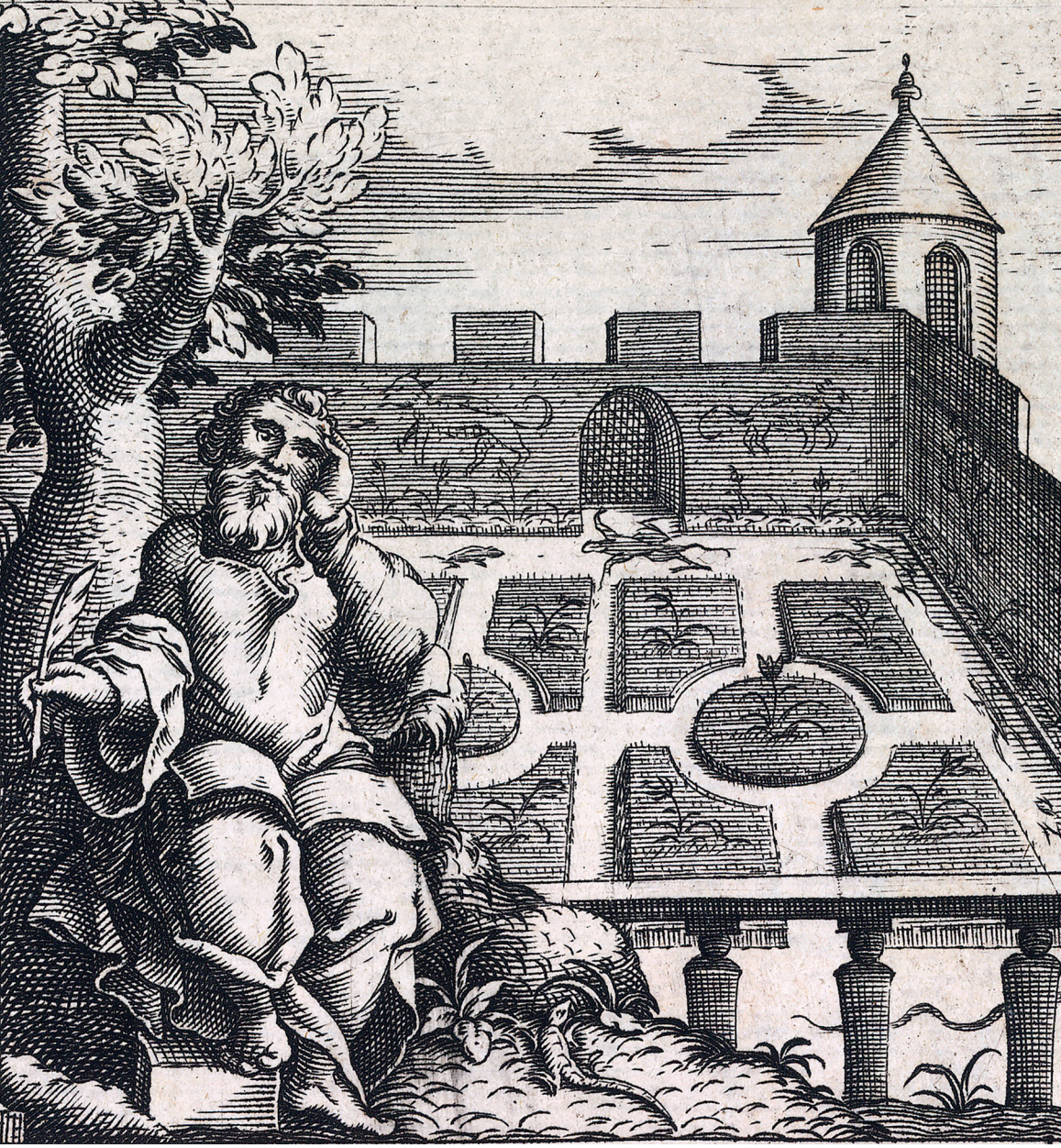

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ROBERT BURTON

THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY

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ROBERT BURTON (1577 – 1640) spent most of his life in Oxford, first as a student and later as a scholar. His most famous work, the enormous *Anatomy of Melancholy*, was first published in 1621 and expanded in further editions throughout Burton's life.

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ROBERT BURTON

The Anatomy of Melancholy

Edited by
ANGUS GOWLAND

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1599 Elected as a Student at Christ Church, Oxford.
1602 30 June: Awarded the Bachelor of Arts degree.
1603 24 March: Death of Elizabeth I and accession of James I.
1605 9 June: Awarded the Master of Arts degree.
27 August: Performance of the pastoral comedy *Alba* before James I at Christ Church.
1606 Begins work on the satirical comedy *Philosophaster*.
1609 12 March: Ordained as deacon.
1610 December: Elected as one of the twenty 'Theologi' at Christ Church.
1611 16 February: Ordained as priest.
1612 Publication of his preface to Francis Holyoake's revision of *Rider's Dictionary*.
1614 May: Awarded the Bachelor of Divinity degree.
1615 Serves first term as Clerk of the Market at Oxford (repeated 1617, 1618).
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23 May: The beginning of the Thirty Years War in continental Europe.
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1620 5 December: Finishes the first edition of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*.
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Introduction

Writing about melancholy, for Robert Burton, was a personal imperative and an all-consuming endeavour. By his own account, Burton suffered from melancholy, and spent the last two decades of his life making an 'Antidote' by reading and writing about it. The result was *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, almost certainly the greatest work on this subject in the history of western literature, and a book which, after its first publication in 1621, grew steadily in size in a series of revised editions, reflecting the author's ongoing quest to understand the disease and the world in which it occurred. By the time of Burton's death in 1640, the activity of writing and revising the *Anatomy* had become totally dominant in his literary career. A final version, with his last additions and amendments, appeared posthumously in 1651. It was his life's work.

Burton's approach to this task was not to reduce melancholy to a single core by identifying its essential cause or symptom, or by discovering and recommending its most effective remedy, and he did not attempt to portray it with a unifying idea or overarching theme. Instead, he set about proliferating every form of recorded experience and expression of what was, for him, the most human, and therefore most multifarious, aspect of our worldly existence. When he chose to call his work an 'anatomy' – a voguish term indicating an analysis of a multifaceted object – it was because he began with the recognition that investigating melancholy would mean investigating something expressed continuously throughout history, from classical antiquity to the present, in a bewildering variety of forms. This, in turn, involved identifying and describing the range of our physical and psychological dispositions, the diversity of our passions and the multiplicity of our entrenched moral, spiritual, and social pathologies, all of which, as Burton thought, contributed to our curious and fatal susceptibility to melancholy. As an 'anatomy', the book divides, subdivides and articulates the ways in which the multiple vagaries of human irrationality, for all their heterogeneity, share in this condition. And it orders its subject matter as effectively as such an undertaking could probably permit. As an 'anatomist', Burton worked to lay out the tangle of melancholic threads embedded in our nature and running through our culture and history. Once started, this would prove to be an unremitting enterprise, with each new edition showing an author bound to a task of layering in, and almost never removing, material with which to illustrate further the manifold presences and diversifications of the disease in human life.

The Anatomy of Melancholy is an extraordinary book, and to some modern readers, at least, it might seem strange, labyrinthine, and at times arcane. Even after many generations of scholarship and interpretation, it is very difficult to

state briefly and uncontroversially exactly what kind of book it is. It blends and borrows from a number of different literary genres. It is in part, and perhaps mainly, a medical work, infused with psychology (what was then the philosophical study of the soul). But it also contains elements of satire, moral and spiritual reflection and commentary, geography, history, and several other varieties of philosophical, scientific, and literary prose, as well as a very substantial quantity of poetry. In some ways, it is a deeply serious book. It is concerned with the understanding and treatment of a debilitating and pervasive disease, and it digests a vast quantity of knowledge for the practical purpose of assisting the afflicted. However, it is also humorous and ironic, punctuated with curious and amusing anecdotes, diversions and witticisms, and is inflected with the author's distinctive awareness of his own and others' shortcomings. While its central subject is melancholy, it is at the same time a book about the relationship between the melancholic individual and the world, about the role of emotions and imagination in human life, and about the human condition throughout recorded history. It is also a book about books, their uses and their pleasures, and about the acts of writing and reading.

The *Anatomy* is large and intricate, and to anyone who decides to plough through it from cover to cover it will probably feel unwieldy. But that is not really how it is meant to be read. Burton provides a number of formal digressions from his main subject, explicitly designed to offer his readers refreshment and diversion as they progress, and some parts are intended to be encountered before others – he does expect us, for example, to begin with the substantial satirical preface, 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', which is indispensable as a guide to both the form and the content of the rest of the work. Linear reading, however, is neither required nor particularly appropriate for the *Anatomy*. All the parts of the book are connected, and we are actively invited to wander around it at our leisure. It has a clearly and carefully articulated structure, and the main purpose of the elaborate synoptic tables, which perform the role of a modern 'table of contents' by showing how the book is organized, is to enable its readers to move easily from one area to another, following their own interests. After reading the preface, the best approach is to browse through and plunge in wherever curiosity leads. Readers drawn to the spiritual aspects of melancholy, for instance, can turn to the final Section of the third Partition; those interested in the power of the imagination can find a brisk digression on the subject in the middle of the first Partition; and so on. Wherever his readers end up, Burton is always sensitive to their presence, guiding them through a beguiling and densely packed world of medical, philosophical, geographical, historical, mythological and literary knowledge and allusion.

II

Robert Burton's book surveys the world and human history, but the man himself spent the majority of his life in Oxford, living what he called 'a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life . . . in the University', where he was mostly 'penned up' in his study in Christ Church.[1] That description is calculated for literary effect, and we know that Burton had several friendships in his college and beyond. But he never

married, and his claim that he 'never travelled' except imaginatively 'in Map or Card' seems to be broadly true; leaving aside what is written in *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, his life has left only a rather light trace on the historical record.[2] He was born in the Leicestershire village of Lindley on 8 February 1577, into the ranks of the landed gentry, as the fourth of nine children and the second of four sons. We know very little of his sisters, and not much more about his father Ralph, whose family estate was originally at Fauld in Staffordshire, but who had moved to Lindley Hall after inheriting it from his grandmother. Robert's mother Dorothy, *née* Faunt, was from an old landed family from Foston in Leicestershire. Her parents were both Roman Catholics, and one of her brothers was the Oxford-educated Jesuit émigré Laurence Arthur Faunt (1553/4–91), a prominent figure of the Catholic Counter-Reformation in Poland whose defence of the veneration of saints against Lutheran and Calvinist critics would be cited by his nephew in the *Anatomy*.[3] Robert and his older brother William (1575–1645) were both raised as Protestants, but the latter held Arthur Faunt in high esteem as 'a man of great learning, gravity and wisdom'. William also recorded that another maternal uncle, Anthony Faunt, had died in 1588 from 'a passion of melancholy', suffered after his hopes of commanding the county forces of Leicestershire against the anticipated Spanish invasion had been frustrated by the vehemently anti-Catholic earl of Huntingdon.[4]

The Burton brothers were given a classical humanist education based on the study of ancient texts. They attended grammar school in Warwickshire, learning Latin language and literature (and possibly also rudimentary Greek) at King Edward VI School in Nuneaton, though Robert transferred to Bishop Vesey's School in Sutton Coldfield. Both brothers proceeded to Brasenose College, Oxford, where Robert matriculated in 1593. William initially pursued a legal career, but ill health forced him to retire to the family estate at Fauld, where his research into the history of his own family and its property drew him into the world of antiquarianism and brought him high regard as the author of *The Description of Leicestershire* (1622). Robert's academic progress was initially not straightforward, and at some point, for reasons unknown, he withdrew from his studies at Brasenose. The Oxford antiquary Anthony Wood (1632–95) recorded that he had made 'a considerable progress in logic and philosophy' there, and we know that between 1594 and 1598 he bought several books reflecting an interest in classical literature and languages; but otherwise we have no reliable information about him for these years until 1599, when he was elected as a Student at Christ Church.[5] Some have speculated that in the intervening period he fell ill, and perhaps visited London to consult the popular astrological physician Simon Forman (1552–1611), whose casebooks record the treatment of a twenty-year-old called 'Robart Burton' for melancholy in the summer of 1597.[6] The evidence is thin, however. Burton mentions the astrologer in notes made in one of his books, but if the author of the *Anatomy* had been treated by Forman we might have expected him to feature somewhere in its richly anecdotal pages.[7]

In any case, Robert Burton's studies proceeded smoothly once they were resumed at Christ Church. The Faculty of Arts at Oxford provided a wide-ranging humanist education that provided instruction in every area of human knowledge, but whose ultimate goal was the mastery of classical languages and literature. Burton was put under the tutorship of John Bancroft (1574–1641), the

future bishop of Oxford, with whom he would have studied Latin and Greek along with rhetoric, logic, moral philosophy and arithmetic, and he gained his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1602. After three more years of study, which would have concentrated mainly on scientific and mathematical subjects such as geometry, astronomy, natural philosophy and metaphysics, he received his Master of Arts. This was also when his authorial career began, with short contributions for university verse anthologies, which he would produce intermittently from 1603 until near the end of his life. At this point, however, his main literary interest was in drama. He contributed to a Latin pastoral comedy, entitled *Alba*, performed at Christ Church before a reportedly unimpressed James I in August 1605 and now lost. In the following year, he began work on a Latin satirical comedy, *Philosophaster*, which took aim at pseudo-philosophers and pseudo-scholars, but the play was not finished until 1615.

