis imagines certae....
passionate, an humble, a dejected, a base, and the like. They made all heightnings bright, all shadowes dark, all swellings from a plane, all solids from breaking. See where he complains of their painting Chimaera's, by the vulgar unaptly called Grottesque: Saying, that men who were borne truly to study, and emulate nature, did nothing but make monsters against Nature; which Horace so laught at. The Art Plasticke was moulding in clay, or potters earth anciently. This is the parent of Statuary, sculpture, Graving, and Picture; cutting in brasse, and marble, all serve under her. Socrates taught Parrhasius, and Clito (two noble Statuaries) first to expresse manners by their looks in Imagery. Polygnotus, and Aglaophon were ancietner. After them Zeuxis, who was the Law-giver to all Painters: after Parrhasius. They were contemporaries, and liv'd both about Philips time, the Father of Alexander the Great. There liv'd in this latter age six famous Painters in Italy: who were excellent, and emulous of the Ancients: Raphael de Urbino, Michel Angelo Buonarotti, Titian, Antony of Correggio, Sebastian of Venice, Julio Romano, and Andrea Sartorio. These are Flatterers for their bread, that praise all my oraculous Lord do's or sayes, be it true or false: invent tales that shall please: make baite for his Lordships eares and if they be not receiv'd in what they offer at, they shift a point of the Com-

10. Schell. Goll. : potter's earth

Hacc autem nec sunt, nec fieri possunt, nec fuerunt Ergo ita novi mores coegeo-runt, ut inertia mali judicis conuicerent artium virtutes.....

HORATIUS, Epistola ad Pisones, v. 1 sqq.
Humano capiti cervicem pictor equinam
Jugere si velit, et varias inducere plumas,
Undique collatis membris, ut turpiter atrum
Desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne,
Spectatum admissi risum teneatis, amici ? &c.
passe, and turne their tale; presently tacke about; deny what they confess, and confess what they denied; fit their discourse to the persons, and occasions. What they snatch up, and devour at one table, utter at another: and grow suspected of the Master, hated of the servants, while they inquire, and reprehend, and compound, and delate business of the house they have nothing to do with: They praise my Lords wine, and the sauce he likes; observe the Cooke, and Bottle-man, while they stand in my Lords favour, speake for a pension for them: but pound them to dust upon my Lords least distaste, or change of his palate.

How much better is it, to bee silent; or at least, to speake sparingly! For it is not enough to speake good, but timely things. If a man be asked a question, to answer, but to repeat the Question, before hee answer, is well, that hee be sure to understand it, to avoid absurdity. For it is less dishonour, to heare imperfectly, then to speake imperfectly. The eares are excus'd, the understanding is not. And in things unknown to a man, not to give his opinion, lest by (the) affectation of knowing too much, hee lose the credit hee hath by speaking, or knowing the wrong way, what hee utters. Nor seeke to get his Patrons favour, by imbarking himselfe in the Factions of the Family: to inquire after domesticke simulties, their sports, or affections. They are an odious and vile kind of creatures, that fly about the house all day; and picking up all the filth of the house, like Pies or Swallowes, carry it to their nest (the Lords eares), and oftentimes report the lyes they have fain'd, for what they have seen and heard.

These are called instruments of grace, and power, with great persons; but they are indeed the Organs

---

1. *F.1.:* their tale presently tacke about, 

*Cat.:* turn their tale, presently

*Query: ioil?*

7. *F.1.:* delate 

*Schell. Morl. Gall.:* dilate 

*Cat. as in F.1.*
of their impotencie, and markes of weakesse. For sufficient Lords are able to make these Discoveries themselves. Neither will an honourable person inquire, who eats, and drinkes together, what that man playes, whom this man loves; with whom such a one walkes; what discourse they held, who sleepe, with whom. They are base, and servile natures, that busie themselves about those disquisitions. How often have I scene, (and worthily) these Censors of the family, undertaken by some honest Rustick and cudgell'd thriftily? These are commonly the off-scouring, and dregs of men, that doe these things, or calumniate others: Yet I know not truly which is worse; heethat malignes all, or that prises all. There is as great a vice in praising, and as frequent, as in detracting.

It pleased your Lordship of late, to aske my opinion touching the education of your sonnes, and especially to the advancement of their studies. To which, though I return'd somewhat for the present; which rather manifested a will in me, then gave any just resolution to the thing propounded: I have upon better cogitation call'd those ayds about mee, both of mind, and memory; which shall venter my
thoughts clearer, if not fuller, to your Lordships demand. I confess, my Lord, they will seeme but petty, and minute things I shall offer to you, being writ for children, and of them. But studies have their Infancie, as well as creatures. Wee see in men, even the strongest compositions had their beginnings from milke, and the Cradle; and the wisest tarried sometimes about apting their mouthes to Letters, and Syllables. In their education therefore, the care must be the greater had of their beginnings, to know, examine, and weigh their natures; which though they bee proner in some children to some disciplines; yet are they naturally prompt to taste all by degrees, and with change. For change is a kind of refreshing in studies, and infuseth knowledge by way of recreation. Thence the Schoole it selfe is call'd a Play, or Game, and all letters are so best taught to Schollers. They should not be affrighted,
or deterr'd in their Entry, but drawn on with exercise, and emulation. A youth should not be made to hate study, before hee know the causes to love it: or taste the bitterness before the sweet; but call'd on, and allur'd, intreated, and praised: Yea, when hee deserves it not. For which cause I wish them sent to the best schoole, and a publike; which I thinke the best. Your Lordship I fear hardly heares of that, as willing to breed them in your eye, and at home; and doubting their manners may bee corrupted abroad. They are in more danger in your owne Family among ill servants (allowing, they be safe in their Schoole-Master), then amongst a thousand boyes, however immodest: Would wee did not spoyle our children, and overthrow their manners our selves by too much Indulgence! To breed them at home, is to breed them in a shade; where in a schoole they have the light, and heate of the Sunne. They are us'd and accustom'd to things, and men. When they come forth into the 20 Commonwealth, they find nothing new, or to seeke. They have made their friendships and ayds; some to last till their Age. They heare what is commanded to others, as well as themselves; much approv'd, much corrected; all which they bring to their owne store, and use; and learne as much, as they heare. Eloquence would be but a poore thing, if wee

Caput III. (1) Tradito sibi puero, doeendi peritus ingenium ejus inprimis naturamque perspiciat.... (7) Mihi ille detar puer, quem laus, excitet, quem gloria juvet, qui victus fleat. Hic erit alendus ambitu, hunc mordebit objurgatio, hunc honor excitabit; in hoc desidiam nunquam Verebor. Danda est tamen omnibus aliqua remissio; non solum, quia nulla res est, quae perferre possit continent laborem; atque ea quoque quae sensu et anima carent, ut servare vim suam possint, velut alterna quie retenuntur: sed quod studium dicendi, voluntate, quae cogi non potest, constat. Itaque et virium plus afferunt ad discendum renovati ac recentes, et aciorem animum, qui ferè necessitatibus

should onely converse with singulars; speake, but man and man together. Therefore I like no private breeding. I would send them where their industry should be daily increas'd by praise; and that kindled by emulation. It is a good thing to inflame the mind: And though Ambition it selfe be a vice, it is often the cause of great vertue. Give me that wit, whom praise excites, glory puts on, or disgrace grieves: hee is to bee nourish'd with Ambition, prick'd forward with honour; check'd with Reprohension; and never to bee suspected of sloath. Though hee be given to play, it is a signe of spirit, and livelinesse; so there be a meane had of their sports, and relaxations. And from the rodde, or ferule, I would have them free, as from the menace of them; for it is both deformed, and servile.

For a man to write well, there are required three Necessaries. To reade the best Authors, observe the best Speakers: and much exercise of his owne style. In style to consider, what ought to be written; and after what manner; Hee must first thinke, and exco-

repugnat. Nec me offendorit lusus in pueris; est et hoc signum alacritatis. Neque illum tristem, semperque demisum, sperare possum erectae circa studia mentis fore, cum in hoc quoque, maximè naturali actatibus illis, impetu jacet. Modus tamen sit remissibus, ne aut odium studiorum faciunt negatæ, aut otii consuetudinem nimiae... (13) Caedi vero discentes, quamilbet et receptum sit et Chrysippus non improbet, minimè velim: primum, quia deforme atque servile est et certè, quod convenit si actatem mutes, injuria; deindè, quod si, etc....

115. Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, liber X, caput m. (4) Sed quum sit duplex quæstio: quomodo, et quæ maximè scribi oporteat, jam hinc ordinem sequar. Sit primo vel tardus, dum diligens, stilus; quaeramus optima, nec protinus offerentibus se gaudeamus; adhíbatur judicium inventis, dispositio orobatis: delectus enim rerum verborumque agendus est, et pondera singulorum examinanda: post subeà ratio collocandi, versenturque omni modo numeri; non, ut quodque se proferet verbum occupet locum. Quæ quidem ut diligentius exsequamus, repetenda saepius erunt scriptorum proxima: nam praeter id, quod sic melius junguntur prioribus sequentia, color quoque illà cogitationis, qui scribendi mora refrízit, recipit ex integro vires, et velut repetito spatio sumit impetum; quod in certamine saliendi fieri videmus, ut conatum longius petant, et ad illud alid, quo contenditur, spatium cursu feruntur; utque in jaculando brachia reducimus, et, expulsuri tela, nervos retro tendimus. Interim tamen si
gitate his matter; then choose his words, and examine the weight of either. Then take care in placing, and ranking both matter, and words, that the composition be comely; and to doe this with diligence, and often. No matter how slow the style be at first, so it be labour'd, and accurate; seeke the best, and be not glad of the froward conceipts, or first words, that offer themselves to us, but judge of what wee invent; and order what wee approve. Repeat often, what wee have formerly written; which beside, that it helps the consequence, and makes the juncture better, it quickens the heate of imagination, that often cooles in the time of setting downe, and gives it new strength, as if it grew lus--tier, by the going back. As wee see in the contention of leaping, they jumpe farthest, that fetch their race largest: or, as in throwing a Dart, or Javelin, wee force back our armes, to make our loose the stronger. Yet, if we have a faire gale of wind, I forbid not the steering out of our sayle, so the favour of the gale deceive us not. For all that wee invent doth please us in the conception, or birth; else we would never set it downe. But the safest is to returne to our Judgement, and handle over againe those things, the easinesse of which might make them justly suspected. So did the best Writers in their beginnings; they impos'd upon themselves care, and industry; they did nothing rashly. They obtain'd first to

write well, and then custome made it easie, and a habit. By little and little, their matter shew'd itself to 'hem more plentifully; their words answer'd, their composition followed; and all, as in a well-order'd family, presented it selfe in the 5 place. So that the summe of all is: Ready writing makes not good writing; but good writing brings on ready writing: Yet, when wee thinke we have got the faculty, it is even then good to resist it: as to give a Horse a check sometimes with (a) bit, 10 which doth not so much stop his course, as stirre his mettle. Againe, whether a mans Genius is best able to reach, thither it should more and more con- tend, lift and dilate it selfe, as men of low stature, raise themselves on their toes; and so oftimes get 15 even, if not eminent. Besides, as it is fit for grown and able Writers to stand of themselves, and worke with their owne strength, to trust and endeavoure by their owne faculties: so it is fit for the beginner, and learner, to study others, and the best. For the mind, 20 and memory are more sharpely exercis'd in com- prehending an other mans things, then our owne; and such as accustome themselves, and are familiar with the best Authors, shall ever and anon find so- mewhat of them in themselves, and in the expres- 25

12-13. F.1. : whether a man's genius is best able to reach thither, it should Swimb. Schell. Goll. : whither..... reach, thither it should Ceteri as in F. 1.

Idem. Ibidem. Liber II, caput vu. (2)... Nam ut scribere pueros, plurimum-que esse in hoc opere, planè velim, sic ediscere electos ex orationibus, vel his- toriis, alioque quo genere dignorum ca cura voluminum, locos, multo magis sua- deam. Nam et exercetibur acrius memoria, aliena complectendo quam sua; et' qui erunt in difficiliore hujus laboris genere versati, sine molestia, quae ipsi composuerunt, jam familiaris animo suo affigent, et assuescent optimis, sem- perque habebunt intra se, quod intuentur; et jam non sentientes formam orato- nis illam quam mente penitus acceperint, expriment. Abundabunt autem copia verborum optimorum, et compositione, ac figuris jam non quaesitis, sed sponte et ex reposito velut thesauro se offerentibus. Accedit his et jucunda in sermone benè a quoque dictorum relatio, et in causis utilis. Nam et plus auctoritas affe- runt ea, quae non praesentis gratia litis suum comparata, et laudem saepè majo-
sion of their minds, even when they feel it not, be able to utter something like theirs, which hath an Authority above their own. Nay, sometimes it is the reward of a man's study, the praise of quoting an other man fitly: 'And though a man be more prone, and able for one kind of writing, then another, yet he must exercise all. For as in an Instrument, so in style, there must be a Harmonie, and consent of parts. 

I take this labour in teaching others, that they should not be always to bee taught; and I would bring my Precepts into practise. For rules are ever of lesse force, and valew, then experiments. Yet with this purpose, rather to shew the right way to those that come after, then to detect any that have slipped before by error, and I hope it will bee more profitable. For men doe more willingly listen, and with more favour to precept, then apprehension. Among diverse opinions of an Art, and most of them contrary in themselves, it is hard to make

---87---

8. Goll.: harmony in consent of parts.

rem, quam si nostra sint, conciliant. Aliquando tamen permittendum, quae ipsi scripsissent, dicere, ut laboris sui fructum etiam ex illa, quae maxime petitur, laude, plurimum capiant. Verum id quoque tum fieri oportebit, quum aliquid commodus eliminaverint; ut eo velut praemio studii sui donentur, ac se meruisse, ut dicerint, gaudeant. Cap viii. (12) Si vero liberalior materia contigerit, et in qua merito ad spem oratoriis simus agressi, nulla dicendi virtus omittenda est. Nam licet sit aliquam in partem pronior, ut neesse est. ceteris tamen non repugnabit, atque ea cura paria faciet iis, in quibus eminebat: sicut ille, etc.... (15) Non enim satis est dicere presse tantum, aut subtiliter, aut asperè; non magis, quam phonoacutis tantum, aut mediis, aut gravibus sonis, aut horum etiam partielis excellere; nam sicut cithara, ita oratio perfecta non est, nisi ab imo ad summum omnibus intenta nervis consentiat.

116. QUINTILIANUS, De Institutione Oratoria, Prooemium.... (18) Sit igitur orator vir talis, qualis verè sapiens appellari possit; nec moribus modo perfectus (nam id mea quidem opinione, quamquam sint qui dissentiant, satis non est), sed etiam scientia, et omni facultate dicendi, qualis adhue fortesse nemo fuerit. Sed non ideo minus nobis ad summa tendendum est, quod fecerunt peregrine veterum, qui, etsi nondum quemquam sapientem repertum putabant, praeecepta tamen sapientiae tradiderunt. Nam est certe aliquid consummata.
election; and therefore, though a man cannot invent new things after so many, he may doe a welcome worke yet to helpe posterity to judge rightly of the old. But Arts and Precepts availe nothing, except nature be beneficiall, and ayding. And therefore these things are no more written to a dull disposition, then rules of husbandry to a barren soyle. No precepts will profit a Foole; no more then beauty will the blind, or musicke the deafe. As wee should take care, that our style in writing, be neither dry, nor empty: we should looke againe it be not winding, or wanton with far-fetcht descriptions; Either is a vice. But that is worse which proceeds out of want, then that which riots out of plenty. The remedy of fruitfulnesse is easie, but no labour will helpe the contrarie; I will like, and praise some things, in a young Writer; which yet if he continue in, I cannot, but justly hate him for the same. There is a time to bee given all things for maturity; and that even your Countrey-husband-man

eloquentia, ueque ad eam pervenire natura humani ingenii prohibit. Quod si non contingat, altius tames ibunt, qui ad summum nitentur, quam qui, praesumpta desperatione quo velint evadendi, protinus circa ima substiterint. Quo magis impetranda erit venia, si ne minora quidem illa, verum operi, quod insti tuimus, necessaria, praeteribo. Nam liber primus ea quae sunt ante officium rhetoris continebit... His omnibus admiscebitur, ut quisque locus postulabit, dicendi ratio, quae non eorum modo scientia, quibus solis quidam nomen artis dederunt, studiosos instruat, et (ut sic dixerim) jus ipsum rhetorices interprete tur, sed alere facundiam vires augere eloquentiae possit; nam plerumque nudae illae artes, nimia subtilitatis affectatione frangunt atque concidunt quidquid est in oratione generosius, et omnem succum iugeni hibunt, et ossa detegunt... (25) Illud tamen inprimis testandum est, nihil praecpta atque artes valere, nisi adjuvante natura. Quapropter ei, cui deerrit ingenium, non magis haec scripta sunt, quam de agrorum cultu sterilibus terris...

Lib. I. Caput 1. (4) Ante omnia, ne sit vitiosus sermo nutricibus, quas, si fieri posset, sapientes Chrisipsippus optavit... flas primum audiet puer, harum verba effingere imitando conabitur; et natura tenacissimi sumus eorum, quae rudibus annis percepimus, ut sapor, quo nova imbus durat; nec lanarum colores, quibus simplex ille candor mutatus est, elui possunt:....
can teach; who to a young plant will not put the proyning-knife, because it seemes to feare the iron, as not able to admit the scarre. No more would I tell a greene Writer all his faults, lest I should make him grieve and faint, and at last despare: 5 For nothing doth more hurt, then to make him so afraid of all things, as hee canendeavour nothing. Therefore youth ought to be instructed betimes, and in the best things: for we hold those longest, we take soonest. As the first sent of a Vessell lasts: and 10 that tinct the wooll first receives. Therefore a Master should temper his owne powers, and descend to the others infirmitie. If you powre a glut of water upon a Bottle, it receives little of it; but with a Funnell, and by degrees, you shall fill many of them, 15 and spill little of your owne; to their capacity they will all receive, and be full. And as it is fit to reade the best Authors to youth first, so let them be of

---


—Ibidem. Caput viii. (26) Sed sic ut firmiores in litteris profectus alit aemulatio; ita incipientibus, atque adhuc teneris, condiscipniorum quam praeceptoris jucundior, hoc ipso quod facilior, initiatio est; vix enim se prima elementa ad spern tollere effingendae, quam summam mutant, eloquentiae audubunt; proxima amplectuntur magis, ut vites arboribus applicitae, inferioris prins apprehendendo ramos, in cacamina evadunt. Quod adeo erum est, ut ipsius etiam magistri, si tamen ambitiosis utilia praecertet, hoc opus sit, quum adhuc rudia tractabitt ingenia, non statim onerare infirmitatem discentium, sed temperare vires suas, et ad intellectum auditientis descendere. Nam ut vascula oris angusti superfusam humoris copiam respuant, sensim autem influentibus, vel etiam instillatis complentur; sic animi puerorum quantum excipere possint, videndum est: nam majora intellectu, velut parum apertos ad percipendum, animos subibunt. Utile igitur est habere, quos imitari primum, mox vincere velis; ita paulatim et superiorum spes erit.