Meanwhile, Burton continued his academic career at Christ Church and began the parallel ecclesiastical career expected of him as he moved up through the ranks of the Studentship. At Christ Church, there were no 'Fellows', only a governing Dean and Chapter and a body of one hundred Students, ordered in a series of ascending classes from juniors reading for their BA degrees, and those finishing their BAs and taking their MAs, up to the senior Students. In 1607 Burton moved into the second highest rank of Students, which brought tutorial duties. In 1609 he was ordained as a deacon. At Christmas in the following year, he was elected as one of the twenty most senior Students, known as the 'Theologi', and, as was expected and possibly required by this position, took priest's orders two months later. In 1611 he held the position of college lecturer in Greek, though apparently just as a temporary replacement for one of his colleagues, and he also acted as a catechist, which involved preparing candidates for holy orders. In the following year, along with some of his poetry, Burton's characteristically learned and trenchant prose first appeared in print, in a short Latin preface to the 1612 edition of *Rider's Dictionary*, which had been revised and expanded by the lexicographer Francis Holyoake (d. 1653) and became a standard textbook in English schools.

Burton then turned to the study of theology, obtaining his Bachelor of Divinity degree in 1614. This was a conventional progression, but there was an additional pecuniary incentive. We know that in 1615 Burton was supplementing his income as Clerk of the Oxford market, a position that he reprised in 1617 and 1618. This carried a range of important powers and duties, such as the regulation of the weights, measures, and prices of foodstuffs, and the licensing of privileged tradesmen and craftsmen, as well as the expectation of upholding the interests of university members in their dealings with the city's traders. Devoting his attention to theology at this time made financial sense, since the BD seems to have been an informal prerequisite at Christ Church for the award of a church living. In 1616 Burton was nominated by the Dean and Chapter to the rather modest college-living of St Thomas the Martyr in Osney, a western suburb of the city (the regulations at this point apparently prohibited members of Christ Church from taking substantial benefices that were not within or close to Oxford). He obtained his licence to preach in late 1618, and acted as curate at St Thomas's for the rest of his life. His family coat of arms (three talbots' heads) was placed on the south porch in 1621, and is still there today.

Christ Church encouraged its Students to study for the higher degrees in divinity, but Burton did not proceed to a doctorate. Such a decision would not have helped the progress of his career in the university, and might suggest disenchantment with the discipline, especially when read alongside his disparagement of theological nitpicking and controversy in the *Anatomy*.[8] However, writing and enquiry in theology were diverse in this period, and many different kinds were positively incorporated in Burton's book. Theological literature also comprised a substantial proportion – nearly a quarter – of his extensive personal library. A more plausible explanation, therefore, is that by this time Burton's scholarly interests in other areas, especially medicine, had grown stronger, and indeed, as the beginning of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader' indicates, that his preoccupation with the subject of melancholy had started to become a personal obsession.[9] Christ Church had long provided a hospitable environment for his literary enterprises as well as his studies, and rather than pursuing interests elsewhere, he committed himself fully to the task of reading for and writing his major work. We do not know when Burton conceived or started to write the *Anatomy*, but it was probably around the time that he entered his forties, and the book was almost certainly well under way by the time *Philosophaster* was first performed in February 1618. The first edition of the *Anatomy* was complete by December 1620, and published at Oxford in the following year. He dedicated the work to the nobleman George Berkeley, the eighth Baron Berkeley (1601–58). This was an obvious source of support given that the Berkeleys owned part of the Burton family manor in Lindley, and Burton may well have taught George when he attended Christ Church between 1619 and 1623.

In the following years, as the book sold well and Burton continued to extend it considerably, his efforts to secure patronage – a subject of some resentful and defiant commentary in the *Anatomy*, most notably in the 'Digression of the misery of Scholars'[10] – did eventually meet with some success, with the acquisition of church livings which provided him with income while their duties could be entrusted to curates. After some years of scarcity, 1624 was relatively fruitful. In February he was presented to the Lincolnshire benefice of Walesby by Frances Cecil (1580–1663), the well-connected dowager countess of Exeter. In August he was appointed Librarian at Christ Church: his enthusiasm for acquiring as well as reading all kinds of books, and his frequenting of the Bodleian Library, must have been well known, but the manifest learning and bibliophilia of the *Anatomy* would have confirmed his suitability for this position, which he held until his death. In the following month, Berkeley granted him the advowson – or right of presentation, giving him the right to take up the living when it fell vacant – of a very substantial benefice, that of Seagrave in Leicestershire (though, as this was occupied at the time, he could not yet assume the rectorship). Last but not least, this was also the year when the second edition of the *Anatomy* appeared, increasing its length by one-fifth from 880 quarto pages to 652 of the much larger folio format. In 1628 a third edition of 762 folio pages followed, with an elaborately illustrated frontispiece, reproduced after 'The Argument of the Frontispiece' below (p. 3), by the Frankfurt engraver Christof Le Blon (d. 1665).

Three years later, Burton resigned the rectorship of Walesby, apparently because Lady Frances had decided he should make way for the chaplain of her associate Lionel Cranfield, earl of Middlesex. In 1632, however, he was finally

presented by Berkeley to the rectorship of Seagrave on the death of the previous incumbent. This living, which he held until his death, considerably boosted his income. Its substantial revenues far exceeded those permitted by the Christ Church regulations that were passed later in 1639, which were stricter than their predecessors on this matter; and even presuming that Burton had obtained the requisite permission, eyebrows in the college may have been raised. Although he had claimed in the third edition that it would be the final version of the *Anatomy*, a fourth edition appeared in 1632. Now 822 pages in length, it included Burton's poetic exposition of the imagery of the frontispiece and other new prefatory material. After an abortive attempt to print another edition at Edinburgh, a fifth, comprising 842 pages, was published as usual at Oxford in 1638.

Burton died in January 1640, not long before religious and political conflicts of the kinds that had concerned him in the *Anatomy* would escalate into civil war and inflict protracted bloodshed upon England, Ireland and Scotland. In 1651, the year of the final defeat of the royalist forces, a sixth version with the author's last corrections and a small quantity of new additions was issued, to a readership that now had direct experience of some of the most horrific miseries discussed in its pages. In the thirty years that had passed since the first appearance of the *Anatomy*, its account of humanity's melancholy had grown by more than two-thirds of its original size.

III

The Anatomy of Melancholy plays games with its readers. The first involves trying to find the author, who presents himself pseudonymously on the frontispiece as 'Democritus Junior', and continues to refer to himself as such in the preface and elsewhere in the book. The great Swiss literary critic Jean Starobinski once remarked that Burton is the monster hidden in a labyrinth of his own creation – but he is also one who deliberately leaves traces.[11] In the first edition, 'The Conclusion of the Author to the Reader' ends by revealing Burton's college and real name. However, in subsequent editions he removed the 'Conclusion' and redeployed some of its content in the satirical preface. The second edition is technically anonymous, although it contains several clues, including references to the family patrimony in Fauld and to his brothers William and Ralph; and the frontispiece of all the other editions also presents a small portrait of the author along with his family coat of arms. When the game continues in 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', Burton's opening invitation to speculate about his motivation for concealing his identity quickly moves on to an account of the ancient Greek philosopher Democritus of Abdera (active in the second half of the fifth century BCE), explaining the author's choice of adopted forebear as a scholarly predecessor who also suffered from melancholy and sought to understand and cure the condition. That there is more to the association than this, however, is indicated by the preface's detailed account of one of a series of letters purporting to be written by the famous physician and contemporary of Democritus, Hippocrates of Cos. (These letters were later forgeries, but nearly all Renaissance scholars considered them authentic.[12]) The tale, related in the letter addressed to Damagetes of

Rhodes, describes how Democritus came to be known as the 'laughing philosopher'. The citizens of Abdera summon Hippocrates to examine Democritus, who has concerned them with his apparently delirious laughter. The physician finds the philosopher alone in his garden, thinking and writing about melancholy and madness, and surrounded by the corpses of dissected animals. Pressed for an explanation of his laughter, Democritus delivers a diatribe about the insanity of his fellow human beings, mercilessly castigating their intellectual failings and moral weaknesses. Contemptuous derision, as he explains to Hippocrates, is the only possible response to the perception of humanity's stupidity, vice and madness. The physician concludes that it is not Democritus who is mad but the Abderans and, indeed, the rest of humanity.

This is the main satirical message of 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', a ludic and sometimes paradoxical *tour de force* that expands and updates the message of the letter to Damagetes, and ranges far and wide in its ridicule of the multifarious melancholic madness of the world as Burton sees it. Sometimes the preface has been read as a piece of comic entertainment peripheral to Burton's main aims, which are pursued in a seriously scholarly fashion in the rest of the book. However, most critics now recognize that the distinction between a playful and a serious text is unhelpful when applied to the *Anatomy*. Such an approach sits ill at ease not only with the fundamental moral purpose of satire, which in the Renaissance as in classical antiquity was a well-established literary vehicle for the denunciation and correction of vice, but also with what Burton, in the guise of Democritus Junior, tells us. Near the end of the satire, we are promised 'a more sober discourse' to come, but this is immediately undercut: Democritus Junior admits he has failed to refrain from lashing out satirically in the rest of the book; he announces that if he offends anyone he will deny or recant everything; and there is an obviously ironic presumption of 'good favour' from the reader, who, from the beginning, has been teased, mocked and denounced, and is then threatened in a Latin poem that dismisses anyone 'mischievously idle' enough to criticize the author.[13] Even if the satirical mockery is not all to be taken seriously, the subtitle given in the frontispiece indicates that the preface 'conduces' to the rest of the book in a number of important ways. Perhaps most obviously, it serves as an introduction and guide to the key themes of the *Anatomy* by showing how the condition of melancholy, an 'Epidemical' disease according to Renaissance medical testimony, has spread through the world, afflicting men of every sort in their social, moral and religious lives, and descending collectively upon families, cities and states. With the partial exception of the intriguing utopian interlude, there is almost nothing substantial mentioned in the satirical survey of the world that is not expanded upon in the rest of the book.[14]

Democritus Junior pays close attention to his reader, and the preface offers a number of more precise steers towards what Burton sees as the appropriate interpretation of his book. Some of these are more forceful and easily detectable than others, although it is not always easy to be sure with an author who consciously follows in the footsteps of a figure who was notorious for his 'ironical passion'.[15] But several messages delivered in the preface rebound into the main work. The first is carried by the frequently repeated claim that melancholic madness is a universal human affliction. In the rest of the *Anatomy*, the subject

of the discussion is defined technically, in the terms of Renaissance medical pathology, as a particular species of madness (*delirium*) that primarily affects the imagination; and whenever Burton draws on medical sources, he typically refers to this specific conception of melancholy as a disease. In the preface, however, melancholy is conflated with a general idea of moral, spiritual and intellectual madness, and also identified explicitly with a range of irrational psychological conditions to which human beings are generally subject, such as discontentment, fear, sorrow, or indeed any emotional perturbation. Careful readers will see that this tendency to expand the sense of melancholic madness beyond its technical confines resurfaces periodically in the rest of the book, especially when Burton is using non-medical sources and writing in a moral, religious or literary vein.