—Ibidem. Caput viii. (4) Cetera admonitione magna agent, inprimis, ut tenerae mentes, tractueraeque altius quidquid rudibus et omnium ignaris insederit, non modo quae diserta, sed vel magis quae honesta sunt, discant; ideoque optime institutum est, ut ab Homero atque Virgilio lectio inciperet, quamquam ad intellegendas eorum virtutes firmiores judicio opus est: sed huic rei superest tempus; neque enim semel legentur. Interim et sublimitate heroici carminis animus assurgat, et ex magnitudine rerum spiritum ducat, et optimis imbuatur. Utiles
the openest, and clearest: As Livy before Salust, Sydney before Donne; and beware of letting them taste Gower, or Chaucer at first, lest falling too much in love with Antiquity, and not apprehending the weight, they grow rough and barren in language onely. When their judgements are firme, and out of danger, let them reade both, the old and the new: but no lesse take heed, that their new flowers, and sweetnesse doe not as much corrupt, as the others drinessse, and squallor, if they choose not carefully./10 Spencer, in affecting the Ancients, writ no Language: Yet I would have him read for his matter; but as Virgil read Ennius. The reading of Homer and Virgil is counsell’d by Quintilian, as the best way of informing youth, and confirming man. For 15 besides that, the mind is rais’d with the height, and sublimity of such a verse, it takes spirit from the greatnesse of the matter, and is tinted with the best things/Tragicke, and Lricke Poetry is good too: and Comicke with the best, if the manners of 20

---

Tragoediae; alunt et lyrici; si tamen in his non auctores modo, sed etiam partes operis eligeris; nam et Graeci licenter multa, et Horatium in quibusdam nolim interpretari. Comoediae, quae plurimum conferre ad eloquentiam potest, quam per omnes et personas et affectus eat, quam usum in pueris putem, paulo post suo loco dicam. Nam quum mores in tuto fuerint, inter praecepta legenda erit. De Menandro loquor; nec tamen excluderim alios: nam latini quoque auctores afferent utilitatis alicuad. Multum autem veteres etiam Latini conferunt, quamquam plerique plus ingenio, quam arte valuerunt; imprimis copiam verborum, quorum in tragoeidii gravitas, in comoediis elegantia, et quidam velut atticismus inveniri potest. Oeconomia quoque in his diligentior, quam in plerisque novorum erit, qui omnium operandum virtutem sententias putaverunt.

the Reader be once in safety. In the *Greeke Poets*, as also in *Plautus*, wee shall see the \(\text{Œ} \text{conomy, and disposition of Poems} \) better observed then in *Terence*, and the latter: who thought the sole grace, and vertue of their Fable, the sticking in of sentences, as ours doe the forcing in of jests.

4. F. 1. F. 2. : in *Terence*, and the latter; who thought Schell. Gall.: in *Terence* and the later (Greek poets), who thought Ceteri: in *Terence*; and the latter, who thought Pers. conj.: in *Terence*, and the Latin (or the later Latin), who thought

nam et desperant, et dolent, et novissimè oderunt, et, quod maxime nocet, dum omnia timent, nihil conantur. Quod etiam rusticus natum est, qui frondibus teneris non putant adhibendam esse falcem, quia reformidare ferrum videntur, et cicatricem nondum pati posse.

Wee should not protect our sloath with the patronage of difficulty. It is a false quarrell against nature, that she helps understanding, but in a few; when the most part of mankind are inclin'd by her thither, if they would take the paines; no lesse then birds to fly, horses to run, &c. Which if they lose, it is through their owne sluggishnesse, and by that means become her prodigies, not her children. I confesse, nature in children is more patient of labour in study then in age; for the sense of the paine, the judgement of the labour is absent, they doe not measure what they have done. And it is the thought, and consideration, that affects us more, then the weariness it selfe. Plato was not content with the Learning, that Athens could give him, but sail'd into Italy for Pythagora's knowledge: And yet not thinking himselfe sufficiently inform'd, went into Egypt to the Priests, and learned their mysteries. Hee labour’d, so must wee. Many things may be learn'd together, and perform'd in one point of time; as Musicians

---

*Ibidem* Liber I, caput i. (1) ..... *Falsa enim est querela, paucissimis hominisibus vim perciipiendi, qua tradantur, esse concessam, plerosque vero laborem ac tempora tarditate ingenii perdere. Nam contra, plures repertas et faciles in excogitando, et ad discendum promptos. Qquippe id est homini naturale; ac sicut aves ad volatum, equi ad cursor, ad saevitiam ferae gignuntur; ita nobis propria est mentis agitatio atque sollertia: unde origo animi coelestis creditur. *Hebetes vero et indociles non magis secundum naturam homines eduntur, quam prodigiosa corpora, et monstris insignia...*

117. Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, liber I, caput xi. (1) Quaeri solet an, etiam si discenda sint haec, eodem tempore tamen tradi omnia, et percipi possint. Negant enim quidam, quia confundatur animus, ac fatigetur tot disciplinis in diversum tenditentibus, ad quas nec mens, nec corpus, nec dies ipse sufficiat; et, si maxime haec patiatur aetas robustior, tamen pauciles annos oneari non oporteat. Sed non satis perspicinnt, quantum natura humani ingenii valeat; quae ita est agilis et velox, sic in omnem partem, ut ita dixerim, spectat, ut ne possit quidem aliquid agere tantum annum, in plura vero, non eodem die modo, sed eodem temporis momento, vim suam impendat. An vero citharaedi, non simul et memoriae, et sono vocis, et pluribus flexibus serviant, quum interim alios nervos dextra percutiunt, alios laeva trahunt, continent, praebeunt ne pes quidem otiosus certam legem temporum servat? et haec pariter omnia. Quid? nos agendi subita necessitate deprehensi, nonne alia dicimus,
exercise their memory, their voice, their fingers, and sometime their head, and feet at once. And so a Preacher in the invention of matter, election of words, composition of gesture, looke, pronunciation, motion, useth all these faculties at once. And if wee can expresse this variety together, why should not diverse studies, at diverse hours delight, when the variety is able alone to refresh, and repaire us? As when a man is weary of writing, to reade; and then againe of reading, to write. Wherein, howsoever wee do 10 many things, yet are wee (in a sort) still fresh to what wee begin; wee are recreated with change, as the stomacke is with meats. But some will say, this variety breeds confusion, and makes, that either wee loose all, or hold no more then the last. Why doe 15 wee not then perswade husbandmen that they should not till Land, helpe it with Marle, Lyme, and Com-

alia providemus, quum pariter inventio rerum, electio verborum, compositio, gestus, pronunciatio, vultus motusque desiderentur? Quae si, velut sub uno conatu, tam diversa parent simul, cur non pluribus curis horas partiamur? Quum praestertim reficiat animos ac reparet varietas ipsa, contraque sit aliquando difficilium in labore uno perseverare, ideo et stilus lectione requiescit, et ipsius lectionis taedium vicibus levatur. Quamlibet multa egerimus, quodam tamen modo recentes sumus ad id quod incipimus. Quis non obtundi possit, si per totum diem cujuscumque artis unum magistrum ferat? mutatione recreabitur, sicut in cibis, quorum diversitate reficitur stomachus, et pluribus, minore fastidio, alitur. Cur non idem saudemus agricolis, ne arva simul et vineta, et oleas, et arbustum colant? ne pratis, et pecoribus, et hortis, et alvearibus accommodat curam? Cur ipsi aliquid foresibis negotiis, aliquid desideris amicorum, aliquid rationibus domesticis, aliquid curac corporis, nonnihil voluptatibus quotidie damus? quorum nos una res quaelibet uihil intermittentes fatigaret: adeo facilius est multa facere, quam diu! Illud quidem minime verendum est, ne laborem studiorum pueri difficilius tolerent; neque enim uila aetas minus fatigatur; mirum sit forsitan, sed experimentis deprehendens...

(11) Praeterea, secundum aliam aetatis illius facilitatem, velut simplicius docentes sequuntur, necquae iam egerint, metiuatur. Abest illis etiam adhuc laboris judicium: porro, ut frequenter experti sumus, minus afficit sensus fatigatio, quam cogitatio.... (15) Denique cur in omnibus, quae discenda oratori futuro puto, eminuit Plato? qui, non contentus disciplinis quas praestare poterant Athenae, non Pythagoreorum, ad quos in Italian navigaverat, Aegypti quoque sacerdotes adit, atque eorum arcana perdidicit. Difficultatis patrocinia praeteximus segnitiæ....
post? plant Hop-gardens, prune trees, look to Bee-
hives, reare sheepe, and all other Cattell at once? It is easier to doe many things, and continue, then to doe one thing long.

It is not the passing through these Learnings that hurts us, but the dwelling and sticking about them. To descend to these extreame anxieties, and foolish cavils of Grammarians, is able to breake a wit in pieces; being a worke of manifold misery, and vaï-
nenesse, to be Elementarii senes. Yet even Letters 10 are as it were the Banke of words, and restore them-
selves to an Author, as the pawnes of Language: But talking and Eloquence are not the same: to speake, and to speake well, are two things. A foole may talk, but a wise man speaks, and out of the 15 observation, knowledge, and use of things. Many writers perplexe their Readers, and Hearer with meere Non-sense. Their writings need sunshine.

16. F.1. F.2. Cunn.: Knowledge and use of things, Cet.: and the use of things,

118. Ibidem. Liber VIII, Prooemium (1). His fere, quae in proximos quinque libros collata sunt, ratio inveniendi, atque inventa disponendi, continetur: quam ut per omnes numeros penitus cognoscere, ad summam scientiae necessarium est, ita incipientibus brevius ac simplicius tradi magis convenit: aut enim difficul
cultate institutionis tam numerosae atque perplexae deterreri solent: aut eo tempore, quo praecipue alenda ingeua, atque indulgentia quadam enuientia sunt, asperiorum tractatu rerum atteruntur: aut, si haec sola didicerint, satis se ad eloquentiam instructos arbitrantur; aut, quasi ad certas quasdam dicendi leges alligati, conatum omnem reformidant: unde existimant accidisse ut, qui diligentissimi artium scriptores extiterunt, ab eloquentia longissime fuerint.... Plus exigunt laboris et curae, quae sequuntur: hinc enim jam elocutionis rationem tractabimus, partem operis, ut inter omnes oratores convenit, difficil
limam: nam et M. Antonius, cujus supra babuimus mentionem, quum ait a se disertos visos esse multis, eloquentem autem nominem, diserto satis putat dicere quae oporteat; ornate autem dicere, proprium esse eloquentissimi.... et Marcus Tullius inventionem quidem ac dispositionem prudentis hominis putat, eloquentiam oratoris.....

(18) Non iideo tamen sola est agenda cura verborum; occurram enim necessae est, et, velut in vestibulo protinus apparebunris hanc confessionem meam, resistam iis, qui, omissa rerum (qui nervi sunt in causis) diligentia, quodam inani circa voces studio senescunt: idque faciunt gratia decoris; quod est in dicendo, mea quidem opinione, pulcherrimum, sed quum sequitur, non quum
Pure and neat Language I love, yet plaine and customary. A barbarous phrase has often made mee out of-love with a good sense; and doubtfull writing hath wrackt mee beyond my patience. The reason why a Poet is said, that hee ought to have all knowledges, is thathee should not be ignorant of the most, especially of those hee will handle. And indeed when the attaining of them is possible, it were a sluggish, and base thing to despare. For frequent imitation of anything, becomes a habit quickly. If a man should prosecute as much as could be said of every thing; his worke would find no end.
Speech is the only benefit, man hath to express his excellency of mind above other creatures. It is the Instrument of Society. Therefore Mercury, who is the President of Language, is called Deorum hominumque interpres. In all speech, words and sense are as the body and the soul. The sense is as the life and soul of Language, without which all words are dead. Sense is wrought out of experience, the knowledge of human life and actions, or of the liberal arts, which the Greeks called Ἐγκυκλοπαθείαν. Words are the Peoples; yet there is a choice of them to be made: for Verborum delectus, origo est eloquentiae. They are to be chose according to the persons we make speak, or the thing we speak of. Some are of the Campe, some of the Councell-board, some of the Shop, some of the Pulpit, some of the Barre, &c. And herein is seen their Elegance, and Propriety, when we use them fitly, and draw them forth to their just strength and nature by way of Translation or Metaphore. But in this
Translation wee must only serve necessity (Nam temere nihil transfertur a prudenti) or commodity, which is a kind of necessity; that is, when we either absolutely want a word to expresse by, and that is necessity; or when wee have not so fit a word, and that is commodity: As when wee avoid losse by it, and escape obsceneness, and gaine in the grace and property, which helps significance. Metaphors far-fet hinder to be understood; and affected, lose their grace. Or when the person fetcheth his translations from a wrong place: as if a Privie Councillor should at the table take his metaphor from a Dicing-house, or Ordinary, or a Vintners Vault; or a Justice of Peace draw his similitudes from the Mathematicks, or a Divine from a Bawdy-house, or Tavernes; or a Gentleman of Northamptonshire, Warwickshire, or the Midland, should fetch all the Illustrations to his countreynighbours from shipping, and tell them of the main-sheat and the Boulin. Metaphors are thus many times deform'd, as in him that said. Casttratam morte Africani rempublicam; and another, Stercus curiae Glaaciam; and Caia nive conspuit Alpes. All attempts that are new in this kind are obscured, sunt rudium, sunt eruditorum... Haec sint mihi dicta non solum de singulis verborum, sed de proprietate, de elegantia, de formulis lo-quendi, de proverbiiis, quae omnia recipiunt hanc ipsam considerationem... Sunt alia quae a loco naturali in alium transierunt, quae sunt propemodum plura, quam quae in sua origine perseverarunt. Transitus hic a Graecis metaphora, a nostris translatio nominatur... In translationibus vel necessitati servitum est, vel commoditati. Nam temere nihil transfertur a prudenti... Necessitas est, quum deest verbum, quo res significetur, tum asciscimus quam maxime vel aptum, vel vicinum, aut rei aut nosis. Commoditas genus est necessitatis quod-dam. Nam non egemus modo illis, sine quibus agere nullo modo possimus, sed sine quibus aegre aut parum, vel recte vel apposite. Commodum vero est duplex, sive quum damnum vitatur, sive quum lucris sit aliquid: vitatur dam-num, ubi effugit turpitudo, ut pudenda pro testiculis: facimus vero lucrum significantiae, aut decoris, quum plus gratiae inest, aut plus virium in significatu, ut accensus cupiditate, inflammatus libidine Significantia diluitur, quum procul, vel ab ignotis rebus petitur metaphora. Admonet Cicero, ne simile longe...
dangerous, and somewhat hard, before they be softened with use. A man coyens not a new word without some peril, and lesse fruit; for if it happen to be received, the praise is but moderate; if refused, the scorn is assur'd. Yet wee must adventure; for things at first, hard and rough, are by use made tender and gentle. It is an honest error that is committed, following great chiefes.

Custoine is the most certain Mistresse of Language, as the publicke stamp makes the current money. But wee must not be too frequent with the mint, every day coining. Nor fetch words from the extreme and utmost ages; since the chiefe vertue of a style is perspicuitie, and nothing so villous in it, as to need an Interpreter. Words borrow'd of Antiquity, doe lend a kind of Majesty to style, and are not without their delight sometimes. For they have the Authority of yeares, and out of their intermission doe win to themselves a kind of grace-like newnesse. But the eldest of the present, and newest of the past Language is the best. For what was the ancient Language, which some men so doate upon, but the ancient Custome? Yet when I name Cus-

20. F. i.: and newness of the past Schell. Goll.: and newest of the past Ceteri as in F. i.

Sunt quaedam captatae, ut voluptatem hic agere dictatorem, a quo non liceat provocare, appetet enim effectatio. Decor perit, quum inde transferimus, quod minime decet dicentem, audientem, rem, ut si senator a lusione, vel scurrilitate ganeanum sumat metaphoras, si apud rusticos e media philosophia similitudines ducamus, apud homines mediterraneos e navigis, et navigatione, si in sacra concione de lupanari, de obscenitate et rebus ludicris. Periculosae sunt novae, et duriusculae prinsquam usu molliantur.

Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, liber I, caput v. (71)... Usitatis tutius utimur; nova non sine quodam periculo fugimur. Nam si recepta sunt, modicam laudem afferunt orationi; repudiata, etiam in jocos exequunt. Audendum tamen; namque, ut Cicero ait, etiam quae primo dura visa sunt, suas molliantur....

Caput vi (1). Est etiam sua loquentibus observatio, sua scribentibus. Sermo constat ratione, vetustate, auctoritate, consuetudine.... Auctoritas ab oratoribus vel historicis peti solet: nam poetas metri necessitas excusat, nisi si quando, nihil impediente in utroque modulatio pedum, alterum malunt;... quam summorum in eloquentia virorum judicium pro ratione, et vel error honestus est magnos duces sequentibus. Consuetudo vero certissima loquendi magistra, utendumque plane sermone, ut nummo, cui publica formae est....

(39) Verba a vetustate repetita, non solum magnos assertores habent, sed etiam afferunt orationi majestatem aliquam, non sine delectatione; nam et auctoritatem antiquitatis habent, et quia intermissa sunt, gratiam novitati similem parant. Sed opus est modo, ut neque crebra sint haec, neque manifesta, quia nihil est odiosius affectatione; nec atique ab ultimis et jam obliteratis repetita temporibus, qualia sunt topfer, et antigerio, etc.... Sed illa mutari vetat religio, et consecratis utendam est; oratio vero, cujus summa virtus est perspicuus,
must bee more accurate in the beginning and end, then in the midst; and in the end more, then in the beginning; for through the midst the streame bears us. And this is attain’d by Custome more then care, or diligence. Wee must expresse readily, and fully, not profusely. There is a difference betweene a liberrall, and a prodigall hand. As it is a great point of Art, when our matter requires it, to enlarge, and veere out all sayle; so to take it in, and contract it, is of no lesse praise when the Argument doth aske it. Either of them hath their fitnesse in the place. A good man always profits by his endeavour, by his helpe; yea, when he is absent; nay when he is dead by his example and memory. So good Authors in their style. A strict and succinct style is that, where you can take away nothing without losse, and that losse to be manifest. The briefe style is that which expresseth much in little. The concise style, which expresseth not enough, but leaves somewhat to bee understood. The abrupt style, which hath

quam sit vitiosa, si egeat interprete! Ergo, ut novorum optima erunt maxime vetera, ita veterum maxime nova. Similis circa auctoritatem ratio. Nam, etiamsi potest videri nihil peccare, qui utitur iiis verbis, quae summi auctores tradiderunt, multum tamen refert non solum, quid dixerint, sed etiam quid persuerint.... Superest igitur consuetudo: nam fuerit paene ridiculum malle sermonem, quo locuti sint homines, quam quo loquantur. Et sane quid est aliud vetus sermo, quam vetus loquendi consuetudo? Sed huic ipsi necessariam est judicium, constituendumque imprimis, id ipsum quid sit, quod consuetudinem vocemus. Quae si ex eo, quod plures faciant nomen accipiat, periculosissimum dabit praeseptum, non rationi modo, sed (quod majus est) vitae.... Nam, ut transeam, quernadmodum vulgo imperiti loquantur; tota saepe theatra, et omnem circi turbam exclamasse barbare scimus. Ergo consuetudinem sermonis, vocabo consensum eruditorem; sicut vivendi, consensum bonorum.

many breaches, and doth not seeme to end, but fall. The congruent, and harmonious fitting of parts in a sentence, hath almost the fastning, and force of knitting, and connexion: As in stones well squar’d, which will rise strong a great way without mortar. Periods are beautifull; when they are not too long; for so they have their strength too, as in a Pike or Javelin. As wee must take the care that our words and sense bee cleare; so if the obscurity happen through the Hearers, or Readers want of understanding, I am not to answer for them; no more then for their not listning or marking; I must neither find them eares, nor mind. But a man cannot put a word so in sense, but some thing about it will illustrate it, if the Writer understand himselfe. For Order helps much to Perspicuity, as Confusion hurts. Rectitude lucem adfert; obliquitas et circum-

oratio, quam nihil omnino est, quod possis demere sinè jactura... Est alia oratio brevis, quae dedita opera magnas sententias in pauca verba confert, et tanquam infarcit ac constipat... Est alia concisa, quae minus exprimit, quam intelligentia requirit, sed unus ita loquendi adjuvat sensum et supplet, quod deest... Est diminuta, cui vitiosa aliquid deest necessarium. Oratio contracta fit ac brevis, contrariis modis, atque extenditur et diffunditur. In diminutis quaedam sunt abrupta, in quibus velut destitutam se cursu suo auris deprehendit, tanquam quod per montium cacamina salientibus saepe contingit, de quo Seneca ad hunc modum ait: In Fabiano quaedam tam subito desinunt, ut non brevia sint, sed abrupta. In Pollione omnia paenè non desinunt, sed cadunt, contra in Cicerone desinunt omnia.

Vives, De Ratione Dicendi, liber primas (Opera, I, pp. 97-100).... Periodi vim habent incisa quaedam apte inter se quadrantia..... Ipsa enim congruens applicatio nexus habet vicem, ut in structura lapidum sine calce vel gypso quadrantium. Venustissimae sunt periodi, quae fiunt vel ex antithesis, vel acutè concluso argumento. Atque adeo sunt quidam, qui acute concinnata arguameta, et breviter conclusa..... Cum plura sunt membra aut nimis longa, debilitat vis periodi, ut in praelonga hasta, quae jacit: sed spectanda linguae ratio et audientium natura atque ingenium. Quod si audientis culpa nascatur obscuritas, ea vero non est orationi vitiò verienda, velut si sermonem latinum non intelligat, aut eum, quo utimur, si usitatam et proprium verbum non capiat, utique non magis, quam si tardus vel sit, vel non animadvertat..... Ordinem sequitur distinctio, ne alieno loco conjunctio vel separatio posita intellectum perturbet. Rectitude lucem adfert; obliquitas et circumductio offuscat...
ductio offuscat. We should therefore speake what wee can the neerest way, so as wee keepe our gate, not leape; for too short may as well be not let into the memory, as too long not kept in. Whatsoever looseneth the grace, and clearenesse, converts into a riddle; the obscurity is marked, but not the value. That perisheth, and is past by, like the Pearle in the Fable. Our style should be like a skeine of silke to be carried, and found by the right thred, not ravel'd and perplex'd; then all is a knot, a heape.

There are words, that doe as much raise a style, as others can depresse it. Superlation, and overmuchnesse amplifies. It may be above faith, but never above a meane. It was ridiculous in Cestius, when hee said of Alexander: Fremit Oceanus, quasi indignet, quod terras relinquas. But propitiousely from Virgil:

Credas innare revulsas Cycladas.

Hee doth not say it was so, but seem'd to be so. Although it be somewhat incredible, that is excus'd before it be spoken. But there are Hyperboles, which will become one Language, that will by no meanes

quum a recta atque instituta via in longum recedimus, pervertitur enim intelligentia. Quandoquidem memoria excidunt priora. Eadem de causa difficultis est omnis praelonga sententia, quia non potest memoria conteneri, contra nimis breves obscures sunt, quibus non tam sensus exprimitur, quam innuitur... Quod gratiam amittit, in aenigma transit, animadvertitur enim obscuritas, pretium ignoratur, ideoque praeteritur, ut margaritum illud in fabula. Omnis prope figura sententiae in eo sita est, ut alid intelligat auditor, quam quod nos eloquimur. Oratiosus ductus duplex est, unus rectus, quum quo coopimus modo ac tenore pergimus, tanquam ducentes filum. Alteri reflexus, quum velut retroqueremus, et replicamus in se, quo fiet astrictius et fortius... Conformatio est orationis, quum plus, aut minus, aut diversum volumus intelligi aut credi, quam quod res habet, vel auditores arbitrantur. Superlationem hanc jubent supra fidem esse, sed non supra modum. Modus hic captus videtur mihi esse nostrorum ingenuorum, vel similitudinis notae, atque usitatae. Nam in quaque lingua spectandum est, qui sit usus, quid sit receptum. Est superlatio, quam una linguae respuit, alia recipit. Mores etiam hominum attendendi. In extrema commentarioa Caesaris scribitur Eos esse populi Romani exercitus, qui coelum possint perrumpere. Nunc quis hoc dicat, nisi insanus?
Caesar. Comment: admiss another. As *Eos esse P. R. exercitus, qui coelum possint perrumpere*: who would say this with us, but a mad man? Therefore wee must consider in every tongue what is us'd, what receiv'd. Quintilian warns us, that in no kind of Translation, or *Metaphore*, or *Allegory*, wee make a turne from what wee began; As if wee fetch the originall of our Metaphore from sea, and billowes; wee end not in flames and ashes; It is a most fowle inconsequence. Neither must wee draw out our Allegory too long, lest either wee make our selves obscure, or fall into affectation, which is childish. But why doe men depart at all from the right, and naturall wayes of speaking? Sometimes for necessity, when wee are driven, or thinke it fitter, to speake that in obscure words, or by circumstance, which utter'd plainly would offend the hearers. Or to avoid obscenessse, or sometimes for pleasure, and variety; as Travailers turne out of the high way, drawne, either by the commodity of a footpath, or the delicacy or

17. Cunn.: obscenity
freshnesse of the fields. And all this is called ἐσχαματισμένη, or figur'd Language.

Language most shewes a man: speake that I may see thee. It springs out of the most retired, and inmost parts of us, and is the Image of the parent of it, the mind. No glasse renders a mans forme, or likenesse, so true as his speech. Nay, it is likened to a man; and as we consider feature, and composition in a man; so words in Language: in the greatnessse, aptnesse, sound, structure, and harmony of it. Some men are tall, and bigge, so some Language is high and great. Then the words are chosen, their sound ample, the composition full, the absolution plenteous, and pow'r'd out, all grave, sinnewye and strong. Some are little, and Dwarfes; so of 15 speech it is humble, and low, the words poore and flat: the members and Periods, thinne and weake, without knitting, or number. The middle are of a just stature. There the language is plaine, and pleasing: even without stopping, round without 20 swelling; all well-torn'd, compos'd, elegant, and accurate. The vitious Language is vast, and gaping,

14. Cunn.: and poured out all grave,

amoenitate affecti. Haece sunt quae orationem figuratam reddunt, quae oratio ἐσχαματισμένη a Graecis dicitur.

121-122. Apuleius, Florides. II. ...At non itidem major mens Socrates; qui, quum decorum adolescentem, et diutule tacentem conspicatus foret. Ut te videam, inquit, aliquid eloquere.

Vives, De Ratione Dicendi, liber secundus (Opera, I. p. 103 sqq.)..... Quippe oratio ex intimis nostri pectoris recessibus oritur, ubi verus ille ac purus homo habitat. Et imago est animi parentis sui, atque adeo hominis universi. Ut non sit ullum speculam quod hominis simulacrum certius reddat quam oratio. Nec injuria Graecis proverbio jactatur, talem esse quemque, qualis sit ejus oratio. Ergo easdem appellaciones indiderunt, quas in homine solemus usurpare ex animo, et corpore; et ab iis quae sunt exteriis, tum iis vel singulis, vel conjunctis aliquot. Nec aliter quam in homine nuncupationes non inde nascuntur, quod omnia sint talia, sic in oratione. Quin etiam sicut homines per translationem easdem nominationes recipiunt ex animo et corpore, ut asper, durus, candidus, ita oratio ex verbis et sensis. Primum omnium de statura, quae spectatur potissimum in magnitudine et sono verborum ac structurae. Ex illa appel-
swelling and irregular; when it contends to be high, full of Rocke, Mountaine, and pointednesse: As it affects to be low, it is abject, and creeps, full of bogs and holes. And according to their Subject, these stiles vary, and lose their names: For that which is high and lofty, declaring excellent matter, becomes vast and tumorous: Speaking of petty and inferiour things: so that which was even, and apt in a meane and plaine subject, will appeare most poore and humble in a high Argument. Would you not laugh, to meet a great Counsellor of state in a flat cap, with his trunck hose, and a hobby-horse Cloake, his glasses under his girdle, and yond Haberdasher in a velvet Gowne, furr'd with sables? There is a certaine latitude in these things, by which wee find the de- grees. The next thing to the stature, is the figure and feature in Language: that is, whether it be round, and streight, which consists of short and succinct Periods, numerous, and polish'd, or square and firme, which is to have equall and strong parts, everywhere answerable, and weighed. The third is the skinne, and coat, which rests in the well-joyning,
5. Schell. Morl. Goll. : whenas it is smooth

CUTIS SINE CORTEx.

Carnosa

adipata

redundans.

Jejuna, macilenta, strigosa.

cementing, and coagamentation of words; when as it is smooth, gentle, and sweet; like a Table, upon which you may runne your finger without rubs, and your nayle cannot find a joynt; not horrid, rough, wrinkled, gaping, or chapt: After these the flesh, blood, and bones come in question. Wee say it is a fleshy style, when there is much Periphrases, and circuit of words; and when with more then enough, it growes fat and corpulent; Arvina orationis, full of suet and tallow. It hath blood, and juyce, when the words are proper and apt, their sound sweet, and the Phrase neat and pick'd. Oratio uncta, et bené pasta. But where there is Redundancy, both the blood and juyce are faulty, and vitories. Redundat sanguine, quia multo plus dicit, quam necesse est. Juyce in Language is somewhat lesse then blood; for if the words be but becomming, and signifying, and the sense gentle, there is Juyce: but where that wanteth, the Language is thin, flagging, poore, starv'd; scarce covering the bone, and shewes like stones in a sack. Some men, to avoid Redundancy, runne into that: and while they strive to have no ill

blood, or Juyce, they loose their good. There be some styles, againe, that have not lesse blood, but lesse flesh, and corpulence. These are bony and

sinnewy: Osse habent, et nervos.

It was well noted by the late L. St. Alban, that the study of words is the first distemper of Learning: Vaine matter the second: And a third distemper is deceit, or the likenesse of truth; Imposture held up by credulity. All these are the Cobwebs of Learning, and to let them grow in us, is either sluttish or foolish. Nothing is more ridiculous, then to make an Author a Dictator, as the schooles have done Aristotle. The dammage is infinite, knowledge receives by it. For to many things a man should owe but a temporary believe, and a suspension of his owne Judgement, not an absolute resignation of himselfe, or a perpetuall captivity. Let Aristotle, and

— 107 —


123. Bacon, Advancement of Learning. Book I (Ed. Spedding & Ellis, vol. III, p. 283)... This grew speedily to an excess; for men began to hunt more after words than matter; and more after the choiceness of the phrase, and the round and clean composition of the sentence, and the sweet falling of the clauses, and
the varying and illustration of their works with tropes and figures, than after
the weight of matter, worth of subject, soundness of argument, life of invention
or depth of judgment (p. 284). Here therefore (is) the first distemper of learn-
ing, when men study words and not matter. . . . The second, which
followeth, is in nature worse than the former; for as substance of matter is
better than beauty of words, so contrariwise vain matter is worse than vain
words . . . . This kind of degenerate learning did chiefly reign amongst the school-
men; . . . but their wits being shut up in the cells of a few authors (chiefly
Aristotle their dictator) . . . . did out of no great quantity of matter, and infinite
agitation of wit, spin out unto us those laborious webs of learning which are
extant in their books . . . . cobwebs of learning, admirable for the fineness of
thread and work, but of no substance or profit . . . . (p. 287) And when they see
such digladiation about subtleties . . . . But, as they are, they are great underta-
kers indeed . . . . For the third vice or disease of learning, which concerneth deceit
or untruth, it is of all the rest the foulest . . . . imposture and credality (p. 228) . . . .
This facility of credit . . . . the superstitious simplicity of some . . . . But by reason
of their stirring and digging the mould about the roots of their vines . . . . Excel-
ently discerning that matter of manifest truth . . . . was not to be mingled or
weakened with matter of doubtful credit . . . . (p. 289) . . . . But by reason of their
stirring and digging the mould about the roots of their vines . . . . And for the
falling of the clause, varying an illustration by tropes and figures, weight of Matter, worth of Subject, soundness of Argument, life of Invention, and depth of Judgement. This is *Monte potiri*, to get the hill. For no perfect Discovery can be made upon a flat or a levell.

Now, that I have informed you in the knowing these things; let me lead you by the hand a little farther, in the direction of the use; and make you an able Writer by practice. The conceits of the mind are Pictures of things, and the tongue is the Interpreter of those Pictures. The order of Gods creatures in themselves, is not only admirable, and glorious, but eloquent; Then he who could apprehend the consequence of things in their truth, and utter his apprehensions as truly, were the best Writer, or Speaker. Therefore *Cicero* said much, when he said, *Dicere rectè nemo potest, nisi qui prudenter intelligit*. The shame of speaking unskilfully were small, if the tongue onely thereby were disgrac’d: But as the Image of a King, in his Seale ill-represented, is not so much a blemish to the waxe, or the Signet that seal’d it, as to the Prince it representeth; so disorderd speech is not so much injury to the lips that give it forth, as to the disproportion, and incoherence of things in themselves, so negligently expressed. Neither can his mind be thought to be in tune, whose words doe jarre; nor his reason in frame, whose sentence is preposteous; nor his Elocution cleare and perfect, whose utterance breakes it selfe into fragments and uncer-

overmuch credit that hath been given unto authors in sciences, in making them dictators..... *the damage is infinite that sciences have received thereby.....* (p. 290)..... For disciples do owe unto masters only a temporary belief and a suspension of their own judgment until they be fully instructed, and not an absolute resignation or perpetual captivity: and therefore to conclude this point, I will say no more but, *so let great authors have their due...* (p. 292)..... *For no perfect discovery can be made upon a flat or level.*
tainties: Were it not a dishonour to a mighty Prince, to have the Majesty of his embassage spoyled by a carelesse Ambassadour? and is it not as great an Indignity, that an excellent conceit and capacity, by the indiligence of an idle tongue should be disgrac’d?

Negligent speech doth not onely discredit the person of the Speaker, but it discredith the opinion of his reason and judgement; it discrediteth the force and uniformity of the matter, and substance. If it be so then in words, which fly and escape censure, and where one good Phrase begs pardon for many incongruities, and faults; how shall he then be thought wise, whose penning is thin and shallow? How shall you looke for wit from him, whose leasure and head, assisted with the examination of his eyes, yeeld you no life, or sharpenesse in his writing?

In writing there is to be regarded the Invention and the Fashion. For the Invention, that ariseth upon your busines; whereof there can bee no rules of more certainty, or precepts of better direction given, then conjecture can lay downe, from the severall occasions of mens particular lives, and vocations: But sometimes men make baseness of kindness: As (I could not satsisfe myself, till I had discharged my remembrance, and charged my Letters with commendations to you:) or (My busines is no other then to

125-126. JUSTI LIPSI Epistolica Institutio (Opera, I, pp. 379 sqq.). Caput i. Epistola qui recte et laudabiliter seribatur, praeire mihi propositum juventuti. Sed compendio: ad usum, non ad speciem: nec ut omnia quae ad rem, sed quae in rem maxime, dicam...

Caput ii.... Haec definitio Epistolae. Et qua partes praecepuas ejus duas facio: Materiam et sermonem....

Caput iv.... Sed quidquid hujus sit, nobis superscriptio usurpanda: sive ob ignotos ignorantcsque Tabellarios, sive magis ob receptissimum morem, cum quo frustra pugnamus. Quin et Titulis, eodem auctore, uti suadcam: sine ambitione tamen aut professa nimi adulatione Haec solennis materies epistolae,
testifie my love to you: and to put you in mind of my willingnesse to do you all kind offices. Or, (Sir, have you leasure to descend to the remembring of that assurance you have long possess in your servant; and upon your next opportunity make him happy with some commands from you?) Or, the like; that goe a begging for some meaning, and labour to be deliver’d of the great burden of nothing. When you have invented, and that your busines be matter, and not bare forme, or meere Ceremony, but some earnest: then you are to proceed to the ordering of it, and digesting the parts, which is had out of two circumstances. One is the understanding of the Persons to whom you are to write; the other is the coherence of your Sentence. For mens capacity, to weigh, what will be apprehended with greatest attention, or leisure; what next regarded, and long’d for especially; and what last will leave satisfaction, and (as

15 F.i.: sentence. For mens capacity to weigh Morl.: sentence; for men’s capacity to weigh Schell. Goll.: sentence for men’s capacity to weigh Cet.: as in F.i. Pers. Conj.: For men’s capacity, to weigh

in quam licet advocem Epistolæ totas, quas Formales Suetonius appellat. Eae de una aliqua re una ac simili forma, ad plures scribuntur: in negotiis publicis, inque aulis Principum etiam hodie usitatae. Quas ipsas Canonicas (nisi fallor) Cassiodorus appellat.

it were) the sweetest memoriall; and belief of all
that is past in his understanding, whom you write
to. For the consequence of sentences, you must be
sure that every clause do give the Q. one to the
other, and be bespoken ere it come. So much for
invention and order. Now for fashion: it consists in
four things, which are qualities of your style. The
first is brevity; for they must not be Treatises, or
Discourses (your Letters) except it be to learned
men. And even among them there is a kind of thrift,
and saving of words. Therefore you are to examine
the clearest passages of your understanding, and
through them to convey the sweetest, and most si-
gnificant words you can devise; that you may the
easier teach them the readiest way to another mans
aprehension, and open their meaning fully, round-
dly, and distinctly. So as the reader may not thinke
a second view cast away upon your letter. And
though respect bee a part following this; yet now
here, and still I must remember it, if you write to a
man, whose estate and cense, as senses, you are fa-
miliar with, you may the bolder (to set a taske to
his brain) venter on a knot. But if to your Superior,

4. Schell. Morl. Goll.: do give the cue
22. F.1.: whose estate and cense, as senses, Whall. Morl.: whose estate and
sense, as senses, Goll.: whose estate and cense Anon.: whose estate and
census

imitere eam, non aeques. Praeceptis cur te alliges? Ut imperatori in acie certus
aliquis ordo est, nec tamen unus: sic tibi in omni materie; quam pro re, pro
judicio dispone.