We might wonder why Burton creates such a manifest tension with regard to the central subject of the *Anatomy*, not least because he is obviously aware of it. Perhaps it is to communicate, somewhat obliquely, a general scepticism about the ability of precise or overly narrow theoretical definitions to capture the multiple complexities and dimensions of melancholy. The clearest effect, however, is to broaden the application of the medical theory into areas of human experience that physicians had generally been reluctant to address, encouraging readers to see the connections between human physiology, psychology, ethics, religion and history. More specifically, it presents to us the many ways in which our own physical, moral and spiritual condition renders us susceptible to melancholic madness. Not everyone will suffer from the disease in its medical sense, but everyone suffers from some kind of melancholic irrationality and passion at some point in their lives. In a brief but critical discussion of different meanings of the word 'melancholy', which echoes a passage from the preface, Burton draws on the ancient ethical distinction between a transitory 'disposition' and a settled pathological 'habit': anyone that experiences fear, sorrow or a disturbing vexation is melancholic in the former, technically improper sense, which is actually a distinctive feature of mortal human life. But whereas dispositional melancholy is formally distinct from the fixed, habitual pathology of melancholy properly speaking, our predicament as human beings – after the Fall of Man – is such that, left unchecked, the disposition leads to the habit, drawing us into a melancholy that is 'fixed' and 'will hardly be removed'.[16] Just as he signals in the preface, Burton universalizes melancholy for the readership of the *Anatomy*.

We are also informed of the author's apparently paradoxical motivations, and about the way he has written his book. 'I write of melancholy,' he states, 'by being busy to avoid melancholy.' Burton's own melancholy lies at the heart of the *Anatomy*, but it remains almost unknown, and the depths of his inner life are not delved into by a text whose regular direction of movement is outwards and away from the author. He says that when he began to write he had been suffering at the hands of his 'Mistress *melancholy* . . . my *malus genius*', and does provide a small detail when he describes an 'impostume' – a swelling or abscess of some kind, which doctors would probably have attributed to a superfluity of the melancholic humour – in his head. He also claims authority on the subject of melancholy on the basis of his own experience of the disease, apparently providing the first usage of the word 'melancholize' as an intransitive verb

in the English language. Yet there is no Romantic or Proustian introspection here. The book may be labelled an 'evacuation' of Burton's 'burdened heart' and 'pregnant head' ('*gravidum cor, foetum caput*'), but there are few places where he writes directly about his own melancholic experience, and even these, such as the poetic meditation on bitter-sweet feelings and thoughts in the 'Author's Abstract of Melancholy' (first published in the fourth edition), tend to be heavily stylized. More commonly, his self-therapeutic expression of the condition eschews autobiography in favour of writing about it in others. The *Anatomy* in this respect appears as a diversionary psychological exercise, in which the 'playing labour' of reading and writing eases the mind and wards off idleness in a search for knowledge that will ultimately be of benefit to all. In this way the melancholic cause can become the melancholic antidote.[17]

The presentation of the book as a self-therapeutic enterprise, however, creates a dilemma for its readers, bringing us back to the central problem of the letter to Damagetes. What is really to be cured: the universal melancholic madness of humanity, or the particular affliction of Democritus? If our perception and understanding of the former arise from the latter, what are the consequences for our interpretation of Democritus Junior's message? Such questions are intimated in the preface, particularly by the author's startling admission that in satirically dissecting the world he has actually 'anatomized' his 'own folly' and 'had a raving fit'; and by his acknowledgement (appearing in the 'Conclusion' of the first edition but subsequently relocated to the preface) that having put himself 'upon the stage' for censure, 'I have laid myself open (I know it) in this treatise, turned mine inside outward'.[18] A similar paradox is familiar to readers of a work which greatly influenced Burton, the *Praise of Folly* (1511) by the great Dutch humanist Desiderius Erasmus (*c.* 1466–1536). Just as in Erasmus' mock encomium, where the ostensible wisdom of the satirical speech is ironically undercut by the reputation of the masked character who delivers it (the goddess Folly), in the *Anatomy* readers are primed to be suspicious of the persona presiding over the book. Arguably the authority of Democritus Junior is irreducibly ambiguous, and rooted in contrasting Renaissance views of his classical predecessor. Who, we are prompted to ask, is writing? The paragon of experimental medical learning seeking to explain melancholy by dissecting and understanding nature? Or the philosophical satirist whose mockery of the mad world serves ultimately as a symptom of his own melancholic discontent? Can it be both?

The idiosyncratic literary style of the *Anatomy* keeps us guessing. The fluctuations from 'serious' to 'light' that persist throughout the work give Burton's literary persona a markedly Protean character, and record the various ways in which he has been, as he writes, 'affected' by the subject at hand.[19] If the book seems to be a 'confused lump', this is because the text is, we are told, unmediated by literary-rhetorical artifice, expressing the range of Burton's personal qualities by being written in an 'extemporean style' and 'with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak'.[20] Above all, the torrent of learned quotations, allusions and citations 'shows a Scholar' at work. Modern readers may take time to get used to some aspects of the formatting and style, such as the use of italics for proper names, quotations and book titles, the liberal use of notes, and also Burton's habitual inclusion of references to the book and chapter numbers (signalled by

the Latin abbreviations '*lib.*' and '*cap.*') of the works he is incorporating or using to contextualize his discussion. But whereas these were common features of learned books in the era, compositionally the *Anatomy* is rather unusual. Burton's method, as he says, yields a 'cento' – a patchwork of passages taken from other books and stitched together with an authorial commentary – and one that is mixed both linguistically (being macaronic; that is, combining English with other languages, mainly Latin) and formally (being prosimetric; that is, mingling prose with verse). This directly represents the labour of an author with a 'roving humour' who has 'tumbled over diverse authors in our Libraries'.[21] Citations and quotations may have been ubiquitous in Burton's scholarly world, but writing a cento was an ostentatious demonstration of learning as well as ingenuity.

The cento also requires careful and thoughtful readers. As the Flemish scholar Justus Lipsius had urged in his *Politica* (1589), a celebrated late Renaissance cento that provided a model for the *Anatomy*, to appreciate this form of writing readers must think about the creative process by which quotations acquire different or additional meanings in their new settings. In Burton's characteristically playful explanation of his literary method, itself delivered through a series of quotations, he says of the 'matter' of his text that, in the words of the ancient Roman philosopher Seneca, '*apparet unde sumptum sit . . . aliud tamen quam unde sumptum sit apparet*' ('it's clear where it's taken from . . . but it appears as something different from the original'). Where Burton takes liberty with his sources to suit his purpose, most frequently in the rather loose translations or paraphrases that append the Latin quotations or displace them from the main text to the notes, we are invited to discern how the author is putting his books to use. But the quotational technique also resumes the game of hide-and-seek between author and reader on another level, where the distinction between the words of the author and those of his sources can be difficult to detect, or even completely effaced, and where our sense of authorial responsibility can be dragged from its conventional moorings. Throughout the book Burton performs a kind of literary ventriloquism in which his own view may be expressed only implicitly, withheld or even be non-existent: 'it is a *Cento* collected from others, not I, but they that say it.' Or, as a maxim appearing in the preface (and also on the title page of the first two editions) puts it, '*Omne meum, nihil meum*, 'tis all mine, and none mine', a saying adapted from Lipsius' cento but misattributed, slyly perhaps, to Macrobius – the author of the *Saturnalia*, a learned, elegant and occasionally humorous collection of knowledge from late antiquity that was highly esteemed in the Renaissance, and which Lipsius had imitated in his own *Saturnales sermones* (1582).[22] While Burton's own words convey his views frequently enough, his commentary shifts through different registers, sometimes affirming and sometimes criticizing his sources, sometimes expressing an attitude of sceptical or bemused detachment, and sometimes leaving his readers to form their own view. The arrangement of the texts in the cento, the 'composition and method' of the *Anatomy*, can speak for itself.[23]

IV

After 'Democritus Junior to the Reader', Burton presents what he calls his 'treatise', a term that announces a systematic discussion. It is here that the subject of melancholy is, as the subtitle in the frontispiece states, 'Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically opened & cut up' into three 'Partitions', each of which is further subdivided into 'Sections', 'Members' and 'Subsections'. The dissective terminology expresses the art of the anatomist, who has also articulated the structure of his work in visually striking synoptic tables placed before each Partition. Diagrammatic tables of this kind were not uncommon in medical works in the later Renaissance, and indeed the main treatise of the *Anatomy* draws heavily upon the resources of Renaissance learned medicine for both its form and its content. Perhaps most conspicuously, Burton routinely uses division, a tool (or in the parlance of classical rhetoric and dialectic, a 'topic') that was central to medical logic, and again one appropriately used by an anatomist. Division is used, for example, to generate much of the structure of the first Partition, being applied to human diseases in general, diseases of the head, the body, the soul, the species of melancholy, and then to its causes, symptoms and prognostics. Particular Subsections dealing with multiple subjects are also organized, sometimes less rigorously, by the way in which Burton subdivides their contents, which is typically indicated in the titles. Other significant devices of Renaissance medical literature are prominent: the structural arrangement of kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostics, and cures, which reproduces the sequence commonly found in works of pathology; and common topics scattered around the text, such as definition, which Burton often uses to anchor his expansive and periodically digressive writing in the commonly accepted understanding of the subjects in hand.

Renaissance medicine also provided a mass of doctrine for Burton's understanding of melancholy. He was not trained as a physician, but was by Renaissance standards a knowledgeable autodidact, in possession of an impressive quantity of learning about melancholy, and well versed in the principles of diagnosis and therapy as well as the natural philosophy that formed the basis for medical doctrine. In a passage of the 'Conclusion' of the first edition that was omitted in later versions, he mentions circulating his work among friends in Christ Church and the university, including 'some of our worthiest Physicians, whose approbations I had for matters of Physic', and says with some plausibility that he received 'good encouragement' from them.[24] Certainly the *Anatomy* provides a valuable conspectus of the world of medical learning that prevailed not only in England but also across most of Europe in the later Renaissance. Scholars now usually refer to this as 'Galenic' medicine, indicating its indebtedness to (and veneration of) the ancient Greek physician Galen of Pergamum (129–*c.* 216 CE), but as the plethora of physicians quoted in the *Anatomy* well testifies, medicine in this era was a mélange of influences from different periods and places. Burton writes in awareness of the fruits of humanist philology and occasionally acknowledges the historicity of his sources, but the *Anatomy* typically puts its authors in conversation with one another with little regard for their temporal or geographical distance, and draws out broad

continuities between a dizzying array of writers, whose works were available in Latin translations and editions: from those now referred to as the 'Hippocratic' authors, Galen, and other ancient physicians such as Rufus of Ephesus (fl. *c.* 100 CE) and Aretaeus of Cappadocia (a contemporary of Galen), and Arabic physicians and philosophers such as Rhazes (865–*c.* 925), Avicenna (980–1037) and Averroes (1126–98), to a large community of medieval, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century European medical authors, many of whom are barely known today even to specialists in the history of medicine.

While the heaping up of citations and quotations is a direct manifestation of the cento method, it also reflects the character of learned medicine in the Renaissance. Even as it incorporated developments in human dissection pioneered by the celebrated Flemish anatomist Andreas Vesalius (1514–64) and others, as well as a growing interest in direct observation of disease and the study of particular case histories, medical knowledge remained fundamentally textual well into the seventeenth century. For the understanding, diagnosis and treatment of diseases, university-trained doctors drew upon an ever-expanding, and mostly Latinate, body of knowledge that was disseminated throughout Europe in medical books of many different kinds, and at its centre was the exegesis of canonical works, which were commented upon, adapted and incorporated in diverse and often sophisticated ways. However it might appear today, there was nothing out-of-date about the bookish approach to medical knowledge taken in the *Anatomy* when it was first published.