Caput vi. De Sermone. Quae de eo dicenda; et primum de Brevitate. Venio
ad sermonem: cujus causa, factore, Institutio haece suspepta. ... Sermonem ap-
pello, Elocutionem et stili modum epistolae aptum. ... De habitu igitur sermo-
nis epistolici, praecipio ut quinque ista servis: Brevitatem, Perspicuitatem,
Simplicitatem, Venustatem, Decentiam. Prima illa, prima mihi sermonis virtus
est: adeoque epistolae propria, ut, si longior, (cum Demetrio sentio) Libri jam
nomen assumat. Epistolae amittat. Cum tam multa ea nunc et, qui debet mul-
tis? Addo, quod ut in sermone aut fabulis, sic in epistolis odiosa garrulitas.....
Modum autem a Materia specto. Si seria Epistola aut sapiens: diffundi paulo
magis velim, et rei per se gravi addi verborum aliquid pondus. Si Familiaris,
you are bound to measure him in three farther points: First, your interest in him; Secondly, his capacity in your Letters; Thirdly, his leisure to peruse them. For your interest, or favour with him, you are to bee the shorter, or longer, more familiar, or submissè, as hee will afford you time. For his capacity you are to be quicker, and fuller of those reaches, and glances of wit, or learning, as hee is able to entertain them. For his leisure, you are commanded to the greater briefnesse, as his place is of greater discharges, and cares. But with your better, you are not to put Riddles of wit, by being too scarce of words; not to cause the trouble of making Breviates, by writing too riotous, and wastingly. Brevity is attained in matter, by avoiding idle Complements, Prefaces, Pro- testations, Parentheses, superfluous circuit of figures, and digressions: In the composition, by omitting Conjunctions (Not onely, But also; Both the one, and the other, whereby it commeth to passe) and such like idle Particles, that have no great busines in a serious Letter, but breaking of sentences; as often times a short journey is made long, by unnecessary baits.

Quintilian.


Quintilianus, Institutio Oratoria, liber IV, caput ii (61). Sol est enim esse quaedam partium brevitas, quae longam tamen efficet summam. In portum veni,
as All Swinb. oftentimes Ceteri illud I certum, et qui aspace, ipsa is accusasi simillimum appeacht de solvimus tooke qua Perspicuity, oftentimes est, in moni. laudis Atqui non si talia qua quern dictum, sedetiam sufficit interpretem by naoim 2. 11. Caput verba Caput stilo simplicem praetervolet periculum afferunt: F. capiendum semelhoc esse esse, earn earn virtue, in vin. aegre quod scias eo is virtutem in F.l. virtus: propria plures, et fugiat; quanti aures imbibe: aures porta quaerit. opus in pondering let tanding, ning and and as for, words property fault oftentime be dred to gate, launch'd came to the court and spoke to my Lord. This is the fault of some Latine Writers, within these last hund- red years, of my reading, and perhaps Seneca may be appeacht of it; I accuse him not. The next property of Epistolarie style is Perspicuity, and is oftentime (lost) by affection of some wit ill angled for, or ostentation of some hidden terms of Art. Few words they darken speech, and so doe too many; as well too much light hurteth the eyes, as too little; and a long Bill of Chancery confounds the unders- tanding, as much as the shortest note. Therefore, let not your Letters he penn'd like English Statutes, and this is obtain'd. These vices are eschewed by pondering your business well, and distinctly concern- ing your selfe, which is much furthered by uttering 20

11. F. 1.: is oftentimes by affectation Swinb. Schell. Goll.: is oftentimes lost by Ceteri: as in F.1.

navim perspezi, quanti veheret interrogavi, de pretio conveni, conscendi, sublatae sunt ancorae, solvimus oram, profecti sumus. Nil horum dicit celerius potest, sed sufficit dicere, E portu navigavi.

Caput vni. Virtus altera, Perspicuitas; de industria a me Brevitati subtexta, quia periculum magnum huic ab illâ. Quam ardua, quam rara illa Brevitas, quae non praetervolet aures aut defraudet? in quâ legentis sensus non opus sit intendi? Atqui semel hoc imbie: summum in sermone vitium esse, non solum non capi, sed etiam aegrâ capi. In quo peccant quidam Naturâ, qui ipsi, obscuri et reconditi talia afferunt; plures, studio; qui nihil doctum aut laudabile putent, nisi recon- ditem, et quod fugiat vulgares mentes. Stulti! quia malè ingeniösus ille, ad quem capiendum opus est ingenio, præsertim in Epistola, quae arbitrūm aut interpretēm non quaerit. Clarè ergo scribito, si potes, et breviter, sed ita, ut hoc laudis esse scias; illud necessitatis. Clarus autem sermo erit, praecepto triplici: si verba in eo propria; si usitata; si collocata.

your thoughts, and letting them as well come forth to the light, and Judgement of your owne outward senses, as to the censure of other mens eares; For that is the reason, why many good schollers speake but fumblingly; like a rich man, that for want of particular note and difference, can bring you no certain ware readily out of his shop. Hence it is, that talkative shallow men doe often content the Hearers, more then the wise. But this may find a speedier redresse in writing; where all comes under the last examination of the eyes. First-mind it well, then pen it, then examine it, then amend it; and you may bee in the better hope of doing reasonably well. Under this vertue may come Plainenessse, which is not to be curious in the order, as to answer a letter, as if you were to answer to Intergatories. As to the first, first; and to the second, secondly, &c. But both in method to use (as Ladies doe in their attyre) a diligent kind of negligence, and their sportive freedome; though with some men you are not to jest, or practise tricks; yet the delivery of the most important things may be carried with such a grace, as that it may yeeld a pleasure to the conceit of the Reader. There must bee store, though no excess of

termes; as if you are to name Store, sometimes you may call it choyse, sometimes plenty; sometimes copiousnesse, or variety; but ever so, that the word which comes in lieu, have not such difference of meaning, as that it may put the sense of the first in hazard to be mistaken. You are not to cast a Ring for the perfumed termes of the time, as Accommodation, Complement, Spirit, &c: But use them properly in their place, as others. There followeth Life, and Quickness, which is the strength and sinnews of your penning by pretty Sayings, Similitudes, and Conceits, Allusions, some knowne History, or other common-place, such as are in the Courtier, and the second book of Cicero de Oratore. The last is; Respect to discerne, what fits yourself; him to whom you write, and that which you handle, which is a quality fit to conclude the rest, because it doth include all. And that must proceed from ripeness of judgement, which as one truly saith, is gotten by foure means, God, Nature, Diligence and Conversation. Serve the first well, and the rest will serve you.

3. Vigor.

4. Discretia.

12. F. i.: Allusions, some knowne History, Cunn.: allusions to some known history Whall. Giff. Cornw. Morl.: allusions from known history

Caput x (Junctim de Venustate et Decentia). Reliquae mihi duae virtutes, Venustas et Decentia: et si vix reliquae. Utraque enim ejusmodi, ut admonere de ea breviter possim, non docere. Ilia ab ingenio tota est; haec a judicio: quorum utrumque spernit ligari praeeptorum his vinculis. Venustatem appello; cum sermo totus alacer, vivus, erectus est, et allicientem quandam gratiam Veneremque praefert. Quod Natura ferè dat: nonnihil tamen et duplex haec notitio. Primum, ut Adagia Allusionesque ad dicta aut facta vetera, versiculos aut argutas sententias utrisque linguae interdum inmisceas, secundum, ut jocis salibusque opportune condias; quos animam et vitam epistolae esse non fugiam dicere.

At Decentiam intellego, id quod Graeci το πρεπον, quae tum in Epistolà, cum omnia apté et convenieuter scripta. Quod fiet aspectu duplici: Personae et Rei. Personae dupliciter, si tuam respecis, et ejus ad quem scribis: Rei autem, simpliciter; ut omnia pro argumentò; et sententiarum phrasiumque vestis apta sit corpori rerum. Magna haec sed occulta virtus: nec imerito Cicero monuit, ut in vita, sic in oratione, nihil difficilior esse, quam quid decept, videre. Nec verba his perdam: quia scio Judicii totam hanc rem esse: quod a Deo et a Naturâ pete, non ab Arte.
We have spoken sufficiently of Oratory; let us now make a diversion to Poetry. Poetry in the Primogeniture had many peccanthumours, and is made to have more now, through the Levity, and inconstancy of mens Judgements. Whereas indeed, it is the most prevailing Eloquence, and of the most exalted Charact. Now the discredits and disgraces are many it hath receiv'd, through mens study of Depravation or Calumny: their practise being to give it diminution of Credit, by lessening the Professors estimation, and making the Age afraid of their Liberty: And the Age is growne so tender of fame, as she calls all writings Aspersions.

That is the state-word, the Phrase of Court, (Placentia Colledge) which some call Parasites Place, the Inne of Ignorance.

Whilst I name no persons, but deride follies; why should any man confesse, or betray himselfe? why doth not that of S. Hierome come into their minde; Ubi generalis est de vitius disputation, ibi nullius esse personae injuriam? Is it such an inexpiable crime in Poets, to taxe vices generally; and no offence in them who, by their exception, confesse they have committed them particularly? Are we fal'ne into those times that wee must not

Auriculas teneras mordaci rodere vero.

Remedii votum semper verius erat, quam spe. If men may by no meanes write freely, or speake truth, but when it offends not; why doe Physicians cure with

21. F.1. F.2. Whall. Schell. Goll. : It is such
26. Schell. : mordaci radere vero

127. ERASMUS, Epistola Apologetica ad Martinum Dorphium Theologum (Opera, IX, pp. 4 sqq.). Obsecro te per Musas, quos tandem oculos, quas aures, quod palatum adserunt isti, quos offendit in eo libello mordacitas? Primum quae potest ille esse mordacitas, ubi nullius omnino nomen perstringiturb praeterquam meum? Cur non venit in mentem, quod toties inculcat Hieronymus, ubi generalis est de vitius disputation, ibi nullius esse personae injuriam? Quod si quisquam offenditur, non habet quod expostulet cum eo qui scripsit:
Sexus faemin.

ipse si volet, secum agat injuriarum, utpote sui proditor, qui declararit hoc quod se proprie pertinere quod ita dictum est de omnibus, ut de nemine sit dictum, nisi si quis volens sibi vindicet. An non vides me toto Opere sic a nominibus hominum tempersasse, ut nec gentem ullam acerius taxare voluerim?.... Atque ipse quoque in tuis litteris non dissideris, pleraque vera esse, quae illic referuntur. Verum existimas non expedisse, auriculas teneras mordaci radere vero. Si putas nullo pacto libere loquentam esse, nec unquam promendam esse veritatem, nisi cum non offendit, cur Medici pharmacis medentur amaris, et τὰ χάρα χάρων inter laudatissima ponunt remedia? Quod si illi faciunt, corporum mordentes vitiiis, quanto magis par est nos idem facere in sanandis animorum morbis?... Etenim quemadmodum in Tragœdiis quaedam atrociora sunt, quam ut oculis spectatorum conventiat exhiberi, et narrasse sufficient: ita in hominum moribus quaedam obscoeniora sunt, quam ut verecunde possint narrari....

Porro qui illic offenduntur, ubi nullius editor nomen, ii mihi videntur haud multum abesse a muliercularum affectibus: quae si quid in malas foeminas dictum fuerit sic commoverunt, quasi ea contumelia ad singulas pertineat. Rursum si quid laudis tribuatur probis multiribus, sic sibi placent, quasi quod unus aut alterius est, id pertineat ad omnium laudem.... Si quid hic offendo crimi-nis, a quo sum immunis, non offendor, sed ipse mihi gratulor, qui vacem iis malis, quibus multos obnoxios esse video. Sin est tactum ulcus aliquod, et sum ipse mihi ostensus in speculo, nec hic quicquam est causae, cur offendi debeam:
are warn'd not to bee such; and the ill to leave to be such. The Person offended hath no reason to bee offended with the writer, but with himselfe; and so to declare that properly to belong to him which was spoken of all men, as it could bee no mans seve-
rall, but his that would willfully and desperately clayme it. It sufficeth I know, what kinde of persons I displease, men bred in the declining and de-
cay of vertue, betroth'd to their owne vices; that have abandoned, or prostituted their good names; hungry and ambitious of infamy, invested in all de-
formity, enthral'd to ignorance and malice, of a hidden and conceal'd malignitie, and that hold a concomitancy with all evill.

What is a Poet?

A poet is that, which by the Greeks is call'd *ποιητής*, a maker, or a fainer: His Art, an Art of imitation, or faining; expressing the life of man in fit measure, numbers, and harmony, according to Aristotle: From the word *ποιητής*, which 20

---

19. *F.1.:* harmony, according to Aristotle; From the word *Schell. Goll.:* harmony; according to Aristotle from the word *Ceteri:* as in *F.1.*

---

si prudens sum, dissimulabo quod sentio, nec ipse mei veniam proditor: si probus, admonitus cavebo, ne mihi lade convitium posthac in os nominatim possit inpingi, quod illic sine nomenclatura notatum video.... Et tamen quia nemo nominatim incessitur, arrident omnes, et suum quies morbum, aut fatetur ingenue, aut dissimulat prudenter.... Numquid offensa est Eustochium? numquid succensuit Hieronymus, quod virginum ordinem dehonestasset? ne tantum quidem? nempe quod virgo prudens non existimaret ad se pertinere, si quid dictum esset in malas, imo gaudebat admoneri bonas, ne in tales degenerarent: gaudebat admoneri malas, ut tales esse desinerent. Scripsit (Hieronymus) ad Nepotianum de vita Clericorum, scripsit ad Rusticum de vita Monachorum, ac miris coloribus pingit, miris salibus taxat utriusque generis vitia. Nihil offensi sunt ad quos scripsit, quod scirent horum nihil ad se pertinere. Cur non alienatus est Guilielmus....

128. *Aristoteles, De Poetica Liber,* caput x. Manifestum ergo est, ex iis quae hactenus a nobis sunt dicta, non quae fiunt aut-facta sunt narrare, proprium poetae esse, verum qualia esse oportet aut fieri: sed et quae fieri possunt, prout aut verisimile est fieri aut necesse.... E quibus etiam hoc appareat, poetam ma-
signifies to make or fayne. Hence, hee is call'd a Poet, not hee which writeth in measure only; but that fayneth and formeth a fable, and writes things like the Truth. For, the Fable and Fiction is (as it were) the forme and soule of any Poeticall worke, or Poeme.

What meane you by a Poeme?

A Poeme, is not alone any worke, or composition of the Poets in many, or few verses; but even one alone verse sometimes makes a perfect Poeme. As, when Æneas hangs up, and consecrates the Armes of Abas, with this Inscription;

Æneas haec de Danais victoribus arma.

And calls it a Poeme, or Carmen. Such are those in Martall:

Omnia, Castor, emis; sic fiet, ut omnia vendas.

And

Pauper videri Cinna vult, et est pauper.

So were Horace his Odes call'd, Carmina; his Lirik, Songs. And Lucretius designs a whole booke, in his sixt:

Quod in primo quoque carmine claret.

And anciently, all the Oracles were call'd, Carmina; or what ever Sentence was express'd, were it much, or little, it was call'd an Epick, Dramatick, Lirike, Elegiak, or Epigrammatike Poeme.

But how differs a Poeme from what wee call Poesy?

A Poeme, as I have told you, is the worke of the Poet; the end, and fruit of his labour, and studye.
Poesy is his skill, or Crafte of making: the very Fiction it selfe, the reason, or forme of the worke. And these three voices differ, as the thing done, the doing, and the doer; the thing fain’d, the faining, and the fainer; so the Poeme, the Poesy, and the Poet. Now, the Poesy is the habit, or the Art: nay, rather the Queene of Arts: which had her Originall from heaven, received thence from the 'Ebreues, and had in prime estimation with the Greeks, transmitted to the Latines, and all Nations; that profess’d Civility. The Study of it (if wee will trust Aristotle) offers to mankinde a certaine rule, and Patterne of living well, and happily; disposing us to all Civill offices of Society. If wee will beleive Tully, it nourisheth, and instructeth our Youth; delights our Age; adornes our prosperity; comforts our Adversity; entertaines us at home; keepes us company abroad, travailes with us; watches; devides the times of our earnest, and sports; shares in our Country recesses, and recreations; insomuch as the wisest, and best learned have thought her the absolute Mistress of manners; and neerest of kin to Vertue. And, whereas they entitle Philosophy to


CICERO. Pro Archia Poeta (VII)... Quod si non tautos fructus ostenderetur, et si ex his studiis delectatio sola peteretur: tamen, ut opinor, hanc animi adversionem humanissimam ac liberalissimam judicaretis. Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt, neque aetatum omnium, neque locorum: haec studia adolescentiam alint, senectuteni oblectant; secundas res draunt; adversis perfigiun ac solatium praebent; delectant domi, non impediunt foris; pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur.
bee a rigid, and austere Poesie, they have (on the contrary) stiled Poesy, a dulcet, and gentle Philosophy, which leads on, and guides us by the hand to Action, with a ravishing delight, and incredible Sweetnesse. But before wee handle the kindes of Poems, with their speciall differences; or make court to the Art it selfe, as a Mistresse, I would lead you to the knowledge of our Poet, by a perfect Information, what he is, or should bee by nature, by exercise, by imitation, by Studie; and so bring him downe through the disciplines of Grammar, Logicke, Rhetoricke, and the Ethicks, adding somewhat, out of all, peculiar to himselfe, and worthy of your Admittance, or reception.

1. Ingenium. First, wee require in our Poet, or maker, (for that Title our Language affordes him, elegantly, with the Greeke) a goodnes of naturall wit. For, whereas all other Arts consist of Doctrine, and Precepts: the Poet must bee able by nature, and instinct, to powre out the Treasure of his minde; and, as 20 Seneca saith, Aliquaando secundum Anacreontem insanirejucundum esse: by which bee understands the Poeticall Rapture. And according to that of Plato, Frustra poeticas fores sui compos pulsavit. And of Aristotle, Nullum magnum ingenium sine mixtura demen-

---

**Seneca.** De Tranquillitate Animi. XV..... Nam, sive Graeco poetae credimus, "Aliquando et insanire jucundum est"; sive Platonis, "Frustra poeticas fores compos sui pepulit"; sive Aristotelis, "Nullum magnum ingenium sinè mixtura dementiae fuit." Non potest grande aliquid et supra ceteros loqui nisi mortali. Quam vulgaria et solita contemstit, instinctuque sacro surrexit excelsior, tunc demum aliquid cecinit grandius ore mortali. Non potest sublime quidquam et in arduo positum contingere, quamdiu apud se est. Desciscat oportet a solito. et efferatur, et mordeat frenos. et rectorem rapiat suum; eoque ferat quo per se timuisset ascendere.


& Ars Amatoria, III, 549. Est deus in nobis; et sunt commercia coeli Sedibus aethereis spiritus ille venit,
tiae fuit. Nee potest grande aliquid, et supra coeteros loqui, nisi mota mens. Then it riseth higher, as by a divine Instinct, when it contemnes common and knowne conceptions. It utters somewhat above a mortall mouth. Then it gets aloft, and flies away with his Ryder, whether, before, it was doubtfull to ascend. This the Poets understood by their Helicon, Pegasus, or Parnassus; and this made Ovid to boast,

Est Deus in nobis; agitante calésimus illo:
Sedibus aethereis spiritus ille venit.

And Lipsius, to affirm; Scio; Poetam neminem praestantem fuisse, sine parte quádam uberiore divinæ auræ. And, hence it is, that the comming up of good Poets (for I minde not mediocres, or imos) is so thinne and rare among us; Every beggerly Corporation afferords the State a Major, or two Bailiffs, yearly: but, solus Rex, aut Poeta, non quotannis nascitur. To this perfection of Nature in our Poet, wee require Exercise of those parts, and frequent. If his wit will not arrive soddainly at the dignitie of the Ancients, let him not yet fall out with it, quarrell, or be over hastily Angry: offer, to turne it away from Study, in a humor; but come to it againe upon better cogitation; try another time, with

Consules fiunt quotannis et novi proconsules:
Solus aut rex aut poeta non quotannis nascitur.

Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, liber X, caput ii (21). Tum illa, quae altiorem animi motum sequuntur, quaee ipsa animum quodammodo concitant, quorum est jactare manum, torqueque vultum, simul vertere latus et interim objurgare, quaee Persius notat, quum leviter dicendi genus significat:
Nec plateum, inquit, coedit, nec demorsos sapit ungues;
etiam ridicula sunt, nisi cum soli sumus.

Horatius, Epist. ad Pisones, 438 sqq.
Quintilio si quid recitares « Corrige, sodes,
Hoc, aiebat, et hoc ». Melius te posses negares.
Bis terque expertum frustra; delere jubebat
Et male tornatos incidi reddere versas.
labour. If then it succeed not, cast not away the Quills, yet: nor scratch the Wain-scot, beat not the poor Desk; but bring all to the forge, and file, againe; tourne it a newe. There is no Statute Law of the Kingdome bidds you bee a Poet, against your will; or the first Quarter. If it come, in a yeare, or two, it is well. The common Rymers powre forth Verses, such as they are (ex tempore) but there never comes from them one Sense, worth the life of a Day. A Rymer, and a Poet, are two things. It is said of the incomparable Virgil, that he brought forth his verses like a Beare, and after formed them with licking. Scaliger, the Father, writes it of him, that he made a quantitie of verses in the morning, which afore night hee reduced to a lesse number. But, that which Valerius Maximus hath left recorded of Euripides, the tragick Poet, his answer to Alcestis, an other Poet, is as memorable, as modest: who, when it was told to Alcestis, that Euripides had in three daies brought forth, but three verses, and those with some difficultie, and throwes; Alcestis, glorifying hee could with ease have sent forth a hundred in the space; Euripides roundly repl'd, Like enough. But, here is the difference; Thy verses will not last those three daies; mine will to all time. Which was, (as much) as to tell him; he could not write a verse. I have met many of these Rattles, that made a noyse, and buz'de. They had their humme; and, no more. Indeed, things, wrote with labour, deserve

5. F.1. F.2.: will; or the first quarter Schell. Morl. Goll.: will or the first quarter Giff.: will, and the first quarter Ceteri: will, or the first quarter 24. F.1.: which was as to tell him Cann.: which was (as much) as to tell him Ceteri: which was as much as to tell him

T. C. DONATI. De P. Virgillii Maronis Vita. IX (33). Cum Georgica scriberet, traditur quotidie meditatos mane plurimos versus dictare solitus, ac per totum diem retracando ad paucissimos redigere: non absurde, carmen se ursae more purere dicens, et lambendo demum effingere.

VALERIUS MAXIMUS, De Dictis et Factis Memorabilibus, liber III, caput vn, 1. Ne Euripides quidem Athenis arrogans visus est, quum, postulante populo, ut
3. Imitatio.

Honey, Sed, and victua, Lucilium, into how, deinde, how quae de but, make to flores nee primum, or Creature, Sed takes convert deinde, facto ex eum quod arrogans, quod aique enim ciendum reficit....

Horatius.


ex tragoedia quamdam sententiam tolleret, progressus in scenam dixit: Se ut eum doceret, non ut ab eo disceret, fabulas componere solere. Laudanda profecto fiducia est, quae aestimationem sui certo pondere examinat, tantum sibi arrogans, quantum a contemptu et insolentia distare satis est. Itaque etiam quod Acestidio tragicò poetæ respondit, probabile: apud quem quum quereretur quod eo triduo non alta tres versus maximo impenso labore deducere potuisset, atque is se centum perfacile scripsisse gloriaretur: Sed hoc, inquit, interest, quod tui in triduum tantummodo, mei vero in omne tempus sufficient. Alterius enim fecundi cursus scripta intra primos memoriae metas corrueunt: alterius cunctante stylo elucubratum opus per omne oevi tempus pleni gloriae velis feretur.

Horatius, Epistola ad Pisonem, 131 sqq.

Publica materies privati juris erit, si
Nec circa vilem patulumque moraberis orbem;
Nec verbum verbo curabîs reddere fidus
Interpres; nec desilies imitator in artem,
Unde pedem referre pudor vetet, aut opera lex.

Seneca, Epist. ad Lucilium, LXXXIV... A lectionibus non recessi. Sunt autem, ut existimo, necessariae; primum, ne sim a me uno contentus; deinde, ut, quam ab aliis quasesita cognovero, tum et de inventis judicem, et cogitem de inveniendis. Alit lectio ingenium; et studio fatigatum, non sine studio tamen reficit.... Apes, ut aiunt, debemus imitari; quae nagentur, et flores ad mel faciendum idoneas carpunt; deinde, quidquid attulere, disponunt ac per favos digerunt.... Sed, ne ad aliud, quam de quo agitur, abducar, nos quoque apes
which we especially require in him is an exactnesse of Studie, and multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man, not alone enabling him to know the History, or Argument of a Poeme, and to report it; but so to master the matter, and Stile, as to shew, hee knowes, how to handle, place, or dispose of either, with elegantie, when need shall bee. And not thinke, hee can leap forth suddainely a Poet, by dreaming hee hath been in Parnassus, or, having washt his lipps (as they say), in Helicon. There goes more 10 to his making, then so; For to nature, Exercise, Imitation and Study, Art must be added, to make all these perfect. And, though these challenge to themselves much, in the making up of our Maker, it is Art only can lead him to perfection, and leave 15 him there in possession, as planted by her hand. It is the assertion of Tully, If to an excellent nature there happen, an accession or confirmation of Lear-

---

4. Lectio. which we especially require in him is an exactnesse of Studie, and multiplicity of reading, which maketh a full man, not alone enabling him to know the History, or Argument of a Poeme, and to report it; but so to master the matter, and Stile, as to shew, hee knowes, how to handle, place, or dispose of either, with elegantie, when need shall bee. And not thinke, hee can leap forth suddainely a Poet, by dreaming hee hath been in Parnassus, or, having washt his lipps (as they say), in Helicon. There goes more 10 to his making, then so; For to nature, Exercise, Imitation and Study, Art must be added, to make all these perfect. And, though these challenge to themselves much, in the making up of our Maker, it is Art only can lead him to perfection, and leave 15 him there in possession, as planted by her hand. It is the assertion of Tully, If to an excellent nature there happen, an accession or confirmation of Lear-

---


debemus imitari; et, quaecumque ex diversa lectione congestimus, separare: melius enim distincta servantur: deinde, adhibita ingenii nostri cura et facultate, in unum saporem varia illa libamenta confundere; ut, etiam si appareat, unde sumptum sit, aliud tamen esse, quam unde sumptum sit, appareat: quod in corpore nostro videmus sinc ulla opera nostra facere naturam. Alimenta, quae accepimus, quandiu in sua qualitate perdurant et solida innatant stoma-cho, onera sunt; at quum ex eo, quod erant, mutata sunt, tuncdemum in vires et in sanguinem transeunt. Idem in his, quibus aluntur ingenia, praestemus; ut, quaecumque haussimus, non patiamur integra esse, nec aliena. Concoquamus illa: alioqui in memoriam ibunt, non in ingenium. Assentiamus illis fideliter, et nostra faciamus, ut unum quiddam fiat ex multis; sicut unus numerus fit ex singulis, quum minores sumas et dissidentes computatio una comprehendit. ... Etiam si eujus in te comparebit similitudo, quem admiratio tibi alius fixerit; similem esse te volo quomodo filium, non quomodo imaginem: imago res mortua est.

Bacon, Essays Civill and Morall. L Of Studies..... Reading maketh a full man; conference a ready man; and writing an exact man.

Persius, Prologus, 1 sqq.

Nec fonte labra prolai Caballino,
Nec in bieptiti somniasse Parnasso
Memini, ut repentesic poeta prodirem.

Cicero, Pro Archia Poeta. VII. ..... Ego multos homines excellenti animo ac virtute fuisse, et sine doctrina, naturae ipsius habitu prope divino, per se ipsos et moderatos et graves exstitisse fatae. Etiam illuc adjungo, saepius ad laudem
ning, and Discipline, there will then remaine some-
what noble, and singular. For, as Simylus saith in Stobaeus, οὔτε φύσις ἑαυτῇ γίνεται τέχνης ἀτερ,
οὔτε πᾶν τέχνη μὴ φυσιν νεκτημένη, without Art, 
and without Nature, can nere bee perfect; & but, our Poet must be-
ware, that his Studie bee not only to learne of himself; for, hee that shall affect to doe that, con-
Fesseth his ever having a Poole to his master. Hee must read many, but, ever the best, and choisest: 10
those, that can teach him anything, he must ever account his masters, and reverence: among whom
Horace, and (hee that taught him) Aristotle, deserv'd to bee the first in estimation. Aristotle, was the first
accurate Criticke, and truest Judge; nay, the greate-
15 test Philosopher, the world ever had: for hee noted
the vices of all knowledges, in all creatures, and out
of many mens perfections in a Science, hee formed
still one Art. So hee taught us two Offices togeth-
er, how we ought to judge rightly of others, and 20
what we ought to imitate specially in our selves.

\But all this in vaine, without a natural wit, and a 
Poeticall nature in chiefe. For, no man, so soone
as hee knowes this, or reads it, shall be able to
write the better; but as he is adapted to it by 25
Nature, he shall grow the perfecter Writer. Hee
must have Civil prudence, and Eloquence, & that

\atque virtutem naturam sine doctrina, quam sine natura valuisse doctrinam.
Atque idem ego contendo, quum ad naturam eximiam atque illustrum accesserit
ratio quaedam conformatioque doctrinae, tum illud nescio quid praeclarum ac
singulare solere existere.


οὔτε φύσις ἑαυτῇ γίνεται τέχνης ἄτερ
πρὸς ὀδὸν ἐπιπτήδειμα παράπετον ὀδὸνι,
οὔτε παλι τέχνη μὴ φύσιν κεκτημένη, x. v. λ.

Danieli Heinsii De Tragoediae Constitutione Liber, caput i..... Primus
Aristoteles, et quod Critici est accurati, vitia notavit: et quod veri est philosop-
phi, e virtutibus multorum, unam fecit artem: simulque utrumque docuit; tum
whole; not taken up by snatches, or peeces, in Sentences, or remnants, when he will handle businesse, or carry Counsells, as if he came then out of the Declaimors Gallerie, or Shadowe, furnish'd but out of the body of the State, which commonly is the Schoole of men. The Poet is the nearest Borderer upon the Orator, and expresseth all his vertues, though he be tyed more to numbers; is his equall in ornament, and above him in his strengths. And, (of the kind) the Comicke comes neerer: Because, 10 in moving the mindes of men, and stirring of affections (in which Oratory sheweth, and especially approves her eminence), hee chiefly excells. What figure of a Body was Lysippus, ever able to forme with his Graver; or Apelles to paint with his Pen cill, as the Comedy to life expresseth so many, and various affections of the minde? There shall the Spectator see some, insulting with Joy; others, fret ting with Melancholy; raging with Anger; mad


Cicero, De Oratore, I, 16,... Est enim finitimus oratori Poeta, numeris as strictior paulo, verborum autem licentia liberior, multis vero ornandi generibus socius ac paenè par.

Quintilianus, Institutio oratoria, liber X, 1 (65). Antiqua comoedia quum sinceram illum sermonis attici gratiam propè sola retinet, tum facundissimae libertatis, etsi est insectandis vitiiis praeclaua, plurimum tamen virium etiam in ceteris partibus habet; nam et grandis, et elegans et venusta; et nescio an nulla, post Homerus tamen, quem ut Achilles semper excipi par est, aut similior sit oratoribus, aut ad oratores faciendos aptior.... (71). Ego tamen plus adhuc quiddam collaturum eum declamatoribus puto, quoniam bis necesse est, secundum conditionem controversiarum plures subire personas, patrum, filiorum, militum, rusticorum, divitum, pauperum, irascentium, deprecantium, mitium, asperorum; in quibus omnibus mire custoditur ab hoc poeta decor.
with Love; boiling with Avarice; undone with Riot; tortur'd with expectation; consum'd with feare; no perturbation in common life, but the Orator findes an example of it in the Scene. And then, for the Elegancy of Language, read but this Inscription on the Grave of a Comicke Poet:

Naevius.

Immortales mortales si fas esset flere,
Flerent divae Camoenae Naevium poetam;
Itaque postquam est Orcino traditus thesauro,
Obliti sunt Romae lingua loqui Latina.

L. Aelius Stilo.

Or that modester Testimonie given by Lucius Aelius Stilo upon Plautus; who affirmed, Musas, si Latine loqui voluissent, Plautino sermone fuisset loquuturas. And that illustrious judgment by the most learned M. Varro of him; who pronounced him the Prince of Letters, and Elegancie, in the Roman language.

M. Varro.

I am not of that opinion to conclude a Poets liberty within the narrowe limits of lawes, which either the Grammarians, or Philosophers prescribe. For, before they found out those Lawes, there were many excellent Poets that fulfill'd them: Amongst


Mortalis immortalis flere si foret fas, etc.

Epigramma Plauti, quod dubitassamus an Plauti foret, nisi a M. Varrone positum esset in libro de Poetis primo.

Postquam est mortem aptus Plautus, Comoedia luget,
Scaena est deserta, dein Risus, Ludus Jocusque
Et Numeri innumeris simul omnes coacrimarunt.

Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, Liber X, caput 1 (99). In Comoedia maximè claudicamus, licet Varro Musas, Aelii Stilonis sententia Plautino dicit sermone locuturas fuisset, si Latine loqui vellet.

DanieUus Heinsh, De Tragoediae Constitutione Liber, caput 1. Neque in ea sum opinione, ut ad eas quas Grammatici prae Scribunt, aut philosophi angustias, poetae libertatem esse revocandam arbitrur. Cum praevertim ante observationes has summi in Tragoedia extulerint Poetae. Nemo enim postea ad majestatem
Sophocles. whome none more perfect then Sophocles, who lived
a little before Aristotle.

Demosthenes. Which of the Greekelings durst ever give precepts
to Demosthenes? or to Pericles (whom the Age sur-
nam'd heavenly) because he seem'd to thunder, and
lighten, with his Language? or to Alcibiades, who
had rather Nature for his guide, then Art for his
master?

Pericles. But, whatsoever Nature at any time dictated to
the most happie; or long exercise to the most labo-
rious, that the wisdome, and Learning of Aristotle,

Alcibiades. hath brought into an Art: because he understood
the Causes of things: and what other men did by
chance or custom, he doth by reason; and not only
found out the way not to erre, but the short way we
should take, not to erre.

(P. 129). Many things in Euripides hath Aristophanes wit-
tily reprehended; not out of Art, but out of Truth.
For Euripides is sometimes peccant, as he is most
times perfect. But, Judgement when it is greatest, if
reason doth not accompany it, is not ever abso-
lute.

Aristotle. To judge of Poets is only the facultie of Poets;

Euripides. Aristophanes.

Cens. Scal.

Sophocleam, meo quidem animo, accessit, quem non paucis annis ante Aristo-
telem, Philosophorum regem fato suo functum satis constat. Verum idem aliis
in artibus quoque usu venit. Nam quis Graeculorum unquam qui dicendi tra-
derent praecepta, ad divinam et fatalem vim Demosthenis accessit, qui plerisque
multo est antiquior? Nec Pericles ante eum, quem Olympium dixere, quod ta-
nare ac fulgurare videretur, neque Alcibiades, ac alii, quos ante hos fuisse in
Republica disertos fama tenet, praeceptorem potius quem sequereatur, quam
naturam ducem habuerunt; Sed quaequecumque aut felicius natura dictat, aut
exercitatio prolixia dat laboriosis, quod Latini nescio an satis recte habitum
dixerint, in artem redigit vir sapiens et eruditus. Ita fit, ut et causas intelligat,
et quae forte aliis efficaciam aut usu, ex ratione agat: neque viam tantum ne aber-
ret, sed et habeat compendium qua eat. Multa in Euripide facete Aristophanes
notavit; neque ex arte sed e vero tamen! Saepe Euripides, alibi quae peccat, alibi
plenissimè et accuratè praeestat. Judicium enim, etiam cum summarum est, nisi
ratio accedat, non est absolution. Primus Aristoteles.....(Vide supra.)

Seneca, De Brevitate Vitae, XIII. Non sunt otiosi, quorum voluptates multum
negotii habent. Nam de illis nemo dubitavit, quin operose nihil agant, qui in
and not of all Poets, but the best. Nemo infelicius de poetis judicavit, quam qui de poetis scripsit. But, some will say, Criticks are a kind of Tinkers; that make more faults then they mend ordinarily. See their diseases, and those of Grammarians. It is true, many bodies are the worse for the meddling with: And the multitude of Physicians hath destroyed many sound patients, with their wrong practise. But the office of a true Criticke, or Censor, is, not to throw by a letter anywhere, or damne an innocent Syllabe, but lay the words together, and amend them; judge sincerely of the Author, and his matter, which is the signe of solid, and perfect learning in a man. Such was Horace, an Author of much Civilitie; and (if any one among the hea- then can be) the best master, both of vertue, and wisdome; an excellent, and true judge upon cause, and reason; not because he thought so; but because he knew so, out of use and experience.

Cato, the Grammariam, a defender of Lucilius. 20

literarum inutilium studiiis detinentur; quae jam apud Romanos quoque magna manus est. Graecorum iste morbus fuit, quaerere, quem numerum remigum Ulysses habuisset; etc.

Idem, Epistolae ad Lucilium, LXXXVIII, (passim) Grammaticus circa curam sermonis versatur; et si latius evagari vult, circa historias; jam, ut longissime fines suos proferat, circa carmina. Quid horum ad virtutem viam sternit? Syllabarum enarratio, et verborum diligentia, et fabularum memoria, et versuum lex ac modificatio... De liberalibus studiiis loquor; philosophi quantum habent supervacui? Quantum ab usu recedentis? Ipsi quoque ad syllabarum distinctiones, et conjunctionum ac propositionum proprietates descenderunt, et inviderem grammaticis, inviderem geometris, etc....

D. Heins. Ad Horatium de Plauto et Terentio judiciam Dissertatio (ad fin.). Nobis eruditi ignoscet, quod haec fusius: si cogitent praesertim, minus veri critici esse ac censoris, non literatum ejicere alibi, aut innocentem syllabam damnare, vocem tollere alibi aut emendare, sed sincerè de authoribus, ac rebus judicare; quod et solidae et absolutae eruditionis est. Quo, ni fallor, omnes aspiramus. Neque ulla in re magis antiquitas praevit nobis. De authoribus autem comicis, etc.

Suetonius, De illustribus Grammaticis liber. XI. Valerius Cato...... Docuit multos, et nobiles; visusque est peridoneus praecceptor, maxime ad poeticam tendentibus, ut quidem apparere vel his versiculis potest:
Cato grammaticus, Latina syren,
Qui solus legit, et facit poetas.

Quintilian of the same heresy, but rejected.

Horace his judgement of Choerillus, defended against Joseph Scaliger. And of Laberius, against Julius.