The same holds true for the content of that knowledge. The *Anatomy* is replete with medical and scientific material that is now obscure and obsolete, and in some cases quite grisly or amusing. But while there is no defence for the casual hostility and prejudice sometimes expressed by Burton (and many of his contemporaries) against women, the lower social orders, non-Christian religions, and societies beyond Europe, blanket dismissals of outdated knowledge and beliefs do not serve us well. Like the majority of his learned colleagues, Burton subscribed to a theory of health and disease that had originated in classical antiquity and become increasingly sophisticated as it developed over many centuries into the embodiment of an intellectual tradition of great weight and breadth. This is not the place for a full account of that tradition, but it is important to grasp its main theoretical features, which incorporated modifications by Arabic physicians and philosophers as well as medieval European refinements.

In this understanding, the human body is an arrangement of natural substances, whose primary qualities of heat, coldness, moisture and dryness form a mixture, known as the 'complexion' or 'temperament' (Burton also calls it the 'temperature') of an individual person. The complexion affects the faculties of the body and the soul, predisposing the organism to certain physical and psychological characteristics, and also to particular diseases. Each individual has their own, potentially fluctuating complexion (sometimes called their 'idiosyncrasy', or 'peculiar mixture'), and it is theoretically possible for a complexion to be perfectly balanced; but in practice all bodies can be grouped into eight kinds of relatively stable, and technically healthy, imbalance: four 'simple' complexions (hot, cold, moist, dry) and four 'compound' ones (hot and dry, hot and moist, cold and moist, cold and dry). While the mixture of qualities in the

body is the product of a range of physical or non-physical causes, the principal internal factors are the four humours: blood, which is warm and moist; phlegm, cold and moist; yellow bile or 'choler', hot and dry; black bile, cold and dry. Each of these is essential to the body's nourishment and performance of its functions.[25] Consequently, the compound complexions have names that are still familiar today: sanguine, phlegmatic, choleric, and melancholic.

As the last name in this list suggests, the cold and dry humour black bile is fundamental to melancholy. Rather confusingly for us, the word 'melancholy' can refer to the humour itself (the Latin term *melancholia* derives from the Greek for black bile, μέλαινα χολή), but also to the melancholic complexion and the melancholic disease; and although Burton discusses the terminology, his usage is not always immediately clear.[26] However, the core of the medical theory of the disease, which also originates in antiquity, is fairly easily grasped. In the first place, the disease is classified as a species of *delirium* (insanity or mental derangement) and distinguished from the other principal mental diseases of *mania* (which Burton sometimes just calls 'madness') and *phrenitis* (or 'frenzy') on the grounds that it is chronic and without fever. The 'material cause' is black bile, which is not only cold and dry, but also earthy, thick, sedimentary and the most noxious of the humours. It provokes the melancholic disease when it is excessively abundant, or overheated and corrupted into its unnaturally burnt or 'adust' form.

Typically, the disease of melancholy is divided into three subspecies, according to the site where the black bile accumulates (head, hypochondrium – that is, the upper part of the abdomen – or the whole body), and each of these has its own causes, symptoms, prognostics and cures that relate to their bodily location. Nevertheless, the three principal forms of melancholy share some common features. Most importantly, the bodily part primarily affected is the brain. When black bile is excessive, or when it is corrupt and emits vapours that rise into the head, it disturbs the operation of the 'animal spirits' – subtle substances that convey essential sensory information through the mental faculties in the brain – by rendering them dark, cloudy and thick. This can hinder reasoning, but the main effect is to agitate and deprave the power of the imagination, which distorts and manufactures sense-images that torment the sufferer and are responsible for the typical psychological symptoms of anxiety, delusions, hallucinations and prolonged fear and sorrow without apparent external cause. The prognostics of the condition depend on the severity and duration of the affliction, but suicide is common. Treatments are typically designed to neutralize the effects of the black bile, either by warming and moistening the body, or by removing the toxic humoral abundance through purging or bloodletting.

Medieval physicians systematized and elaborated these ancient teachings in detail, but the Renaissance theory of melancholy is more expansive than its forebears. Black bile remains the main material cause, but Renaissance physicians present a very wide range of other kinds of potential cause, which provoke or alter the humour, provide predisposing conditions, or work through other means to generate the distinctive symptoms of melancholy. Divine, diabolical and heavenly forces are discussed at length: Arabic accounts of planetary influence are behind the identification of Saturn and Mercury as celestial causes; and the late Renaissance efflorescence of literature on demonology and the occult

secrets of nature, and its penetration of medical writing, is reflected in Burton's ruminations on the power of evil spirits, witches and a range of preternatural phenomena. Such influences are incorporated alongside elements of physical and psychological regimen, environment and everyday social life, which are said by physicians to affect both body and mind together, through their effects on the mediating 'spirits'.

In the Renaissance there is also detailed philosophical treatment of the connection, perceived in antiquity, between melancholic madness and genius. According to the Florentine Neoplatonist philosopher Marsilio Ficino (1433–99), the melancholic humour has positive as well as negative potential. When it is moderately heated, mixed with blood and subject to the celestial influences of Saturn and Mercury, it can be a cause of enhanced intellectual and creative ability, and can even facilitate divine inspiration – the condition represented symbolically by Dürer's famous engraving *Melencolia I* (1514). Some readers may be tempted to read Burton's mention of his own melancholic 'genius' in this light, though that term can also refer simply to a person's character.[27] Certainly, the theory of 'genial melancholy' was much discussed in natural philosophy and influential in artistic and literary circles, but we should also note that technically it relates to the melancholic complexion rather than to the disease. It is not prominent in medical discussions of melancholy, where the focus is on the pathological aspects of the condition, and is not given much space in the *Anatomy* either.[28]

There are other areas of the theory of melancholy, however, that are greatly expanded in Renaissance medicine. Corresponding to the longer list of predisposing and determinative potential causes is an extended set of recognized symptoms. Some of these stem from the view that black bile may combine with other humours in their natural or unnatural state, whose qualities inflect the ways in which the condition affects the organism, while other symptoms are traced to pathogenic causes that have been newly identified. As a result, medical descriptions of melancholic symptoms come to resemble catalogues of extreme emotion and disturbed phantasmagoria. There is also a notable increase in the therapeutic options, partly as a result of the growing body of dietetic and pharmaceutical literature (which Burton surveys in the second Partition), and partly due to medical recognition of the utility of what we might now call loosely 'cognitive' psychological therapies: persuasive verbal arguments designed to counteract the effects of the depraved imagination, as well as practical interventions to divert the melancholic mind away from its torments.

Additionally, there are more kinds of melancholy. There is now a variety that afflicts only virgins and unmarried women; and most significantly for readers of the *Anatomy*, there are two forms that relate to the affective causes and symptoms of the disease, 'love-melancholy' and 'religious melancholy'. Burton treats these separately in the third Partition, with each being divided into its kinds and then passed through the sequence of causes, symptoms, prognostics and cures. 'Love-melancholy' is largely another well-recognized product of Arabic influence upon European medicine in the later Middle Ages, although it is given an innovative appendix on jealousy in the *Anatomy*. But 'religious melancholy' is technically Burton's invention. While religious and spiritual aspects of the condition are occasionally mentioned in ancient medical accounts, and also noted by some medieval and Renaissance physicians, the *Anatomy* is the first work to designate

'religious melancholy' formally as a species of the disease, and to give it an account that is articulated in the terms of medical methodology.

V

Yet *The Anatomy of Melancholy* is clearly far more than a medical treatise. There are Subsections in which medicine dominates entirely, but others in which it is marginal – most obviously in the third Partition, where literary sources abound in the comparatively light-hearted discourse on love, and where spiritual concerns govern the darker account of religious melancholy. Sometimes medicine is totally absent. Typically, Burton uses medical knowledge to structure his discussion of melancholy and ground it in physiology, but then, depending on the subject in hand, he expands (or as he often says, 'dilates') it by incorporating quotations drawn from a range of sources including poetry, scripture, theology, moral philosophy, history, mythology, astrology, geography, travel literature, and also popular proverbial wisdom and ballads. This might seem odd today, when scientific and non-scientific disciplines are highly specialized; and even in the Renaissance, when physicians acknowledged the close relationship between the health of the body and that of the soul, for the most part they left the latter to divines, philosophers and moralists, and were reluctant to intrude into the territories of others.[29]

For an author with Burton's background, however, this approach is not at all surprising. At Oxford the prevailing ideal was the classical humanist one of the 'general' polymathic scholar knowledgeable in every discipline – not only in the arts but also in the sciences, which are given special attention in the *Anatomy*'s 'Digression of the Air' in the second Partition – and capable of putting this knowledge to good use in eloquent speech and writing. In this vision, all the disciplines, whatever their manifest differences, were fundamentally interconnected, with common origins in the languages and learning of classical antiquity, and common goals in the cultivation of knowledge, moral virtue and Christian piety. Disciplines were to join forces, as ostensibly they do in the pages of the *Anatomy*, rather than go their separate ways.

It is also important to grasp that, for Burton and his humanist contemporaries, the study of classical languages and literature offered more than a panorama of the past glories of Greek and Roman civilization, and more than instruction in the foundations of ancient wisdom and knowledge. The classics were a uniquely privileged source of enlightenment about the unchanging human condition and a source of practical moral guidance that was indispensable to the cultivation of good character throughout the course of one's life. This is why, in humanist culture, Latin had a special status beyond its function as the language of European scholarship: it was a living language that was essential as the means to access classical illumination and guidance, and also the prerequisite to participation in the cultural project to continue, deepen and apply this illumination and guidance in thinking and writing. The *Anatomy* stands as one of the great humanist works of the English Renaissance because it truly participates in this culture, not simply as a repository of Latin quotations, but as a manifestation of a wide-ranging engagement with classical and modern

learning, and as a written reflection of an insatiably curious humanistic mind that thinks and speaks with ancient texts. It is easy to believe Anthony Wood's report that Burton had a reputation in Christ Church for his 'ready and dextrous interlarding' of his conversation with 'verses from the Poets or sentences from classical Authors'. This is why Burton feels the need to apologize for writing in the English vernacular, blaming the publishers for forcing him to 'prostitute' his muse, and also why he switches to Latin when addressing his fellow scholars.[30]

In fact, many of the apparent idiosyncrasies of the *Anatomy* can be related to Burton's humanist education. For example, his strikingly frequent use of Roman poetry – especially the works of Virgil, Horace, Ovid and Juvenal – obviously reflects one of his personal literary preferences, but emphasis on poetry was also a distinctive feature of the classical language and literature teaching at Oxford. More fundamentally, when Burton refers in the preface to having composed his work by gathering 'wax and honey out of many flowers' like a bee – a metaphor made famous by Seneca – and digesting and disposing the 'matter' taken from other books, his contemporaries would have detected a clear allusion to the humanist practice of compiling a 'commonplace-book' made up of passages taken from one's reading and placed under general headings to facilitate the composition of a new work.[31] This was a method designed to aid the systematic accumulation of material, and it was indispensable for the abundant literary style of the *Anatomy* and for its incorporation of additional material inserted in each new edition. This sometimes reflects the author's response to external events, sometimes his reading of a new book or the memory of an old one, and ranges in scale from entire Subsections, paragraphs and sentences to clauses, phrases and words.

The result exemplifies what Erasmus described as a 'copious' style, characterized by variety of subject matter and expression, and achieved by the piling up, expansion, and amplification of arguments, examples, comparisons and other rhetorical devices. The flow of Burton's prose is conversational but relentless, and 'copious' occasionally to the point of seemingly absurd excess. In places it is consciously meandering, repetitive and perhaps overwhelming, offering the promise of an exhaustive plenitude that can never quite be kept, and expressing the author's awareness that his therapeutic expression of melancholy has bound him to the impossible task of trying to capture and illustrate an infinitely proliferating subject. The frequency of Burton's ampersands, and his characteristic use of 'etcetera' (printed as '&c.') to curtail lists and discussions that might, and perhaps should, go on for longer, both point to this dynamic tension at the heart of the work. They also suggest anxiety about the humanistic enterprise to digest the corpus of human knowledge in a world where the printing press was accelerating its growth to unprecedented proportions. In this environment, it is no surprise to find the author periodically making sceptical and frustrated asides to his readers.

The combination in the *Anatomy* of so many different kinds of knowledge and literature, much of which has now been largely forgotten, is undoubtedly one of its great pleasures. But this aspect of the book does pose questions. By incorporating so many quotations, Burton has created a text that is polyphonic in the extreme, and for some readers the result is linguistic excess, chaos and

confusion. Uncertainty and endemic scholarly conflict are certainly recurring themes in the *Anatomy*, as is the impossibility of imposing a final order upon the multifarious and virtually infinite particulars that its author's quest for knowledge has excavated. Indeed, it would be surprising if the multiple and often conflicting perspectives on the territory of melancholy and its environs provided by so many physicians, theologians, philosophers and poets across the ages could be harmonized. Sometimes Burton does not try, and even seems to revel in exposing disagreements and leaving them unresolved.

Other readers, however, see conceptual coherences and thematic continuities that prevent the text from disintegrating into fragments. One such continuity may be found in Burton's recurrent concern with the moral aspects of the medical psychology of the disease. There are several types of melancholy, and each manifests itself differently in the *Anatomy* according to a colossal multiplicity of factors; but in the first Partition it is stated, clearly enough, that melancholy is a condition of corrupt imagination, which causes malfunctioning perceptual powers and erroneous, irrational judgements.[32] The mental symptoms vary in each particular case, but in all its forms melancholy can be seen as a psychological condition of misperception and faulty cognition, whether of the self, of others, of the world or of God, resulting in extreme and disturbing emotions, intellectual errors and moral or spiritual vices. Correspondingly, it is possible to detect an ongoing therapeutic preoccupation – concentrated in the second and third Partitions in the 'Consolatory Digression' and the final Subsection on the 'Cure of Despair' – geared towards the management of the soul's passions and correction of its errors. The object of this compassionate therapy, which is a Christian version of the classical moral pursuit of rational self-mastery, varies with the modulations of the prose. Sometimes it is the generic sufferer of a form of melancholy; sometimes it is the friend of such a sufferer; sometimes it is explicitly the reader, who may not be melancholic – at least, not yet – but stands to benefit nevertheless. Sometimes, we may suspect, it is also the author himself.

Other thematic continuities in the *Anatomy* come more closely into focus when we look at the book in its immediate historical context, not only as an artefact of a humanistic intellectual and literary milieu, but more concretely as a response to the environment of early Stuart England, where endemic conflicts over matters of religious orthodoxy and political obedience were becoming a source of serious concern for many learned observers, and generating doubts about the moral and spiritual health of the realm. From 1610, all graduating scholars at Oxford had been required to take an oath of allegiance to the crown, and like most of his colleagues Burton explicitly supported the monarchy. But for him the condition of the English 'body politic', for which the king was ultimately responsible in the eyes of his contemporaries, was a source of bitter discontentment. The list of grievances is long: the morally corrupt court, the capricious and failing system of scholarly patronage, the idle and useless aristocracy, the material neglect of the kingdom and the welfare of its populace, the grasping and contentious lawyers, the needless bloodshed and false glory of military conflict, the widespread degeneration of moral virtue – and, most seriously of all, the loss of social stability and spiritual rectitude that had been triggered by confessional religious strife.[33]

The last of these themes appears in the preface and in various places in the

main treatise, but it is fleshed out in most detail in the final Section of the *Anatomy*, where the author's religious views vividly colour the text, and indeed give rise to invective and polemic. Burton was undoubtedly committed to the English Protestant Church, but this part of the book does not reserve its ire for Roman Catholicism, non-Christian religions or atheism. The attacks that would have been seen at the time as most pointed and controversial are upon those within the Protestant camp, most prominently puritans and sectarian extremists, who are ridiculed for their 'enthusiastic' claims of direct divine inspiration and denounced as fomenters of melancholic despair.[34] Here, however, Burton faces a difficulty. He expresses regret that, after its necessary Reformation, Christendom has dissolved into warring religious sects and confessions. He finds himself committed to the notion of a unitary religious orthodoxy, and to a theological middle ground between the extremes of Roman Catholicism and radical Calvinism that was later called Anglicanism. Yet, as he knows very well, the identity of this middle ground was the subject of deep and intractable dispute, and thereby also a cause of ongoing conflict and religious melancholy. As he cannot bring himself to accept religious toleration, there is seemingly no way out of this deadlock, only the refuge of nostalgia.[35] Ultimately, in his lamenting of the divisive and destructive effects of the Reformation, he comes to share the yearning of his antiquarian brother William – who had a similar loathing for puritans and the destructive excesses of zealotry – for a society they seemed to have lost: one where the worship of God was a source of harmony and continuity with the past, and where spirituality uplifted rather than dejected the soul.[36]

VI

Since its first publication, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* has been many things to many different readers. It has been seen as a work of literary scholarship, an encyclopaedic treasure-trove of learning, a 'Menippean' satire that mixes and parodies a variety of serious and comic styles, a spiritual homily in disguise and a book of consolation – to name but a few of the different interpretations. No doubt the plurality of readings will continue as a testimony of its enduring appeal. It has influenced many writers: the long and diverse list includes John Milton, Jonathan Swift, Samuel Johnson, Laurence Sterne, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Charles Lamb, John Keats, Herman Melville, George Eliot, Virginia Woolf, Djuna Barnes, Dorothy Sayers, Jorge Luis Borges (a notable non-Anglophone exception), Anthony Powell, Samuel Beckett, Anthony Burgess, William Gass, Guy Davenport, Alan Sillitoe, John Barth, Alexander Theroux, Philip Pullman, John Kinsella and the filmmaker Patrick Keiller. Its reach beyond the English-speaking world is lengthening, thanks to the appearance of Japanese, Dutch, Italian, German, Spanish, French, Czech, Polish, Slovenian and now Chinese translations. Psychologists, psychiatrists and psychoanalysts who are interested in the prehistory of their fields continue to be drawn to a work which can be seen to elaborate a prototypical 'talking cure', and which gives access to past ways of understanding the melancholic imagination, habits of thought, conscience and self-reproach, and about the intrinsic irrationality of human beings. And for historians, Burton's work now stands as an

incomparably rich and expansive document of the historical self-understanding of a learned tradition which we have mostly lost, but which has been fundamental to the development of European culture.

The *Anatomy* is also a dramatization of a self-therapeutic encounter between an individual author and his books, and the world through his books. The reader is drawn in, first as an observer, and then, to the extent that he or she accepts Burton's arguments and heeds his warnings about our own vulnerabilities, as a participant who can follow a similar course. There is something deeply classical about the structure of this encounter, which follows the passage of the 'spiritual exercise' of ancient moral philosophy.[37] Following this tradition, the search for self-knowledge generates an understanding of what the self shares with others, and so devolves into the pursuit of knowledge about the common repository of human nature: its frailties as well as its capacities, its divine purpose but also its mortality, its potential nobility but its real madness. What starts with individual melancholy, then, must move to the common melancholy of humanity. The multiform and labile persona of Democritus Junior conceals elements of Burton's individuality, but this is essential to his performance in the 'common theatre' of the world as the means by which he can universalize his melancholic condition, easing if not dissolving his own petty discontents as he shares in and sympathizes with the common misery and madness. However fragmentary and chaotic the *Anatomy* might appear at first sight, its governing impulse is to draw out the continuities that run through the diversity of human history, which connect the melancholy of the present with that of the past, and the melancholy of the author with that of his readership and the rest of humanity.

What can be said of the outcome? The *Anatomy* abounds in particular therapies, but also emphasizes the extreme difficulty and probable impossibility of curing the condition completely. Burton's own predicament, his unremitting need to write and 'scratch where it itches', implies that his melancholy is inveterate and habitual.[38] From this perspective, he has ironized his own therapeutic enterprise, expending every effort to remedy his condition while tacitly acknowledging that there will be no cure – at least for him. The ending of the book, with its pithy exhortation to avoid solitariness and idleness, its balance of hope and wariness, and its call to repentance, suggests a way of living with melancholy by alleviating its effects but never escaping it. The only true release is given by death. The epitaph to Burton's monument in Christ Church Cathedral, which the author wrote himself, condenses these themes in characteristic paradoxes: 'Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus, Hic iacet Democritus Junior, Cui vitam dedit, et mortem Melancholia' ('Known to few, unknown to fewer, here lies Democritus Junior, to whom melancholy gave life and death'). These words, together with the horoscope presented alongside his bust, are probably the source of later rumours about Burton's suicide, which circulated after his suspiciously accurate astrological prediction of the date of his passing in January 1640. The rumours may be untrue, but in their own way they are faithful to the *Anatomy*, extending the author's preoccupations beyond his book and further out into the world. Melancholy, his life's work, ended only with his death. Burton the melancholic stays mostly unknown, but his melancholy is shared by everyone.

For all its classical foundations and characteristics, aspects of the *Anatomy* can still feel strangely modern. In 'The Reader', a perceptive but unfinished essay written in the shadow of war and shortly before her own death in 1941, Virginia Woolf ends by turning to Burton's book. She meditates on the melancholic author's awareness of his reader, who is animated by a writer mindful of the commonality of human beings and their suffering. For Woolf, the empathetic world created by Burton for the reader is also diversely gratifying and open, a place of activity without finality.

> It is there that the reader makes his first appearance, for it is there that we find the writer completely conscious of his relation with the reader. And He reveals himself. I am a bachelor. I am neither rich nor poor. I am a tumbler over of other men's books. I live in college rooms. I am a spectator not an actor . . . The vast accumulations, of learning, that have filtered from books into the quiet college room meander over the page. He sees through a thousand green shades what lies immediately before him – the unhappy heart of man. The reflections serve to chequer the immediate spectacle. From books he has won the tolerant sense that we are not single figures but innumerably repeated . . . Now the reader is completely in being. He can pause; he can ponder; he can compare; he can draw back from the page and see behind it a man sitting alone in the centre of the labyrinth of words in a college room thinking of suicide. He can gratify many different moods. He can read directly what is on the page, or, drawing aside, can read what is not written. There is a long drawn continuity in the book . . . It gives a different pace to the mind. We are in a world where nothing is concluded.[39]

It is, as Woolf observes, a book truly written for the reader.

NOTES

1. 'Democritus Junior to the Reader' (hereafter 'DJR'), p. 19.
2. DJR, p. 20. 'Card' here means 'plan' or 'chart', as used by navigators and explorers.
3. 2.1.3.1, p. 438.
4. William Burton, *The Description of Leicestershire* (London, 1622), p. 105.
5. Anthony Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, 2 vols. (London, 1691–2), vol. 1, col. 534.
6. Forman's casebooks are now available online at https://casebooks.lib.cam.ac.uk/.
7. The notes are in the volume of Claudius Ptolemy, *Quadripartitum judiciorum opus*, ed. Jean Le Tonnelier (Paris, 1519), now held in the Bodleian Library in Oxford (4° R 9(1) Art.). A reference to Forman's *Groundes of the Longitude* (London, 1591) would not have been out of place in 2.2.3.1.
8. See, for example, 1.2.4.7, p. 359; 2.2.3.1, pp. 479–81; and 3.4.1.3, p. 1027.
9. DJR, pp. 22–3.
10. 1.2.3.15, pp. 298–325. See also 2.3.6.1, pp. 600–601.
11. Jean Starobinski, 'La Mélancolie de l'Anatomiste', *Tel Quel*, vol. 10 (1962), pp. 21–9, at p. 23.
12. Burton expresses a doubt in 3.3.1.2, p. 935.
13. DJR, pp. 126, 127, 128–9.
14. The description of his utopia is in DJR, pp. 98–118.
15. DJR, p. 48.