But chiefly his opinion of Plautus, vindicated against many, that are offended, and say, it is a hard Censure upon the parent of all conceit, and sharpness. And, they wish it had not fallen from so great a master, and Censor in the Art: whose bondmen knew better how to judge of Plautus, then any that dare patronize the family of learning in this Age; who could not bee ignorant of the judgement of the times in which hee liv’d, when Poetrie, and the Latin Language were at the height; especially, being a man so conversant, and inwardly familiar with the censures of great men, that did discourse of these things daily amongst themselves. Againe, a man so gratious, and in high favour with the Emperour, as Augustus often called him his witty Manling, (for the littlenes of his stature) and (if wee may trust Antiquity) had design’d him for a Secretary of Estate; and invited him to the place, which he modestly praid off and refus’d.

24. Morl., Schell., Goll. : to the palace

Cato Grammaticus, latina Syren,
Qui solus legit et facit poetas.

Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, lib. X, 1. (93) Satira quidem tota nostra est, in qua primus insigne laudem adoptet Lucilius quosdam ita deditos sibi adhuc habet amatores, ut cum non equidem modo operis auctoribus, sed omnibus poetis praefert non dubitent. Ego quantum ab illis tantum ab Horatio dissentio, qui Lucilium Fluere lutulentum et Esse aliquid quod tollere posses, putat. Nam eruditio in eo mira et libertas atque inde acerbitas et abundantia satis.

Horatius, Serm. I, 10, 1-6.
Nec tamen hoc tribuenus, dederim quoque cetera; nam, scis
Et Laberi mimos, ut pulchra poemata, mirer.

Gratus Alexandre regis Magno fuit ille
Choerillus, incultis qui versibus et male natis, etc.
Horace did so highly esteeme Terence his Comedies, as he ascribes the Art in Comedie to him alone, among the Latines, and joynes him with Menander.

Now, let us see what may be said for either, to defend Horace his judgement to posterity; and not wholly to condemn Plautus.

The parts of a Comedie are the same with a Tragedie, and the end is partly the same. For, they both delight and teach; the Comicks are call'd ἀσκαλοί, of the Greeks; no lesse then the Tragicks.

Nor is the moving of laughter alwaies the end of Comedy, that is rather a fowling for the peoples delight, or their fooling. For, as Aristotle saies rightly, the moving of laughter is a fault in Comedie, a kind of turpitude, that depraves some part of a mans nature without a disease. As a wry face without paine moves laughter, or a deformed vizard, or a rude Clowne, drest in a Ladies habit, and using her actions, wee dislike, and scorne such representations; which 20

D. HEINSE, Ad Horatii de Plauto et Terentio judicium, Dissertatio. At nostri proavi Plautinos et numeros, etc... Durum equidem judicium, et quod non nemo hac aetate de leporum omnium parente, summo critico ac maximo poetae excidiisse nollet: cujus tamen vernae melius de Plauto judicabant, quam qui familiaris in literis tueri hac aetate creduntur. Qui nec saeculi, quo vixit, et quo, cum poesis, tum Latina lingua, ad supremum culmen ac fastigium evecta fuit, ignovare potuit judicium; vir tantus, et quod rei caput arbitror, principibus, qui inter se quotidie de iis judicabant, intimè familiaris ac amicus. Augusto autem, optimo ingeniorum judici, tam gratus atque acceptus, ut non raro lepidissimus homuncio ab eo dicetur, et quem, si antiquitati habenda hic fides, etiam habere ab epistolis optavit. Qui cum contra tanti Terentii fecerit fabellas, ut ex integras ex iis χειρις descripsit, et ubique accommodat, soli denique arte tribuat; hominis ἄσωτος potius quam eruditi esset, ita dissertire a tanto viro, ut ne caussam quidem prins cognoscedam crederet. Quare videamus saltum, quid adferri pro utroque possit. Ne vel Flacci judicium in posterum, ut solent, aut Terentium secure nium damnare quidam pergant in Comedia. Omnia autem pro Horatii judicio, qui Plautum sic amamus ut è manibus rarissime putemus deponendum, dicentur potius quam nostro.....

131. Ad alterum priusquam veniamus, quaedam praetermittenda erunt. Cum eadem Comoediae propemodum sint partes ac Tragoediae, finis quoque ex parte idem, ex parte diversus, multa esse utrique communia necesse est. Decla-
made the ancient Philosophers ever thinke laughter unsetting in a wise man. And this induc'd Plato to esteeme of Homer, as a sacrilegious Person; because he presented the Gods sometimes laughing. As, also it is divinely said of Aristotle, that to seeme ridiculous is a part of dishonesty, and foolish.

So that, what either in the words or Sense of an Author, or in the language, or Actions of men, is awry, or depraved, doth strangely stirre meane affections, and provoke for the most part to laughter. And therfore it was cleare that all insolent, and obscene speaches, jests upon the best men; injuries to particular persons; perverse, and sinister Sayings (and the rather unexpected) in the old Comedy did move laughter; especially, where it did imitate any dishonesty; and scurrility came forth in the place of wit: which who understands the nature and Genius of laughter, cannot but perfectly know.

Of which Aristophanes affords an ample harvest, having not only outgone Plautus, or any other in that kinde: but express'd all the moods, and figures, of what is ridiculous, oddly. In short, as Vinegar is not accounted good, until the wine be corrupted: so jests that are true and naturall, seldom raise laughter, with the beast, the multitude. They love nothing, that is right, and proper. The farther it runs from 20 reason or possibility with them, the better it is.
What could have made them laugh, like to see Socrates presented, that Example of good life, honesty, and vertue, to have him hoisted up with a Pullie, and there play the Philosopher, in a basquet: Measure, how many foote a Flea could skip Geometrically, by a just Scale, and edifie the people from the ingine. This was Theatricall wit; right Stage-jesting, and relishing a Play-house, invented for scorne, and laughter; whereas, if it had savour’d of equity, truth, perspicuity, and Candor, to have 10 tasten a wise or a learned Palate, spit it out presently; this is bitter and profitable, this instructs, and would informe us: what neede wee know any thing, that are nobly borne, more then a Horse-race, or a hunting-match, our day to breake with 15 Citizens, and such innate mysteries?

This is truly leaping from the Stage, to the Tumbrrell againe, reducing all witt to the Originall Dungcart.

lorum contumelias, sententias perversas ideoque inexpectatas, aliaque ad id genus (qualis imitatio dictorūm vel factorum, et imprimis impropriums) risum maximè in Comoedia, quam Veterem dicebant, expressisse constat. Quod intellegunt, qui genium ridiculi intelhgunt atque indolem. Cujus segetem largissimam vel unus Aristophanes suppedidat. Quis non modo Plautum, sed quoscunque hoc in parte superavit, omnesque τοῦ γέλου modos ac figuras lepidissimè expressit. Denique ut acetum, nisi vinum sit corruptum, bonum nunquam erit; ita quae sincera sunt et vera, risum nunquam excubant. Apposite Quintilianus, ubi de ridiculo: Et hercule omnis falsa dicendi ratio, in eo est, ut aliter quam est, rectum verumque dicatur. Quare et compositus ad risum sermo, ab oratione recta, quam πολίτικας magistri vocant, quam longissimè abeat necesse est: cujus propriae virtutes, perspicuitas, aequitas, simplicitas, veritas, pomnatur... Omnis autem imitatio, ut postea dicemus pluribus, nature placet et delectatur... Joci vero si petamur undique, molesti ac frigidi, aut theatrales sunt, si a vita sint alieni. Qui ut plebi fortè, ita doctis placere ac sapientibus non possunt. Constantis enim viri ac sapientis, animus, laxari vult, non solvi.... Id quia secus in Comoedia Antiqua, statim defecit In qua omnia, à veritate et consuetudine aliena, hoc est, verè γέλω, et ad risum erant comparata. Quis non ridet, cum exemplum vitæ, pater omnium virtutum, ipsa innocentia, probitas, ac virtus, Socrates ridetur? cum in corbe festivissimè philosophatur? cum, qual pedes pulex saliat, subtiliter ac geometrice metitur? .... Quod profecto est à pulpite ad plaustrum redire.
Of the magnitude, and compasse of any Fable, Epicke, or Dramatik.

To the resolving of this Question, wee must first agree in the definition of the Fable. The Fable is call'd the Imitation of one intire, and perfect Action; whose parts are so joyned, and knitt, together, as nothing in the structure can be chang'd; or taken away, without impairing, or troubling the whole; of which there is a proportionable magnitude in the members. As for example; if a man would build a 10 house, he would first appoint a place to build it in, which he would define within certaine bounds; So, in the Constitution of a Poeme, the Action is aym'd at by the Poet, which answers Place in a building; and that Action hath his largeness, compasse, and proportion. But, as a Court or Kings Palace requires other dimensions then a private house; So the Epicke asks a magnitude, from other Poems. Since, what is Place in the one, is Action in the other, the difference is in space. So that by this definition wee conclude the fable, to be the imitation of one perfect, and intire Action, as one perfect, and intire place is requir'd to a building. By perfect, wee understand that, to which nothing is wanting; as Place to the building that is rais'd, and Action to the fable, that is

132-136. Daniel Heinsii, de Tragoediae Constitutione Liber, caput IV, Quemadmodum de aedificio qui cogitat, primo ei locum designare solet; quem max certa magnitudine ac ambitu definit: ita in Tragoedias, de qua nunc agimus, constitutio, a Philosopho est factum. Id in quo versatur Tragoedia, est actio; magnitudine, ambitu, proportione. Igitur ut aliam requirit magnitudinem vel regia, vel auta, quam privata domus: ita aliam Tragoedia requirit actionem quam Epos. Nam cum utriusque sit actio, sicut ubi utriusque est locus; spatio utrobique multum different; hic actio, ibi locus. Jam vero, tum perfectae tum totius actionis imitationem esse Tragoediam, in definitione audivimus: ita ut perfectus ac totus ad aedificium requiritur locus. Perfectum autem id est, cui nihil deest, in loco quidem aedificii respectu, quod constructur: in Tragoedia autem Actionis, quae formatur, ut perfectus autem, non pro regia aut auta. Quae majorem postulant, sed pro aedificio ipso, aedificii est locus: ita spatium actionis, non pro Epicke operae immensum, sed pro Dramate ipso requiratur perfectum, id autem minus est. Jam vero totum est, quod principium medium ha-
What wee understand by whole.

Whole, wee call that, and perfect, which hath a beginning, a midst, and an end. So the place of any building may be whole, and intire, for that worke; though too little for a palace. As, to a Tragedy or a Comedy, the Action may be convenient, and perfect, that would not fit an Epicke Poeme in Magnitude. So a Lion is a perfect creature in himselfe, though it bee lesse... then that of a Buffalo, or a Rhinocerote. They differ, but in specie: either in the kinde is absolute. Both have their parts, and either the whole.

Therefore, as in every body; so in every Action, which is the subject of a just worke, there is requir'd a certain proportionable greatnesse, neither too vast, nor too minute. For that which happens to the Eyes, when wee behold a body, the same happens to the Memory, when wee contemplate an ac-

13. F.1. (& Ceteri): though it be less, than that of a Buffalo. Pers. Conj.: though it be less (than an elephant. The head of a lion is a whole, though it be less), than that of a buffalo.
tion. I looke upon a monstrous Giant, as Tilyus, whose body cover’d nine Acres of Land, and mine eye stickes upon every part; the whole that consists of those parts, will never be taken in at one intire view. So in a Fable, if the Action be too great, wee can never comprehend the whole together in our Imagination. Againe, if it be too little, there ariseth no pleasure out of the object, it affords the view no stay; it is beheld, and vanisheth at once. As if wee should looke upon an Ant or Pismyre, the parts fly the sight, and the whole considered is almost nothing. The same happens in Action, which is the object of Memory, as the body is of sight. Too vast oppresseth the Eyes, and exceeds the Memory: too little scarce admits either.

Now, in every Action it behooves the Poet to know which is his utmost bound, how farre with fitnesse, and a necessary proportion, he may produce and determine it; That is till either good fortune change into the worse, or the worse into the better. For as a body without proportion cannot be goodly, no more can the Action, either in Comedy, or Tragedy, without his fit bounds. And every bound, for the nature of the Subject, is esteem’d the best that is largest,
till it can increase no more; so it behooves the Action in Tragedy or Comedy, to be let grow, till the necessity aske a Conclusion: wherein two things are to be considered; First, that it exceed not the compasse of one Day; Next, that there be place left for digression, and Art. For the Episodes, and digressions in a Fable, are the same that household stuffe, and other furniture are in a house. And so farre for the measure, and extent of a Fable Dramaticke.

Now, that it should be one, and intire. One is considerable two waies: either, as it is only separate, and by itself: or as being compos'd of many parts, it beginnes to be one, as those parts grow, or are wrought together. That it should be one the first 15 way alone, and by it selfe, no man that hath tasted letters ever would say, especially having required before a just Magnitude, and equall Proportion of the parts in themselves. Neither of which can possibly bee, if the Action be single and separate, not 20 compos'd of parts, which laid together in themselves, with an equall and fitting proportion, tend to the same end; which thing out of Antiquitie it

Homer and Virgil.

Aeneas.

Venus.

(P. 132).


selfe, hath deceiv'd many; and more this Day it doth deceive.

So many there be of old, that have thought the Action of one man to be one: As of Hercules, Theseus, Achilles, Ulysses, and other Heroes; which is both foolish and false; since by one and the same person many things may be severally done, which cannot fitly be referred, or joyned to the same end: which not only the excellent Tragick Poets, but the best Masters of the Epick, Homer and Virgil saw. For though the Argument of an Epick Poeme be farre more diffus'd, and powr'd out, then that of Tragedy, yet Virgil writing of Aeneas, hath pretermitted many things. He neither tells how he was borne, how brought up; how he fought with Achilles; how he was snatch'd out of the battale by Venus; but that one thing, how he came into Italie, he prosecutes in twelve bookes. The rest of his journey, his error by Sea, the Sacke of Troy, are put not as the Argument of the worke, but Episodes of the Argument. So Homer lai'd by many things of Ulysses and handled no more, then he saw tended to one and the same end.

— 140 —

Quorum neutrum, si una actio ac simplex, non composita ex partibus, quae tum ad eundem tendunt finem, tum proportione apta ac aequali interesse componuntur, posse fieri videtur. Quae res plurimis ex ipsa antiquitate imposuit, etiamque hodie imponit. Sic non paucae olim arbitrati sunt, uniis actionem esse nunn. Puta Herclus, Thesei, Achillis, Ulyssis, et aliorum. Quod ineptum est ac falsum. Cum ab uno eodemque multa fieri omnino possint, quae conjungi et referri ad eundem finem commodè non possunt. Quod non modo Tragici praestantes, verum et poetae Epicii, Homerus pariter ac Maro, viderunt. Quanquam enim longè amplius diffusiusque Epicii quam Tragici sit Argumentum, tamen plurima Aeneae Maro praetermissit. Non enim, quomodo sit natus ac eductus, cum Achille quomodo conlixerit, ac praelio ereptus fuerit a Venere. Unum hoc, quo pacto in Italiam pervenerit, libros duodecin, quod nemo nescit, persecutus. est Reliqua quippe, de itinere, urbis expugnatione, aliaque, non ut argumentum operis, sed ut argumenti Episodia ponuntur. Quemadmodum et Ulyssis plurima Homerus praetermissit; neque plura, quam quae tendere ad eundem ac spectare finem videbantur, conjuxxit. Contra ineptissime poetae, quos Philosophus recenset. Quorum alter omnes Thesei, alter Herclus...
Contrarie to which and foolishly those Poets did, 
whom the Philosopher taxeth; Of whom one gather'd 
all the Actions of Theseus; another put all the La-
bours of Hercules in one worke. So did he whom 
Juvenal mentions in the beginning, hoarse Codrus,
that recited a volume compil'd, which he call'd his 
Theseide, not yet finish'd, to the great trouble both 
of his hearers and himself; amongst which there 
were many parts had no coherence, nor kindred one 
with other; so farre they were from being one Ac-
tion, one Fable. For as a house, consisting of di-
verse materialls, becomes one structure, and one 
dwelling; so an Action, compos'd of diverse parts, 
may become one Fable, Epicke, or Dramaticke. For 
example, in a Tragedy, looke upon Sophocles his 
Ajax: Ajax depriv'd of Achilles's Armour, which he 
hop'd from the suffrage of the Greeks, disdaines; 
and, growing impatient of the Injurie, rageth, and 
rannes mad. In that humour he doth many senslesse 
things; and at last falls upon the Grecian flocke, and 
kills a great Ramme for Ulysses: Returning to his 
Sense, he growes asham'd of the scorne, and kills 
himself; and is by the Chiefes of the Greeks for-
bidden burial. These things agree, and hang toge-
ther, not as they were done; but as seeming to be 
done, which made the Action whole, intire and abso-
lute.


labores actionesque fuerat complexus. Neque aliter intelligendus ille Juvenalis 
locus est de Codro. Quem idcirco raucum ibi dixit, quod immensum opus, in 
quo omnes Thesei recencendur actiones, summa cum et auditorum molestia et 
sua, recitaret. Inter quasuisse sanæ plurimas oportet, quae nihil inter se com-
mune haberent. Quare neque unam sive actionem sive fabulam subjectam operis 
habebat, sed unius. Coeterum ut donus non ex uno constat sed est una: ita non 
ex uno constat, etiam si una, actio Tragoediae. Unum autem ex pluribus ut 
fiat, tales ut sint partes, quae convenient, aptæque inter se conjungi possint, re-
quiritur imprimis. Quod in actione quoque cedet modo sese habet. Non enim 
omnibus ex separatibus actionibus, una fit actio: cum ex iis aliquid si ponas, 
altera aut necessario aut vero similiter sequatur. Quod in quavis recte consti-
The conclusion concerning the Whole, and the parts.

Which are episodes. Ajax and Hector. Homer.

For the whole, as it consisteth of parts; so without all the parts it is not the whole; and to make it absolute, is requireth, not only the parts, but such parts as are true. For a part of the whole was true; which if you take away, you either change the whole, or it is not the whole. For if be such a part, as being present or absent, nothing concerneth the whole, it cannot be call’d a part of the whole; and such are the Episodes, of which hereafter. For the present, here is one example: The single Combat of Ajax with Hector as it is at large describ’d in Homer, nothing belongs to this Ajax of Sophocles.

You admire no Poems, but such as run like a Brewers cart upon the stones, hobling:

Et quae per salebras, altaque saxa cadunt, Accius et quidquid Pacuviusque vomunt. Attonitusque legis terrai, frugiferai.