16. 1.1.1.5, pp. 148–50; DJR, pp. 40–41.
17. DJR, p. 22.
18. DJR, pp. 28, 125.
19. DJR, p. 34.
20. DJR, p. 33.
21. DJR, pp. 26, 20.
22. DJR, p. 26.
23. DJR, pp. 27, 124.
24. Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (Oxford, 1621), sig. Ddd3r.
25. For Burton's brief account of these, see 1.1.2.2, p. 152. Familiarity with the basic theory of complexions is assumed throughout the book.
26. 1.1.3.1, p. 171.
27. DJR, p. 23.
28. See, for example, 1.2.3.15, pp. 298–9; 1.3.3.1, pp. 409–10.
29. See the comments in DJR, pp. 37–9.
30. Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses*, vol. 1, col. 535; DJR, p. 32; 1.2.3.15, pp. 320–22.
31. DJR, p. 26; Seneca, *Epistles* 84.3–4.
32. 1.1.2.7, p. 162; 1.1.3.2, p. 173; 1.2.3.1–2, pp. 249–54.
33. DJR, pp. 81–98; 1.2.3.15, pp. 299–300; 3.4.1.3, pp. 1028–9.
34. 3.4.1.3, pp. 1028–9; 3.4.2.3, pp. 1053–5; 3.4.2.6, p. 1072.
35. 3.4.1.5, pp. 1032–5.
36. See 1.2.2.6, p. 245; 3.1.3.1, pp. 697–702; 3.4.1.1, pp. 978–83. At some point in the 1630s, Burton paid for one of the stained-glass windows that had been commissioned by the dean of Christ Church for the cathedral from the Dutch window painters Abraham and Bernard Van Linge. The lifelike and colourful depictions of biblical scenes and passages attracted the ire of puritans, who denounced them as idolatrous, so they were removed during the Civil War as a safeguard. While they were still laid out on the floor of the cathedral, however, they were stamped on by a puritanical canon – although five of the windows survived the iconoclastic attack and were later reinstalled. Fragments of Burton's window, some of which show his family coat of arms, were recently discovered in a coal bunker underneath the west end of the cathedral.
37. See Pierre Hadot, *Philosophy as a Way of Life: Spiritual Exercises from Socrates to Foucault*, ed. A. I. Davidson, trans. M. Chase (Oxford and Cambridge, MA, 1995).
38. DJR, p. 23.
39. Virginia Woolf, 'The Reader', in Brenda R. Silver, '"Anon" and "The Reader": Virginia Woolf's Last Essays', *Twentieth Century Literature*, vol. 25, no. 3/4 (1979), pp. 356–441, at p. 429.

Further Reading

Works by Robert Burton

The Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. Rhonda Blair, Thomas Faulkner and Nicolas Kiessling, comment. J. B. Bamborough and Martin Dodsworth, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1989–2000).
Philosophaster, ed. and trans. Connie McQuillen (Binghamton, NY, 1993).

Studies of Robert Burton

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Klibansky, Raymond, Panofsky, Erwin, and Saxl, Fritz, *Saturn and Melancholy: Studies in the History of Natural Philosophy, Religion and Art* (London, 1964).
Knight, Sarah, '"Et spes et ratio studiorum in Caesare tantum": Robert Burton and Patronage', in *The Early Modern Cultures of Neo-Latin Drama*, ed. Philip Ford and Andrew Taylor (Leuven, 2013).
Lund, Mary Ann, *A User's Guide to Melancholy* (Cambridge, 2021).
——— *Melancholy, Medicine and Religion in Early Modern England: Reading 'The Anatomy of Melancholy' in Renaissance England* (Cambridge, 2010).
Lyons, Bridget Gellert, *Voices of Melancholy: Studies in Literary Treatments of Melancholy in Renaissance England* (London, 1971).
Murphy, Kathryn, *Robert Burton: A Vital Melancholy* (London, forthcoming).
——— 'Robert Burton and the Problems of Polymathy', *Renaissance Studies*, vol. 28, issue 2 (2014).
O'Connell, Michael, *Robert Burton* (Boston, MA, 1986).
Pigeaud, Jackie, *Melancholia: Le malaise de l'individu* (Paris, 2008).
Radden, Jennifer A., *Melancholic Habits: Burton's 'Anatomy' and the Mind Sciences* (New York, 2017).
Shirilan, Stephanie, *Robert Burton and the Transformative Powers of Melancholy* (Farnham, 2015).
Sullivan, Erin, *Beyond Melancholy: Sadness and Selfhood in Renaissance England* (Oxford, 2016).

Tilmouth, Christopher, 'Sceptical Perspectives on Melancholy: Burton, Swift, Pope, Sterne', *The Review of English Studies*, vol. 68, issue 287 (2017).
Trevor, Douglas, *The Poetics of Melancholy in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2004).
Wells, Susan, *Robert Burton's Rhetoric: An Anatomy of Early Modern Knowledge* (University Park, PA, 2019)

A Note on the Text

The publishing history of *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, appropriately enough, has not been a happy one. No manuscript copies are known to have survived, leaving editors at the mercy of the early printed versions, whose multiplicity of errors caused Burton great vexation and have also seriously disfigured most modern editions of his book. The Clarendon Press's publication of a critical edition (issued in six volumes between 1989 and 2000) finally put an end to the misery by providing a text purged of as many accidental errors as can realistically be expected, as well as a monumental commentary. We might agree with Borges that the idea of a 'definitive' text 'belongs only to religion or fatigue', but every reader and scholar of Burton who cares about the book owes a profound debt to the Clarendon editors.[1]

The present edition takes account of their work, but differs in several respects. Although the Clarendon text may look at first sight to be a reproduction of one of the editions overseen by Burton himself, it is actually a *Mischtext*, a hybrid of the six different versions printed between 1621 and 1651. It follows the 'accidentals' (the spelling, punctuation and formal presentation) of the edition of 1632, for which we have evidence of Burton's own corrections and which was relatively error-free; and it incorporates the 'substantive' textual additions and alterations of the later versions where these appear to have originated with the author rather than the compositors. However, in the absence of an authorial manuscript, such distinctions can be fraught with difficulty. Many editors of Renaissance texts now favour a contrasting approach, in which the aim is to reproduce the actual manifestation of a specific edition of a text rather than a hypothetical 'original' supposed to lie behind it. But given the proliferation of typographical errors in the early printed copies of the *Anatomy*, and also of differences between copies of the same edition, a *Mischtext* of some kind is preferable in this case. The present version is therefore also a composite of the five editions overseen by the author, and the sixth with his final additions and amendments. However, it is based on the sixth edition; although flawed, this still has the traditional virtue of being the last to issue from the author's hand.

The editorial process always creates a new text. The aim here has been to present a version that is readable and comprehensible for us now, but that retains meaningful features of the 1621–51 editions. To this end, English spellings and word division have generally been made consistent and modernized in accordance with headwords in the current online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Unusual or erroneous Latin spellings have been modified or corrected to elucidate the given translations and facilitate cross-referencing. For proper nouns, unusual

forms have been adjusted to correspond to those commonly given in Burton's sources, which means that several well-recognized seventeenth-century spellings (for example 'Austin' for Augustine, 'Machiavel' for Machiavelli, 'Cardan' for Cardano) have been preserved; however, wholly idiosyncratic spellings of persons and place names, which deviate substantially from common contemporary usage, have been retained and glossed in the Explanatory Notes at the end of the volume. Hyphenations and apostrophized contractions in Burton's poetic translations have been preserved where the sense is clear. The punctuation of the 1651 edition has generally been retained, but it has been modified when it substantially obscures the sense or makes reading more awkward (some passages of the *Anatomy* are unavoidably challenging, but reading them aloud may make them easier to understand). The same principle has been applied to capitalizations, the use of italics for proper nouns and quotations, and also to contractions and abbreviations; in Burton's references, 'l.' and 'c.' have been regularly expanded to 'lib.' and 'cap.', but abbreviations of book titles and source citations have been preserved. Accent marks, excepting those attached to proper nouns, have been removed. Translations of Latin and Greek text (my own, although published translations and generous colleagues have been consulted) are given in square brackets, except in the case of source citations, or when the translations or paraphrases that are frequently given by Burton preserve the majority of the original sense. On the occasions where Burton gives a partial translation, this is completed in square brackets. Obvious compositorial errors have been corrected, but the rather frequent misquotations and mis-citations of texts have not, except when necessary to preserve sense or, in the case of biblical references, to enable easy cross-referencing. Editorial interpolations deemed necessary for comprehension appear in braces.

Burton's notes, which were originally located in the margins but occasionally spilled on to the foot of the page, are given simply as footnotes. To mitigate the presentation of a heavily encumbered text, these have been pruned aggressively, following the principle that any Latin text in the notes that is also directly translated by Burton in the main text may be regarded as superfluous to the latter's primary meaning. Latin text of this nature has therefore been removed, and notes that solely comprised Latin directly translated in the main text have been deleted, together with their reference markers; those who wish to read the Latin of Burton's notes in full may consult the Clarendon edition or an early version online. Superscript reference markers, following the seventeenth-century convention rather than that of modern typography, are placed before rather than after the relevant words in the main text. However, the descriptive marginal tags, which are erratically provided in the early editions of the book and are of questionable use, have been omitted. The endnotes are intended to provide information that is necessary to understand the main sense of the *Anatomy*, but not to provide suggestions about literary interpretation or a full historical or bibliographical commentary; they therefore give definitions of obscure or obsolete terms, explain ideas or beliefs that are no longer widely understood, and identify or give information about allusions, historical actors, and events that are necessary to grasp the basic meaning of the text. Here, as elsewhere, those familiar with Burton scholarship will recognize the great debt owed to the labours not only of the Clarendon editors, but also of others across the generations – especially Arthur Shilleto

(1848–94) and Edward Bensly (1863–1939) – who have contributed significantly to our understanding of the *Anatomy* by tracing a large proportion of its sources. Finally, the alphabetical index ('The Table'), which first appeared in the second edition of 1624, is included as an object of some interest and utility, and perhaps also of amusement, in its own right.

Many debts have been incurred in the course of preparing this edition, but special thanks are due to the Leverhulme Trust for its generous funding of a period of research leave, and to Anna Brownsted, Jessica Harrison, Victoria Moul, Peter Stacey, Judith Curthoys, Valentina Arena, Nicola Miller, Quentin Skinner, Sara Miglietti and Sophie Page for their invaluable knowledge, advice and support; and to Kit Shepherd, a true master of the copy-editor's art. Any remaining imperfections are my own.

NOTE

1. Jorge Luis Borges, 'Las versiones homéricas' (1932), in *Discusión* (Buenos Aires, 1957), p. 140.

THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.

The Argument of the Frontispiece.

Ten distinct Squares here seen apart,
Are join'd in one by Cutter's art.

1 *Old* Democritus *under a tree,*
Sits on a stone with book on knee;
About him hang there many features,
Of Cats, Dogs and such like creatures,
Of which he makes Anatomy,
The seat of black choler to see.
Over his head appears the sky,
And Saturn *Lord of melancholy.*

2 *To th' left a landscape of* Jealousy,
Presents itself unto thine eye.
A Kingfisher, a Swan, an Hern,
Two fighting Cocks you may discern,
Two roaring Bulls each other hie,
To assault concerning Venery.[1]
Symbols are these; I say no more,
Conceive the rest by that's afore.

3 *The next of* Solitariness,
A portraiture doth well express,
By sleeping dog, cat: Buck and Doe,
Hares, Coneys in the desert go:
Bats, Owls the shady bowers over,
In melancholy darkness hover.
Mark well: If't be not as't should be,
Blame the bad Cutter, and not me.

4 *I'th' under Column there doth stand,*
Inamorato *with folded hand;*
Down hangs his head, terse and polite,
Some ditty sure he doth indite.[2]
His lute and books about him lie,
As symptoms of his vanity.
If this do not enough disclose,
To paint him, take thyself by th' nose.[3]

5 Hypocondriacus *leans on his arm,*
Wind in his side doth him much harm,
And troubles him full sore God knows,
Much pain he hath and many woes.
About him pots and glasses lie,
Newly brought from's Apothecary.[4]
This Saturn's *aspects signify,*
You see them portrayed in the sky.

6 *Beneath them kneeling on his knee,*
A Superstitious *man you see:*
He fasts, prays, on his Idol fixt,
Tormented hope and fear betwixt:
For hell perhaps he takes more pain,
Than thou dost Heaven itself to gain.
Alas poor Soul, I pity thee,
What stars incline thee so to be?