FINIS.

tuta apparet Tragoedia. Exempli gratia, Sophoclis Ajacem videamus. Ajax, armis privatus, indignetiir, et ut erat contumeliae impatiens, rabit ac furit. Ergo, quod pro tali est, haud paucar sine mente agit, et postremo pro Ulysse pecudes insanus mactat. Ubi autem ad se rediit, opprobrii pertaesus, manus sibi infert, ac sepulchro prohibetur. Quae, non autem coetera, quaecumque totae tempore ab Ajace gesta, aptè inter se cohaerent. Sed nec quaelibet ex illis per se sufficit: omnes vero congruentes, unam illum statuerunt cujus sunt partes. Quippe et totam debere esse actionem diximus, et absolutam. Totum autem ut ex partibus constat, neque sine omnibus partibus est totum, ita ut sit absolutum, non modo omnes requiruntur partes, sed et tales quae sunt verae. Totius autem pars est vera, quam si tollas, aut maetur totanu, aut non amplius est totum. Nam quod tale est, ut sive absit, sive adsit, planè ad totum nil intersit, pars totius dici propriè non potest: Qualia sunt Episodia, de quibus postèa agemus. Vel ejusdem actiones longè diversae, sic, exempli gratia, singulare Ajacis cum Hectore certamen, quod prolixè describitur Homero, ad Ajacem Sophoclis non spectat.
A. An Epistle to Sir Edward Sackville, now Earl of Dorset.
(Underwoods. XXX. ed. Gifford-Cunningham).

If, Sackville, all that have the power to do
Great and good turns, as well could time them too,
And knew their how and where; we should have then
Less list of proud, hard, or ingrateful men.

For benefits are woed with the same mind
As they are done, and such returns they find:
You then, whose will not only, but desire
To succour my necessities, took fire,
Not at my prayers, but your sense which laid
The way to meet what others would upbraid,

Seneca, De Beneficiis, liber I. (1) Inter multos ac varios temere viventium inconsulteque, nihil propemodum indignius, optime Liberalis, dixerim, quam quod beneficia nec dare scimus, nec accipere. Sequitur enim, ut male collata, male debeantur. De quibus non redditis, sero querimus: ista enim perierant, quum darentur. Nec mirum est, inter plurima maximaque vitia nullum esse frequentius, quam ingrati animi... Nec facile dixerim, utrum turpius sit inficiari, an repetere beneficium; id enim genus hujus crediti est, ex quo tantum recipiendum sit, quantum ultro refertur: de quo queri vere foedissimum ob hoc ipsum, quia non opus est ad liberandum fidem facultatibus, sed animo; reddit enim beneficium, qui libenter debet. Sed quum sit in ipsis crimine, qui ne confessione quidem grati sunt, in nobis quoque est. Multos experimur ingratos, plures facimus: quia alias graves exprobratores exactoresque sumus, alios leves, et quos paulo post muneris sui poenitent, alios queruli, et minima momenta calumniantes. Ita gratiam omnem corrupimus; non tantum postquam dedimus beneficia, sed dum damus. Quis enim nostrum contentus fuit, aut leviter rogari, aut semel? quis non, quam aliquid a se peti suspicatus est, frontem adduxit, vultum avertit, occupationes simulavit, longis sermonibus, et de indus-
And in the act did so my blush prevent,
As I did feel it done as soon as meant;
You cannot doubt but I who freely know
This good from you, as freely will it owe;
And though my fortune humble me to take
The smallest courtesies with thanks, I make
Yet choice from whom I take them; and would shame
To have such do me good I durst not name.
They are the noblest benefits, and sink
Deepest in man, of which when he doth think
The memory delights him more, from whom
Than what, he hath received. Gifts stink from some,
They are so long a coming, and so hard;
Where any deed is forced, the grace is marr’d.
Can I owe thanks for courtesies received
Against his will that does them? that hath weaved
Excuses or delays? or done them scant,
That they have more oppressed me than my want?
Or if he did it not to succour me,
But by mere chance? for interest? or to free
Himself of farther trouble, or the weight

tria non invenientibus exitum, occasiorem petendi abstulit, et variis artibus pro-
perantes necessitates elusit? In angusto vero comprehensum, aut distulit, id est
timide negavit, aut promisit, sed difficulter, sed subductis superciliiis, sed ma-
lignis et vix exeuntibus verbis? Nemo autem libenter debet, quod non accepit, 10
sed expressit. Gratios esse adversus eum quisquam potest, qui beneficium aut
superbe abjectit, aut iratus impegit, aut fatigatus, ut molestia careret, dedit? 15
Errat, si quis sperat responsurum sibi, quem dilatione lassavit, expectationem
torsit. Eodem animo beneficium debetur, quo datur; et ideo non est negligentem

dandum. Sibi enim quisque debet, quod a nesciente accepit. Nec tarde quidem; 20
quia, quum in omnì officio magnì aestimetur dantis voluntas, qui tarde facit, diu noluit. Utique non contumeliose. Nam quum quaò natura comparatum sit, ut
altius injuriae quam merita descendat, et ulla cito defluant, has tenax memoria
custodiat: quid expectat qui offendit, dum obligat? Satis adversus illum gra-
tus est, qui beneficio ejus ignoscit.... Dicam quod sentio: qui beneficium non
redit, magis peccat, qui non dat, citius....

(2) Illud enim falsum est, perdenda sunt multa. Nullum perit; quia qui
perdit, computaverat. Beneficiorum simplex ratio est: taetum erogatur; si non
redit, damnnum non est. Ego illud dedi, ut darem; nemo beneficia in Kalendario
scribit, nec, avarus exactor, ad horam et diem appellat.
Of pressure, like one taken in a strait?
All this corrupts the thanks: less hath he won,
That puts it in his debt-book ere't be done;
Or that doth sound a trumpet, and doth call
His grooms to witness: or else lets it fall
In that proud manner, as a good so gained,
Must make me sad for what I have obtained.

No! gifts and thanks should have one cheerful face,
So each that's done, and ta'en, becomes a brace.
He neither gives or does, that doth delay
A benefit, or that doth throw't away;
No more than he doth thank, that will receive
Nought but in corners, and is loth to leave
Least air or print, but flies it: such men would
Run from the conscience of it if they could.

As I have seen some infants of the sword
Well known, and practised borrowers on their word,
Give thanks by stealth, and whispering in the ear,
For what they straight would to the world forswear:
And speaking worst of those from whom they went
But then fist-filled, to put me off the scent.
Now, dam'mee, sir, if you shall not command

(4)...... docendi sunt libenter accipere, libenter reddere, et magnum ipsi certamen proponere, eos quibus obligati sunt, re animoque non tantum aequare, sed vincere: quia, qui referre gratiam debet, nunquam consequitur, nisi praecessit, hi docendi sunt nihil imputare: illi plus debere. Ad hanc honestissimam contentionem, beneficiis beneficia vincendi, sic nos adhortatur Chrysippus. Tu me aliquid eorum doce, per quae beneficentior, gratiorque adversus bene merentes fiam, per quae obligantium, obligatorumque animi certent, ut qui praestiterint, obliviscantur, pertinax sit memoria debentium. Istae vero ineptiae, etc.....

(5)..... Haec quae tenemus, quae aspicimus, in quibus cupiditas nostra haeret, caduca sunt; auferre ea nobis et fortuna, et injuria potest: beneficium vero, etiam amissae eo quod datum est, durat.....

Cap. vi. Quid est ergo beneficium? Benevolae actio tribuens gaudium, capiensque tribuendo, in id quod facit prona, et sponte sua parata. Itaque non quid fiat, aut quid detur, refert, sed qua mente. Quia beneficium non in eo quod fit aut datur, consistit, sed in ipso dantis aut facientis animo.....

Cap. vii. Si beneficia in rebus, non in ipsa benefaciendi voluntate consistere, eo magis essent, quae majora sunt, quae accepimus. Id autem falso est; magis nos obligat, qui dedit parva magnifice, qui Regum aequavit opes animo,
My sword (‘tis but a poor sword, understand),
As far as any poor sword in the land;
Then turning unto him is next at hand,
Damns whom he damned to, is the veriest gull,
Has feathers, and will serve a man to pull.

Are they not worthy to be answered so,
That to such natures let their full hands flow,
And seek not wants to succour: but enquire,
Like money-brokers, after names, and hire
Their bounties forth; to him that last was made,
Or stands to be’n commission o’the blade?
Still, still the hunters of false fame apply
Their thoughts and means to making loud the cry,
But one is bitten by the dog he fed,
And hurt, seeks cure ; the surgeon bids take bread,
And sponge-like with it dry up the blood quite,
Then give it to the hound that did him bite:
Pardon, says he, that were a way to see
All the town curs take each their snatch at me.
O, is it so? Knows he so much, and will
Feed those at whom the table points at still?
I not deny it, but to help the need
Of any is a great and generous deed;
Yea, of the ungrateful: and he forth must tell

qui exiguum tribuit, sed libenter, qui paupertatis suae oblitus est, dum mean
respicit, qui non voluntatem tantum juvandi habuit, sed cupiditatem, qui acce-
pere se beneficium, quum daret, qui dedit quamquam recepturus, receptit tanquam
non dedisset, qui occasionem, qua prodesset, et occupavit et quaesivit. Contra,
ingrata sunt (ut dixi) licet re ac specie magna videantur, quae danti aut extor-
quentur, aut excidunt, mutuoque gratius venit, quod facili, quam quod plena
manu datur; exiguum est quod in me contulit, sed amplius non potuit. At hic
quod dedit, magnum est; sed dubitavit, sed distulit, sed quum daret, gemuit,
sed superbe dedit, sed circumvult, et placere ei, cui praestabat, noluit; ambitioni
dedit, non mihi....

Cap. xiv. Beneficium quod quibuslibet datur, nulli gratum est: nemo se sta-
bularii aut cauponis hospitem judicat, nec convivam dantis epulum, ubi dici
potest: Quid enim in me contulit? Nempe hoc quod in illum, et vix bene no-
tum sibi, et id illum etiam mimicum ac turpissimum hominem.

Cap. xv.... Tunc juvat accepsi bene beneficium, et supinis quidem manibus, ubi
illud ratio ad dignas perducit: non quo libet casus et consili indigen impetus
Many a pound, and piece, will place one well.
But these men ever want: their very trade
Is borrowing; that but stopt, they do invade
All as their prize, turn pirates here at land,
Have their Bermudas, and their Streights in the Strand:
Man out their boats to the Temple, and not shift
Now, but command; make tribute what was gift;
And it is paid them with a trembling zeal,
And superstition, I dare scarce reveal,
If it were clear; but being so in cloud
Carried and wrapt, I only am allowed
My wonder, why the taking a clown’s purse,
Or robbing the poor market-folks, should nurse
Such a religious horror in the breasts
Of our town-gallantry! or why there rests
Such worship due to kicking of a punk,
Or swaggering with the watch, or drawer drunk;
Or feats of darkness acted in mid-sun,
And told of with more licence than th’were done!
Sure there is mystery in it, I not know,
That men such reverence to such actions show,
And almost deify the authors! make
Loud sacrifice of drink for their health’s sake:
Rear suppers in their names, and spend whole nights
Unto their praise in certain swearing rites!
Cannot a man be reckoned in the state
Of valour, but at this idolatrous rate?

differ: quod ostentare libet, et inscribere sibi. Beneficia tu vocas, quorum auctorem fateri pudet? At illa quanta gratiora sunt, quantoque in partem interiorem animi nunquam exitura descendunt, quum delectant cogitamentum magis, e quo, quam quid acceperis?


Cap. 11. Idea divinanda cujusque voluptas, et quam intellecta est, necessitate gravissima rogandi liberanda est. Illud beneficium jucundum, victorumque in animo scias, quod obsiam venit. Si non contingit praevire, plura rogantis verba intercidamus, ne rogati videamus: sed certiores facti, statim promittamus, facturosque nos etiam antequam interpellaremur, ipsa festinatione approbemus.
I thought that fortitude had been a mean
Twixt fear and rashness; not a lust obscene,
Or appetite of offending, but a skill
Or science of discerning good and ill.
And you, sir, know it well, to whom I write,
That with these mixtures we put out her light;
Her ends are honesty and public good:
And where they want, she is not understood.
No more are these of us; let them then go,
Look to, and cure; he's not a man hath none,
But like to be, that every day mends one,
And feels it; else he tarries by the beast.
Can I discern how shadows are decreasest,
Or grown, by height or lowness of the sun,
And can I less of substance? when I run,
Ride, sail, am coached, know how far I have gone;
And my mind's motion not? or have I none?
No! he must feel and know, that will advance.
Men have been great, but never good by chance
Or on the sudden. It were strange that he
Who was this morning such a one, should be
Sidney ere night! or that did go to bed
Coryat, should rise the most sufficient head
Of Christendom; and neither of these know,

Cap. x..., Haec enim beneficii inter duos lex est; alter statim oblivisci debet dati, alter accepti nunquam. Lacerat animum et premit frequens meritorum commemoratio.....

Cap. xvui. Quidam non tantum dant beneficium superbe, sed etiam accipiunt; quod non est committendum..... A quibus ergo accipiemus? Ut breviter tibi respondeam: ab his quibus dedisse vellemus. Nam etiam majore dilectu quaerendus est, cui debeamus, quam cui praestemus; nam ut non sequantur ulla incomoda, sequantur autem plurima, grave tamen tormentum est, debere, cui nolis.....

Were the rack offered them, *how they came so!*
'Tis by degrees that men arrive at glad
Profit in aught; each day some little add,
In time 'twill be a heap: this is not true
Alone in money, but in manners too:
Yet we must more than move still, or go on,
We must accomplish: 'tis the last key-stone
That makes the arch; the rest that there were put
Are nothing till that comes to bind and shut.
Then stands it a triumphal mark! then men
Observe the strength, the height, the why and when
It was erected: and still walking under,
Meet some new matter to look up and wonder!
Such notes are virtuous men! they live as fast
As they are high; are rooted, and will last.
They need no stilts, nor rise upon their toes,
As if they would belie their stature; those
Are dwarfs of honour, and have neither weight
Nor fashion: *if they chance aspire to height,*
'Tis like light canes, that first rise big and brave,
Shoot forth in smooth and comely spaces; have
But few and fair divisions: but being got
Aloft, grow less and straightened: full of knot,

---

Cap. xxv. *Alii pessime loquentur de optime meritis.* Tutius est quosdam offendere, quam demeruisse: argumentum nihil debentium, odio quærunt. Atqui nihil magis praestandum est, quam ut memoria nobis meritorum bæreet, quae subinde reficienda est: quia nec referre potest gratiam, nisi qui meminit; et qui meminit, jam refert. Nec delicate accipiendum est, nec submissæ et humiliter. Nam qui negligens est in accipiendo, cum omne beneœcum recens placet; quid factet, cum prima ejus voluptas refrigeret? Alius accept fastidiose, tamquam qui dicit: *Non quidem mihi opus est: sed quia tam valde vis, faciam tibi me potestatem.* Alius supine, ut dubium praestanti relinquit, an senserit: *alius vix labra diduxit, et ingrator, quam si tacuisset, fuit.* Loquentum pro magnitudine rei impensis, et illa adjicienda: *Plures quam putas, obligationi. Nemo enim non gaudent beneficium suum latius patere. Nescis quid mihi praestiteris, sed scire te oportet, quanto plus sit quam aestimas.* Statim gratus est, qui se onerat. Nunquam tibi gratiam referre potero: illud certe non desinam ubique confiteri, me referre non posse.

*Plutarchus*, *De profectibus in virtute* (Ed. Didot, IV, 91) IV. Quin etiam si feceris alıquas philosophandi intercapedines, ita tamen ut posteriora tua studia
And last, go out in nothing! you that see
Their difference, cannot choose which you will be.
You know (without my flattering you) too much
For me to be your indice. Keep you such,
That I may love your person, as I do,
Without your gift, though I can rate that too,
By thanking thus the courtesy to life
Which you will bury; but therein the strife
May grow so great to be example, when,
As their true rule or lesson, either men,
Donors and donees, to their practice shall
Find you to reckon nothing, me owe all.

I cannot lose the thought yet of this letter,
Sent to my son; nor leave to admire the change
Of manners, and the breeding of our youth
Within the Kingdom, since myself was one.
When I was young, he lived not in the stews

prioribus constantiora fuerint ac praetexiora: id non leve indicium praebet, ignaviam esse laborae ac exercitatione elisam: contra malum est signum, si post exiguum tempus multae et continentae intermissiones fiant veluti elanguescenti alacritate germen. Sicut enim calami quod initio maximum et pulcherrimum impetum habet ut in aequibalem et continuam longitudinem crescat, magnis intervallis paucis offendidit a quibus reprimatur ac retundatur: dein ubi in allum se erexit, veluti qui ob anhelitus angustias in ascendendo deficiunt, quasi defessum propter imbicillitatem suam multis ac crebris nodis intercipitur, spiritu ictum tremoremque patiente: sic qui initio magno cursu ad philosophiam contendunt, si deinde nullum ad meliora profectum sentientes crebro offendant, atque ab instituto avellantur, ad extremum omnino defatigantur ac desperant.

Ibidem. 2.... Nosti vero, hoc qui fieri affirmant, quantis se ipsos implicant molestiis, ac difficultatibus, quanam fiat ratione, ut non animiadvertat aliquis etiamnum sapientem se factum, sed ignorant atque ambigat; longo temporis decursu paulatim addendis aliis, aliis detraxendis, accessione ad virtutem, quasi via, sensim sine sensu facta. Quod si celeritas et magnitudo mutationis tanta esset, ut qui mane fuerit deterrimus, vesperi rederetur optimus: aut ea sic alicui accideret, ut cum obdormivisset vitiosus, expersiceretur sapiens, dimissamque ex animo hesternam fatuitatem et errores ita compelleret:

Valete vano somnia, ut eratis nihil, etc.....
Durst have conceived a scorn, and utter’d it,
On a gray head; age was authority
Against a buffoon, and a man had then
A certain reverence paid unto his years,
That had none due unto his life: so much
The sanctity of some prevail’d for others.
But now we all are fallen; youth, from their fear,
And age, from that which bred it, good example.
Nay, would ourselves were not the first, even parents,
That did destroy the hopes in our own children;
Or they not learn’d our vices in their cradles,
And suck’d in our ill customs with their milk;
Ere all their teeth be born, or they can speak,
We make their palates cunning; the first words
We form their tongues with, are licentious jests:
Can it call whore? cry bastard? O then, kiss it!
A witty child! Can’t swear? the father’s darling!
Give it two plums. Nay, rather than shall learn

B. Quintilianus, De Institutione Oratoria, liber I, caput ii. Facile erat hujus metus remedium. Utinam liberorum nostrorum mores non ipsi perderemus. Infantiam statim deliciis solvimus: mollis illa educatio quam indulgentiam vocamus, nervos omnes et mentis et corporis frangit. Quid non adultus concupiscet, qui in purpuris repit? Nondum prima verba exprimit, et jam coccum intelligit, jam conchylium poscit. Ante palatum eorum, quam os, insti-

IIimns. In lectici crescent: si terram attigerint, e manibus utrinque sustinentium pendent. Gaudemus, si quid licentius dixerint; verba, ne alexan-

Drinis quidem permittenda delicii risu et osculo excipimus. Nec mirum; nos docimus, ex nobis audierunt. Nostras amicas, nostros concubinos vident, omne convivium obscenis canticiis strepit, pudenda dictu spectantur. Fit ex hoc consuetudo, deinde natura. Discut haece miseri ante quam sciunt vitia esse: inde soluti ac fluentes non accipiunt et scholis mala ista, sed in scholas afferunt

Juvenalis, Satira Quarta Decima.

Plurima sunt, Fuscine, et fama digna sinistra,
Et nitudis maculam haesarum fientia rehus,
Quae monstrant ipsi pueris traduntque parentes.
Si dannosa senem juvat alea, ludit et haeres
Ballatus, parvoque eadem movet arma fratillo.
Nec melius de se cuiquam sperare propiaco
Concedet juvenis, qui radere tubera terrae.
Boleium condire, et sodom jure natantes
Merger scedulas didict, nebulone parente,
Et cana monstrante gula. Quam septimus annus
No bawdy song, the mother herself will teach it!