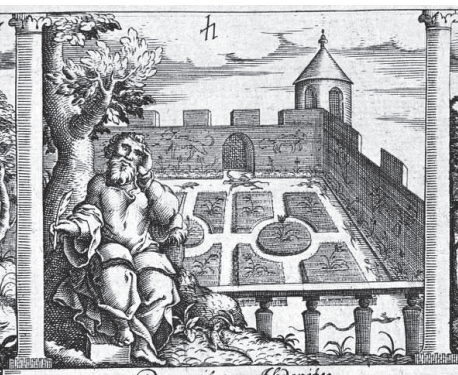
7 *But see the* Madman *rage downright*
With furious looks, a ghastly sight.
Naked in chains bound doth he lie,
And roars amain he knows not why?[5]
Observe him; for as in a glass,
Thine angry portraiture it was.
His picture keep still in thy presence;
'Twixt him and thee, there's no difference.

8 9 Borage *and* Hellebore *fill two scenes,*
Sovereign plants to purge the veins
Of melancholy, and cheer the heart,
Of those black fumes which make it smart;
To clear the Brain of misty fogs,
Which dull our senses, and Soul clogs.
The best medicine that ere God made
For this malady, if well assayed.

10 *Now last of all to fill a place,*
Presented is the Author's *face;*
And in that habit which he wears,
His Image to the world appears.
His mind no art can well express,
That by his writings you may guess.
It was not pride, nor yet vainglory,
(*Though others do it commonly*)

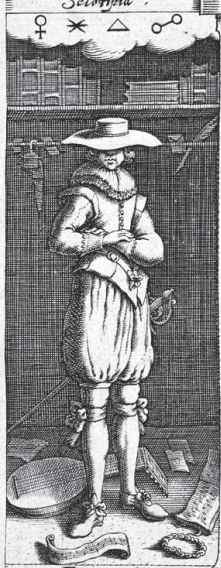
Made him do this: if you must know,
The Printer would needs have it so.
Then do not frown or scoff at it,
Deride not, or detract a whit.
For surely as thou dost by him,
He will do the same again.
Then look upon't, behold and see,
As thou lik'st it, so it likes thee.
And I for it will stand in view,
Thine to command, Reader *Adieu.*

Zelotypia.



Democritus Abderites.

Solitudo.



Inamorato.

THE ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.

What it is, With all the Kinds causes, Symptomes, Prognostickes, & Severall cures of it.

In three Partitions, with their severall Sections, members & subsections.

Philosophically, Medicinally, Historically, opened & cut vp.

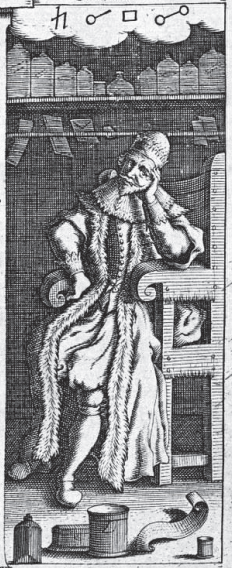
By

Democritus Junior.

With a Satyricall Preface, Conducing to the following Discourse.

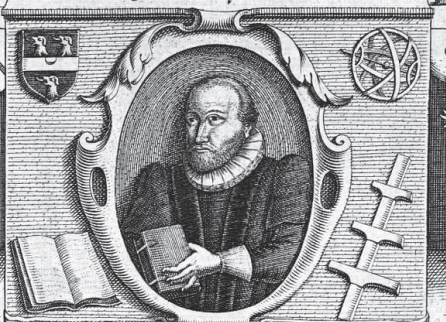
The thirde Edition, corrected and augmented by the Author.

Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit vtile dulci.



Hypocondriacus.

Superstitiosus.



Democritus Junior.

Maniacus.

Borago.

Oxford
Printed for
Henry Cripps.

Helleborus.

HONORATISSI-
MO DOMINO NON
MINUS VIRTUTE SUA,
QUAM GENERIS
SPLENDORE,
ILLUSTRISSIMO,
GEORGIO BERKLEIO,
MILITI DE BALNEO,
BARONI DE BERKLEY
MOUBREY, SEGRAVE,
D. DE BRUSE,

DOMINO SUO

Multis Nominibus Observando,

HANC SUAM
MELANCHOLIAE
ANATOMEN,

JAM SEXTO
REVISAM,
D. D.
DEMOCRITUS Junior.

[Translation]

To the most honourable Lord, George Berkeley,
Knight of the Bath, Baron Berkeley, Mowbray and Seagrave, Lord Breuse,
most illustrious, no less for his own virtue
than for the splendour of his family,
to his Lord, to be esteemed for many reasons,
Democritus Junior gives as a gift this his *Anatomy of Melancholy*,
now revised for the sixth time.

Democritus Junior ad Librum suum.

Vade liber, qualis, *non ausum dicere*, foelix,
Te nisi foelicem fecerit Alma dies.
Vade tamen quocunque lubet, quascunque per oras,
Et Genium *Domini fac imitere tui.*
I blandas inter Charites, mystamque saluta
Musarum quemvis, si tibi lector erit.
Rura colas, urbem, subeasve palatia regum,
Submisse, placide, te sine dente geras.
Nobilis, aut si quis te forte inspexerit heros,
Da te morigerum, perlegat usque lubet.
Est quod Nobilitas, est quod desideret heros,
Gratior haec forsan charta placere potest.
Si quis morosus Cato, *tetricusque Senator,*
Hunc etiam librum forte videre velit,
Sive magistratus, tum te reverenter habeto;
Sed nullus; muscas non capiunt Aquilae.
Non vacat his tempus fugitivum impendere nugis,
Nec tales cupio, par mihi lector erit.
Si matrona gravis casu diverterit istuc,
Illustris domina, aut te Comitissa legat:
Est quod displiceat, placeat quod forsitan illis,
Ingerere his noli te modo, pande tamen.
At si virgo tuas dignabitur inclyta chartas
Tangere, sive schedis haereat illa tuis:
Da modo te facilem, & quaedam folia esse memento
Conveniant oculis quae magis apta suis.
Si generosa ancilla tuos aut alma puella
Visura est ludos, annue, pande lubens.
Dic utinam nunc ipse meus [a](*nam diligit istas*)
In praesens esset conspiciendus herus.
Ignotus notusve mihi de gente togata
Sive aget in ludis, pulpita sive colet,
Sive in Lycaeo, & nugas evolverit istas,
Si quasdam mendas viderit inspiciens,
Da veniam Authori, dices; nam plurima vellet
Expungi, quae jam displicuisse sciat.
Sive Melancholicus quisquam, seu blandus Amator,
Aulicus aut Civis, seu bene comptus Eques
Huc appellat, age & tuto te crede legenti,

a. *Haec comice dicta cave ne male capias.*

[Translation]

Democritus Junior to His Book.

Book, off you go: I dare not say you're a lucky sort,
  Unless the kindly light of day makes you so.
Still, off you go, to wherever, through any countries you like,
  And get on with expressing the genius of your master.
Go, together with the charming Graces, and greet any priest
  Of the Muses you fancy, if he'll read you.
Should you stay in the country or the city, or enter the palaces of kings,
  Behave yourself humbly, calmly, without malice.
If a nobleman, or perchance a mighty warrior hero, has a look at you,
  Be obliging: let him read as much as he likes.
There's something here that nobility, that even a hero may yearn for,
  The rather charming pages here could win them over.
If any severe Cato, or harsh senator,
  Should by chance wish to look at this book,
Or a magistrate, you shall behave yourself!
  But there'll be none: 'Eagles don't hunt flies.'[6]
Men like these don't have the leisure to spend their fleeting moments on trifles,
  Nor do I wish for such great men – the reader will be like me.
If a solemn matron should happen to turn this way,
  If a distinguished lady, or a countess reads you,
There's stuff that would offend, stuff that perhaps they would like –
  Don't thrust yourself upon them, just lie there.
And if a renowned virgin should deign to touch your sheets,
  Or if she should cling to your leaves,
Make yourself easy to use, and remember that some of your pages
  Will be more suitable for her eyes than others.
If a respectable maidservant or a kind girl
  Would like to see your tricks, agree, and lie open willingly.
Say, 'If only my distinguished master himself were here'
  [a](For he loves girls like that).
If someone from the gowned fraternity, known or unknown to me,
  Whether he spends his time in schools, or inhabits pulpits,
Or a university, leafs through these trifles,
  And on inspection finds some blunders,
Say, 'Pardon the Author; for he would want
  Expunged anything that he discovered to be displeasing.'
If any melancholic man, or charming lover,
  A courtier or citizen, or a well-decked knight
Ends up here, step forth, and entrust yourself safely to his reading,

a. This is said as a joke: careful you don't take it the wrong way.

Multa istic forsan non male nata leget.
Quod fugiat, caveat, quodque amplexabitur, ista
Pagina fortassis promere multa potest.
At si quis Medicus coram te sistet, amice
Fac circumspecte, & te sine labe geras:
Inveniet namque ipse meis quoque plurima scriptis,
Non leve subsidium quae sibi forsan erunt.
Si quis Causidicus chartas impingat in istas,
Nil mihi vobiscum, pessima turba vale;
Sit nisi vir bonus, & juris sine fraude peritus,
Tum legat, & forsan doctior inde siet.
Si quis cordatus, facilis, lectorque benignus
Huc oculos vertat, quae velit ipse legat;
Candidus ignoscet, metuas nil, pande libenter,
Offensus mendis non erit ille tuis,
Laudabit nonnulla. Venit si Rhetor ineptus,
Limata & tersa, & qui bene cocta petit,
Claude citus librum; nulla hic nisi ferrea verba,
Offendent stomachum quae minus apta suum.
At si quis non eximius de plebe poeta,
Annue; namque istic plurima ficta leget.
Nos sumus e numero, nullus mihi spirat Apollo,
Grandiloquus Vates quilibet esse nequit.
Si Criticus Lector, tumidus Censorque molestus,
Zoilus *&* Momus, *si rabiosa cohors:*
Ringe, freme, & noli tum pandere, turba malignis
Si occurrat sannis invidiosa suis:
Fac fugias; si nulla tibi sit copia eundi,
Contemnes, tacite scommata quaeque feres.
Frendeat, allatret, vacuas gannitibus auras
Impleat, haud cures, his placuisse nefas.
Verum age si forsan divertat purior hospes,
Cuique sales, ludi, displiceantque joci,
Objiciatque tibi sordes, lascivaque: dices,
Lasciva est Domino & Musa jocosa tuo,
Nec lasciva tamen, si pensitet omne; sed esto;
Sit lasciva licet pagina, vita proba est.
Barbarus, indoctusque rudis spectator in istam
Si messem intrudat, fuste fugabis eum,
Fungum pelle procul (*jubeo*) *nam quid mihi fungo?*
Conveniunt stomacho non minus ista suo.
Sed nec pelle tamen; laeto omnes accipe vultu,
Quos, quas, vel quales, inde vel unde viros.
Gratus erit quicunque venit, gratissimus hospes
Quisquis erit, facilis difficilisque mihi.
Nam si culparit, quaedam culpasse juvabit,
Culpando faciet me meliora sequi.