But this is in the infancy, the days.

Of the long coat; when it puts on the breeches,

It will put off all this: Ay, it is like,

When it is gone into the bone already!

No, no; this dye goes deeper than the coat,

Or shirt, or skin; it stains into the liver,

And heart, in some: and rather than it should not,

Note what we fathers do! look how we live!

What mistresses we keep! at what expense,

In our sons' eyes! where they may handle our gifts,

Hear our lascivious courtships, see our dalliance,

Taste of the same provoking meats with us,

To ruin of our states! Nay, when our own

Transierit puer, nondum omni dente renato
Barbatos licet admoveas mille inde magistros,
Hinc totidem, cupiet lauto coenare paratu
Semper, et a magna non degenerare calina.

Sic natura jubet: velocius et citius nos
Corruptum vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
Quum subeunt animos auctoribus. Unus et alter
Forsitan haec spernant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;

Sed reliquos fugiendae patrum vestigia ducent,
Et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
Abstineas igitur damnandis; hujus enim vel
Una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur

Ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus; et Catilinam
Quocumque in populo videns, quocumque sub axe,
Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus usquam.

Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat

Intra quae puer est. Procul binc, procul inde, puellae

Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis parasiti!

Sponte tamen juvenes imitantur cetera: solam
Inviti quoque avaritiam exercere jubentur.
Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
Quam sit triste habiti vultuque et veste severum.

Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa: his protinus illos
Imbuist, et cogit minimas ediscere sordes:
Mox acquirendii docet insatiabile votum.

Sic natura jubet: velocius et citius nos
Corruptum vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
Quum subeunt animos auctoribus. Unus et alter
Forsitan haec spernant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;

Sed reliquos fugiendae patrum vestigia ducent,
Et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
Abstineas igitur damnandis; hujus enim vel
Una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur

Ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus; et Catilinam
Quocumque in populo videns, quocumque sub axe,
Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus usquam.

Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat

Intra quae puer est. Procul binc, procul inde, puellae

Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis parasiti!

Sponte tamen juvenes imitantur cetera: solam
Inviti quoque avaritiam exercere jubentur.
Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
Quam sit triste habiti vultuque et veste severum.

Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa: his protinus illos
Imbuist, et cogit minimas ediscere sordes:
Mox acquirendii docet insatiabile votum.

Sic natura jubet: velocius et citius nos
Corruptum vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis
Quum subeunt animos auctoribus. Unus et alter
Forsitan haec spernant juvenes, quibus arte benigna
Et meliore luto finxit praecordia Titan;

Sed reliquos fugiendae patrum vestigia ducent,
Et monstrata diu veteris trahit orbita culpae.
Abstineas igitur damnandis; hujus enim vel
Una potens ratio est, ne crimina nostra sequantur

Ex nobis geniti: quoniam dociles imitandis
Turpibus ac pravis omnes sumus; et Catilinam
Quocumque in populo videns, quocumque sub axe,
Sed nec Brutus erit, Bruti nec avunculus usquam.

Nil dictu foedum visuque haec limina tangat

Intra quae puer est. Procul binc, procul inde, puellae

Lenonum, et cantus pernoctantis parasiti!

Sponte tamen juvenes imitantur cetera: solam
Inviti quoque avaritiam exercere jubentur.
Fallit enim vitium specie virtutis et umbra,
Quam sit triste habiti vultuque et veste severum.

Sunt quaedam vitiorum elementa: his protinus illos
Imbuist, et cogit minimas ediscere sordes:
Mox acquirendii docet insatiabile votum.
Portion is fled, to prey on the remainder,
We call them into fellowship of vice;
Bait 'em with the young chambermaid, to seal
And teach 'em all bad ways to buy affliction.
_This is one path: but there are millions more,_
_In which we spoil our own, with leading them._
Well, I thank Heaven, I never yet was he
That travel'd with my son, before sixteen,
To shew him the Venetian courtezans;
Nor read the grammar of cheating I had made,
To my sharp boy, at twelve; _repeating still_
_The rule. Get money; still, get money, boy;_
_No matter by what means; money will do_
More, boy, than my lord's letter. _Neither have I_
_Drest snails or mushrooms curiously before him,_
_Perfumed my sauces, and taught him how to make them;
_Preceding still, with my gray gluttony,_
_At all the ord'naries, and only fear'd_
_His palate should degenerate, not his manners._
_These are the trades of fathers now; however,_
_My son, I hope, hath met within my threshold_
_None of these household precedents, which are strong,_
_And swift, to rape youth to their precipice._

---

_Hoc discunt omnes ante alpha et beta puellae._
_Talibus instantem monitis quencecumque parentem_
_Sic possem affari: Dic, o vanissime! quis te..._
_Nullus enim magni sceleris labor. Haece ego nunquam_
_Mandavi, dices olim, nec talia suasi_
_Mentis causa malae tamen est origo penes te._
_Nam quisquis magni census praecipit amorem,_
_Et laevo monitu pueros producit avaros,_
_Et qui per fraudes patrimoniam conduplicare_
_Dat libertatem, totas effundit habenas_
_Curriculo; quem si revoces, subsistere nescit,_
_Et, te contempto, rapitur, metisque relicetis..._.

_JUVENTALIS, Satira Tertia Decima. 59 sqq._
_Improbitas illo fuit admirabilis aequo._
_Credunt hoc grande nefas et morte piandum,_
_Si juvenis vetulo non assurexerat, et si_
_Barbatu cuicumque puer, licet ipse videret_
_Plura domi fraga et majores glandis acervos._
_Tam venerabile erat praecedere quatuor annis,_
_Primaque par adeo sacrae lanugo senectae_
But let the house at home be ne'er so clean
Swept, or kept sweet from filth, nay, dust and cobwebs,
If he will live abroad with his companions,
In dung and leystals, it is worth a fear;
Nor is the danger of conversing less
Than all that I have mentioned of example.

C. A Panegyre on the happy Entrance of James our Sovereign, etc.
(Ed. Gifford-Cunningham, III, 569).

The joy of either was alike and full;
No age, nor sex, so weak, or strongly dull,
That did not bear a part in this consent
Of hearts and voices. All the air was rent,
As with the murmur of a moving wood;
The ground beneath did seem a moving flood;
Walls, windows, roofs, towers, steeples, all were set
With several eyes, that in this object met.
Old men were glad their fates till now did last;
And infants, that the hours had made such haste
To bring them forth: whilst riper aged, and apt
To understand the more, the more were rapt.
This was the people's love, with which did strive
The noble's zeal, yet either kept alive
The other's flame, as doth the wick and wax, etc.

C. Plinius, Pan. Trajani. XXII...... Ergo non aetas quelquam, non valetudo,
non sexus retardavit, quominus oculos insolito spectaculo impletet. Te par-
vuli noscere, ostentare juvenes, mirari senes, aegri quoque, neglecto mendentium
imperio, ad conspectum tui, quasi ad salutem sanitatemque prorepere. Inde alii,
se satis vixisse te viso, te recepito; alii magis esse vivendum, praedicabant.
Feminas etiam tunc foecunditatis suae maxime voluptas subit, quem cernerent
cui principi cives, cui imperatori milites peperissent. Videres referta tecta ac
laborantia, ac ne eum quidem vacantem locum, qui non nisi suspensum et
instabile vestigium caperet; oppictas uduique vias, angustumque tramitem re-
lictum tibi; alacrem binc atque inde populum; ubique per gaudium paremque
clamorem. Tant aequalis ab omnibus ex adventu tuo laetitia percepsta est; quam
omnibus venisti: quae tamen ipsa cum ingressu tuo crevit, ac prope in singulos
gradus adaucita est.
D. Epistle Dedictory of Volpone or the Fox.

... It is certain, nor can it with any forehead be opposed, that the too much licence of poetasters in this time, hath much deformed their mistress; that every day their manifold and manifest ignorance doth stick unnatural reproaches upon her; but for their petulancy, it were an act of the greatest injustice, either to let the learned suffer, or so divine a skill (which indeed should not be attempted with unclean hands) to fall under the least contempt. For if men will impartially and not asquint, look toward the offices and function of a poet, they will easily conclude to themselves the impossibility of any man's being the good poet, without first being a good man. He that is said to be able to inform young men to all good disciplines, inflame grown men to all great virtues, keep old men in their best and supreme state, or, as they decline to childhood, recover them to their first strength; that comes forth the interpreter and arbiter of nature, a teacher of things divine no less than human, a master in manners; and can alone, or with a few, effect the business of mankind: this, I take him, is no subject for pride and ignorance to exercise their railing rhetoric upon. But it will here be hastily answered, that the writers of these days are other things; that not only their manners, but their natures, are inverted, etc.... For my particular, I can, and from a most clear conscience, affirm, that I have ever

D. Strabo, Geographica, liber II, caput ii. (3) Ait ergo Eratosthenes, poetam omnia ad delectandum, nihil ad docendum. Contra antiqui poeticam. (5) Quis vero unquam opinetur poetam, qui introducere possit homines artificiosae disserentes, et exercitus prudenter ductantes ceteraque virtutes officia obeuntes, ipsum de nugatoribus ac praestigiatantibus aliquem esse, qui tantum decipere praestigiis et adulando mulcere auditoarem, nihil autem ei utilitatis afferrre posset. An autem alia poetae virtus ulla est, quam ut oratione vitam humanam imitatam exprimat! Qui vero id praestet, vitae ipse imperitus atque improdend? Non enim eodem modo poetae, quo fabrorum aut aerariorum praestantiam censemus: quum haec nihil honestum aut venerabile consequetur, poetae autem virtus hominis cum virtute sit conjuncta, neque bonus fieri possit poeta, qui non prior vir bonus existiterit. (Trad. Didot.)

A. Sebastiani Minturni, De Poeta (Ed. 1559, page 8).... Hoc deplorandum quod in ea tempora incidissent, iisque rerum esset status, cum nulla dicendi ratio vigeret, ipsaque vis Poetarum penitus cecidisset, quae quondam pacatis tranquillisque in civitatibus floruisset, eosandum vero, ut quam publice colere
trembled to think toward the least profaneness; have loathed the use of such foul and unwashed hawdry, as is now made the food of the scene: and, howsoever I cannot escape from some, the imputation of sharpness; but that they will say, I have taken a pride, or lust, to be bitter, and not my youngest infant but hath come into the world with all his teeth; I would ask of these supercilious politics, what nation, society, or general order or state, I have provoked? What public person? Whether I have not in all these preserved their dignity, as mine own person, safe? My works are read, allowed (I speak of those that are entirely mine), look into them: what broad reproofs have I used? where have I been particular? where personal? except to a mimic, cheater, bawd, or buffoon, creatures, for their insolencies, worthy to be taxed? yet to which of these so pointingly, as he might not either ingeniously have confest, or wisely dissembled his disease? But it is not rumour can make men guilty, much less 15 entitle me to other men's crimes. I know that nothing can be so innocently writ, or carried, but may be made obnoxious to construction; marry, while I bear mine own innocence about me, I fear it

non possent, eam privatim tota mente amplecterentur. Quidnam, inquit, potest aut debet praecclusus videri, quam id meditari, quo puero ad omnem disciplinam possis informare: viros ad virtutes ommes hortari, seniores in optimo statu retinere, aut si repuerascere inceperint, ad pristinam firmitatem revocare, populum mira cum voluptate erudire, ac rapere quo velis, unde liceat abducere nec vero quiueam puto tam mirabile, quam ex ita frequenti hominum multitudine unum eminere, qui tanquam Deus, aut certe Deum interpres, et arbiter naturae, doctorque rerum et divinarum et humanarum, ac morum magister id vel solus, vel cum paecis efficiat, quod natura omnes facere posse videantur, illudque tum maxime, cum omnis oratio ex carminibus constabat......

Des. Erasmi Epistola Apologetica ad Martinum Dorpium Theologam. (passim) 
.... At ego in toto jam editis voluminis, cum tam multos candidissime laudarius, quaeso, ejus unquam denigravi famam, cui vel levissimam aspersi labem? Quam gentem, quem ordinem, quem hominum nominatim taxavi? Quid, si scias, mi Dorpi, quoties ad id faciendum fuerim, nulli tolerandis contumelios provocatus? Semper tamen vici dolorem animi mei, magisque rationem habui, quid posteritas esset judicatura de nobis, quam quid illorum mereretur improbitas...... Si quid hic offendo criminis, a quo sum immunes, non offender, sed ipse mihi gratulor, qui vacem iis malis, quibus multos obnoxious esse video. Siu est tactum ulcus aliquod, et sum ipse mihiostensus in speculo, nec hic quiequam est causae, cur offendi debeam: si prudens sum, dissimulabo quod sentio, nec ipse mei veniam prodir: si probus, admonitus cavebo, ne mihi tale convictum posthae in os nominatim possit impingi, quod illic sine nomenclatura
not. Application is now grown a trade with many; and there are that profess to have a key for the decyphering of everything: but let wise and noble persons take heed how they be too credulous, or give leave to these invading interpreters to be over familiar with their fames, who cunningly, and often, utter their own virulent malice under other men’s simplest meanings, etc.

notatum video (Vide supra : 127)...... Ac rursus dum hoc ago, subtractis omnium nominibus, effeci quod in me fuit, ne vel mali possent offendi. Postremo dum salibus et jocis, fictaque ridicula persona tota peragitur fabula, curatum est ut tristes etiam et morosi boni consulant. Jam illud ut non mordacies dictum notari scribis, sed ut impium..... Obscro te, optime Dorpi, quis tuum candorem docuit subdolor hoc calumniandi genus ? Sive, quod magis arbitror, quis astutus ad hanc mihi struendam calumniam tua abusus est simplicitate ? Ad hunc modum solent isti calumniatores pestilentissimi duo verba decerpere, eaque nuda, nonnunquam et immutata nonnihil praetermissis his quae durum alioqui sermonem leniunt et explicant.....
NOTES

9,4. The story here alluded to is wrongly ascribed by Vives to Alexander: the answer of the musician was addressed to Philip. The marginal reference: In vita Alex. is another mistake: the anecdote is to be found in several works of Plutarch: De adulator et amico. 27; Regum et imperatorum Apophtegmata. 29; De Alexandri magni fortuna aut virtute. II, 1.

14,12. Aegidius is not, as Mr. Schelling supposed, « a Roman commander in Gaul under Majorian ». The name is the Latin for Giles; and Saint Giles, being lame, was the patron saint of the cripples.

20,15. The « Pindar » and « Demacatus » of the Folio have been happily corrected by Mr. Schelling; but he could not identify the marginal reference: Vid. Xeuxidis pict. Serm. ad Megabizum, Plutarch. This is owing to a mistake of Jonson, who must have been quoting from memory and substituted Xeuxis to Apelles. Here is the anecdote alluded to: « Etenim Apelles pictor assidenti sibi Megabyzo, et de linea nescio quid umbraque volenti disserere: Nonne vides, aiebat, puernlos istos qui melidem terunt? tacenti tibi admodum i fuerunt intenti, purpuram aurumque admirantes: nunc te rident orsum loqui de rebus iis quas non didicisti ». De adulator et amico. 15.

22,9. Jonson must have been quoting from memory, for he has quite mistaken the drift of the scene. Stasimus does not want to sell the farm, but on the contrary to dissuade Philto from accepting it. Martial’s Epigram, to which he refers in the margin better applies to the case.

36,18. On this too famous remark of Jonson, see the note of Mr. Aldis Wright in his edition of Julius Caesar (Clarendon Press Series, pp. 152-3) and our own Ben Jonson (Les rapports de Jonson et de Shakespeare).
38,12. The distich, which has been construed into a hit at Daniel (Swinburne, A Study of Ben Jonson, p. 142) is an anonymous quotation. It is to be found again in the Masque entitled: News from the New World discovered in the Moon (1621), where we read:

Chron. Is he a man's poet, or a woman's poet, I pray you?
2 Her. Is there any such difference?
Fact. Many, as betwixt your man's tailor and your woman's tailor.
1 Her. How, may we beseech you?
Fact. I'll show you: your man's poet may break out strong and deep i' the mouth, as he said of Pindar, Monte decurrens velut amnis: but your woman's poet must flow, and stroke the ear, and, as one of them said of himself sweetly:
   Must write a verse as smooth and calm as cream,
   In which there is no torrent, nor scarce stream.

51,32. There must have been a confusion between the passage of Homer given above and the well-known Hymn of Orpheus which begins:

ταῦτα πατήρ ποίησε κατὰ σπέος ἡροείδες, κ. τ. λ.

(Orphica. VI. Coll. Didot, p. 68.)

57,19. The words: « as the Architects say », which are not to be found in the Italian of Machiavelli, are a palpable hit at the poet's fellow-worker and enemy Inigo Jones. As their enmity was of long standing, they cannot avail to ascertain the date of composition; but it would better suit the date of 1631, the year of the great Chloridia quarrel, which has been suggested for other reasons as the probable date of the political essays (Cf. Introduction, p. XXI.)

66,4. Another mistake of the poet who ascribes to Plautus the line:

Non rete accipitri tenditur, neque milvio.

114,12. The reference is not, as Schelling will have it, to the English Courtier and the Country Gentleman (1586), but to the famous Cortegiano of Baldassare Castiglione. Cf. The Book of the Courtier, done into English by Thos. Hoby. Livre II, pp. 153-207. (Tudor Translations, London, 1900.)

125,15. The first line of this quotation must have been a favourite with Jonson, since he refers to it no less than three times in the book. This short remark which has been thrown in at the end seems quite out of place here.
BIBLIOGRAPHICAL INDEX


Aristote, Vide Heinsius.


Des Erasmi Opera Omnia, 10 vols., Leyde, 1703-1706.


Homeri, Carmina (Coll. Didot), Paris, 1845.


Ben Jonson, Complete Works, 1 vol. fol., Londres, 1692.


Ben Jonson, Discoveries. Edited by Prof. Henry Morley, Londres, 1892.

Ben Jonson, Discoveries. Edited by Felix E. Schelling, Boston, 1892.

Ben Jonson, Discoveries. Edited by Israel Gollanez, Londres, 1898.

Justi Lipsii Opera, &c. 2 vols. fol., Lyon, 1613.

Juvenal, Œuvres (Coll. Nisard), Paris, 1850.


Perse, Œuvres (Coll. Nisard), Paris, 1850.


A. Sebastiani Minturni, De Poeta, Venise (Alde), 1599.

Julii Caesaris Scaligeri Poetices libri Septem, s. l., 1607.
Sénèque le Philosophe, Œuvres complètes (Coll. Nisard), Paris, 1851.
Suetone, Œuvres (Coll. Nisard), Paris, 1865.
Strabonis Geographica (Coll. Didot), Paris, 1853.
C. A. Swinburne, A Study of Ben Jonson, Londres, 1889.
Vellelius Paterculus, Ex Historiae romanae, etc. Rec. F. Haase, Leipzig (Teubner), 1851.

Vu :

Le 24 avril 1906,
Le Doyen de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Paris,

A. CROISET.

Vu et permis d'imprimer :
Le Vice-Recteur de l'Académie de Paris.

L. LIARD.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
<td>VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Text</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliographical Index</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>