He might find lots here that's not shabbily conceived.
Let him take care with what might escape him: whatever page he's keen on,
It might, perhaps, yield many things.
But if any doctor stands before you, act amicably
And carefully, and conduct yourself without a blemish:
For he himself will discover very many things in my writings
Which may be of no little assistance to him.
If any barrister comes upon these pages,
Bye-bye, vicious rabble! No point in my being with you;
Unless he's a good man, and honestly learned in the law,
Then let him read, and after that maybe he'll be more learned.
If any wise, affable and obliging reader
Turns his gaze this way, let him read anything he wants;
A fair person will forgive: don't be afraid, open up willingly,
He won't be offended by your faults,
And some things he'll praise. If some absurd rhetorician should appear,
Demanding materials that are polished, elegant and refined,
Close the book quickly! There's nothing here except harsh words,
Ill-suited ones that will offend his taste.
But if it's some undistinguished vulgar poet,
Give a nod, for here are many stories he'll read.
We are of that number: no Apollo inspires me,
Not everyone can be a grandiloquent bard.
If it's a critical reader, a puffed-up and irksome censor,
A Zoilus and a Momus, that rabid crew:
Then snarl, growl, and refuse to open up, if that envious rabble
Appears with its spiteful sneers:
Make your escape; if you've no chance to get away,
Defy them, silently bear all of their taunts.[7]
Let them gnash their teeth, bark, fill the empty air with yelps:
Never mind, it's a crime to have satisfied these people.
But if perhaps a purer guest should visit,
Whom jests, games and jokes would displease,
And who'd reproach you for filth and lewdness, say
Your master's Muse is lewd and droll –
And yet not lewd, if all's considered. But so be it:
'The page may be lewd, the life is virtuous.'[8]
If a barbarous, rude and ignorant critic
Intrudes on this harvest, drive him off with a club,
Push the numbskull away (I command it), for what use is he to me?
Those jokes are no less suited to his taste.
But actually, don't drive him off; welcome everyone with a cheerful look,
Men, women, all sorts, people from here or there.
Whoever comes will be welcome, a most welcome guest
Whoever he is, whether affable or troublesome to me.
For if he criticizes, the criticism will be some help;
By criticizing he'll make me write better in future.

Sed si laudarit, neque laudibus efferar ullis,
Sit satis hisce malis opposuisse bonum.
Haec sunt quae nostro placuit mandare libello,
Et quae dimittens dicere jussit Herus.

But if he praises, I'll not get carried away by any compliments;
Let it suffice to have set some good against these evils.
These are the instructions my master decided to entrust to our little book,
And which, sending it off, he ordered it to say.

The Author's Abstract of Melancholy, Διαλογικῶς

When I go musing all alone,
Thinking of diverse things fore-known,
When I build Castles in the air,
Void of sorrow and void of fear,
Pleasing myself with phantasms sweet,
Methinks the time runs very fleet.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as melancholy.
When I lie waking all alone,
Recounting what I have ill done,
My thoughts on me then tyrannize,
Fear and sorrow me surprise,
Whether I tarry still or go,
Methinks the time moves very slow.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so sad as melancholy.
When to myself I act and smile,
With pleasing thoughts the time beguile,
By a brook-side or wood so green,
Unheard, unsought for, or unseen,
A thousand pleasures do me bless,
And crown my soul with happiness.
All my joys besides are folly,
None so sweet as melancholy.
When I lie, sit, or walk alone,
I sigh, I grieve, making great moan,
In a dark grove, or irksome den,
With discontents and Furies then,
A thousand miseries at once,
Mine heavy heart and soul ensconce,
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so sour as melancholy.
Methinks I hear, methinks I see,
Sweet music, wondrous melody,
Towns, palaces and Cities fine;
Here now, then there; the world is mine,
Rare beauties, gallant Ladies shine,
Whate'er is lovely or divine.
All other joys to this are folly,
None so sweet as melancholy.
Methinks I hear, methinks I see
Ghosts, goblins, fiends, my fantasy

Presents a thousand ugly shapes,
Headless bears, black men, and apes,
Doleful outcries, and fearful sights,
My sad and dismal soul affrights.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
None so damn'd as Melancholy.
Methinks I court, methinks I kiss,
Methinks I now embrace my mistress.
O blessed days, O sweet content,
In Paradise my time is spent.
Such thoughts may still my fancy move,
So may I ever be in love.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as Melancholy.
When I recount love's many frights,
My sighs and tears, my waking nights,
My jealous fits; O mine hard fate
I now repent, but 'tis too late.
No torment is so bad as love,
So bitter to my soul can prove.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so harsh as Melancholy.
Friends and Companions get you gone,
'Tis my desire to be alone;
Ne'er well but when my thoughts and I
Do domineer in privacy.
No Gem, no treasure like to this,
'Tis my delight, my Crown, my bliss.
All my joys to this are folly,
Naught so sweet as Melancholy.
'Tis my sole plague to be alone,
I am a beast, a monster grown,
I will no light nor company,
I find it now my misery.
The scene is turn'd, my joys are gone;
Fear, discontent, and sorrows come.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so fierce as Melancholy.
I'll not change life with any King,
I ravish't am: can the world bring
More joy, than still to laugh and smile,
In pleasant toys time to beguile?
Do not, O do not trouble me,
So sweet content I feel and see.
All my joys to this are folly,
None so divine as Melancholy.
I'll change my state with any wretch,
Thou canst from gaol or dunghill fetch:

My pain, past cure, another Hell,
I may not in this torment dwell,
Now desperate I hate my life,
Lend me a halter or a knife.
All my griefs to this are jolly,
Naught so damn'd as Melancholy.

DEMOCRITUS

JUNIOR TO THE READER.

Gentle Reader, I presume thou wilt be very inquisitive to know what antic or personate actor this is, that so insolently intrudes upon this common theatre, to the world's view, arrogating another man's name, whence he is, why he doth it, and what he hath to say; although, as [a]he said, *Primum si noluero, non respondebo, quis coacturus est?*[1] I am a free man born, and may choose whether I will tell, who can compel me? If I be urged, I will as readily reply as that *Egyptian* in [b]*Plutarch*, when a curious fellow would needs know what he had in his basket, *Quum vides velatam, quid inquiris in rem absconditam?* [when you see that it's wrapped up, why ask about something hidden?] It was therefore covered, because he should not know what was in it.[2] Seek not after that which is hid, if the contents please thee, [c]*and be for thy use*, *suppose* the Man in the Moon, *or whom thou wilt to be the Author*; I would not willingly be known. Yet in some sort to give thee satisfaction, which is more than I need, I will show a reason, both of this usurped name, title, and subject. And first of the name of *Democritus*; lest any man by reason of it, should be deceived, expecting a pasquil, a satire, some ridiculous treatise (as I myself should have done), some prodigious tenet, or paradox of the earth's motion, of infinite Worlds, *in infinito vacuo, ex fortuita atomorum collisione* [in infinite emptiness, from the accidental clashing of atoms], in an infinite waste, so caused by an accidental collision of Motes in the Sun, all which *Democritus* held, *Epicurus* and their Master *Leucippus* of old maintained, and are lately revived by *Copernicus*, *Brunus*, and some others.[3] Besides it hath been always an ordinary custom, as [d]*Gellius* observes, *for later Writers and impostors, to broach many absurd and insolent fictions, under the name of so noble a philosopher as* Democritus, *to get themselves credit, and by that means the more to be respected*, as artificers usually do, *novo qui marmori ascribunt Praxitilem suo* [who add the name 'Praxiteles' to their new marble statue].[4] 'Tis not so with me.

> [e]*Non hic Centauros, non Gorgonas, Harpyasque*
> *Invenies, hominem pagina nostra sapit.*

a. *Seneca in ludo in mortem Claudii Caesaris.*
b. *Lib. de curiositate.*
c. *Modo haec tibi usui sint quemvis authorem fingito* [So long as these words are useful to you, make the author anyone you want]. *Wecker.*
d. *Lib. 10 cap. 12.*
e. *Martialis lib. 10 epigr. 4.*

> No *Centaurs* here, or *Gorgons* look to find,
> My subject is of man, and humankind.

Thou thyself art the subject of my discourse.

> [a]*Quicquid agunt homines, votum, timor, ira, voluptas,*
> *Gaudia, discursus, nostri farrago libelli.*
>
> Whate'er men do, vows, fears, in ire, in sport,
> Joys, wand'rings, are the sum of my report.

My intent is no otherwise to use his name, than *Mercurius Gallobelgicus*, *Mercurius Britannicus*, use the name of *Mercury*, [b]*Democritus Christianus*, *&c.*[5] Although there be some other circumstances, for which I have masked myself under this vizard, and some peculiar respects, which I cannot so well express, until I have set down a brief character of this our *Democritus*, what he was, with an Epitome of his life.

Democritus, as he is described by [c]*Hippocrates* and [d]*Laertius*, was a little wearish old man, very melancholy by nature, averse from company in his latter days, [e]and much given to solitariness, a famous Philosopher in his age, [f]*coaevus* [contemporary] with *Socrates*, wholly addicted to his studies at the last, and to a private life, writ many excellent works, a great Divine, according to the divinity of those times, an expert Physician, a Politician, an excellent Mathematician, as [g]*Diacosmus* and the rest of his works do witness.[6] He was much delighted with the studies of Husbandry, saith [h]*Columella*, and often I find him cited by [i]*Constantinus* and others treating of that subject. He knew the natures, differences of all beasts, plants, fishes, birds; and, as some say, could [j]understand the tunes and voices of them. In a word, he was *omnifariam doctus* [learned in every way], a general scholar, a great student; and to the intent he might better contemplate, [k]I find it related by some, that he put out his eyes, and was in his old age voluntarily blind, yet saw more than all Greece besides, and [l]writ of every subject, *Nihil in toto opificio naturae, de quo non scripsit* [there's nothing in the entire work of nature which he didn't write about].[7] A man of an excellent wit, profound conceit;

a. *Juv. Sat. 1.*
b. *Auth. Pet. Bessaeo edit. Coloniae 1616.*
c. *Hip. Epist. Damaget.*
d. *Laert. lib. 9.*
e. *Hortulo sibi cellulam seligens, ibique seipsum includens, vixit solitarius* [Choosing a garden as his dwelling, and secluding himself there, he lived alone].
f. *Floruit Olympiade 80, 700 annis post Trojam* [He was in his prime at the 80th Olympiad, 700 years after Troy].
g. *Diacos. quod cunctis operibus facile excellit* [*Diacosmos*, which far surpasses all his other works together], *Laert.*
h. *Col. lib. 1 cap. 1.*
i. *Const. lib. de agric. passim.*
j. *Abderitani Ep. Hip.*
k. *Sabellicus exempl. lib. 10.*
l. *Naturalia, Moralia, Mathematica, liberales disciplinas, artiumque omnium peritiam callebat* [He had expertise in natural philosophy, moral philosophy, mathematics, the liberal sciences, and in the knowledge of all the arts].

and to attain knowledge the better in his younger years, he travelled to *Egypt* and [a]*Athens*, to confer with learned men, *admired of some, despised of others*. After a wandering life, he settled at *Abdera*, a town in *Thrace*, and was sent for thither to be their Law-maker, Recorder or town clerk as some will; or as others, he was there bred and born.[8] Howsoever it was, there he lived at last in a garden in the suburbs, wholly betaking himself to his studies, and a private life, [b]*saving that sometimes he would walk down to the haven,* [c]*and laugh heartily at such variety of ridiculous objects, which there he saw*. Such a one was *Democritus*.

But in the meantime, how doth this concern me, or upon what reference do I usurp his habit?[9] I confess indeed that to compare myself unto him for aught I have yet said, were both impudence and arrogance. I do not presume to make any parallel, *Antistat mihi millibus trecentis,* [d]*parvus sum, nullus sum, altum nec spiro, nec spero* [he's three hundred miles ahead of me; I'm a puny man, I'm a nobody, I neither express nor expect greatness]. Yet thus much I will say of myself, and that I hope without all suspicion of pride, or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi & musis* [for myself and for the Muses], in the University as long almost as *Xenocrates* in *Athens*, *ad senectam fere* [almost until old age], to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study.[10] For I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing College of *Europe*, [e]*Augustissimo collegio* [the most majestic college], and can brag with [f]*Jovius*, almost, *in ea luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi, per 37 annos multa opportunaque didici* [in the course of 37 years I've learned much that's useful, in the splendour of my Vatican abode, in the most renowned place in the whole world]; for 30 years I have continued (having the use of as good [g]Libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be therefore loath, either by living as a drone, to be an unprofitable or unworthy a Member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be anyway dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation.[11] Something I have done, though by my profession a Divine, yet *turbine raptus ingenii* [seized by a whirlwind of the mind], as [h]he said, out of a running wit, an unconstant, unsettled mind, I had a great desire (not able to attain to a superficial skill in any), to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis* [a jack of all trades, master of none], which [i]*Plato* commends, out of him [j]*Lipsius* approves and furthers, *as fit to be imprinted in all curious wits, not to be a slave of one science, or dwell altogether in one subject, as most do, but to rove abroad*, centum puer artium [a boy with a hundred skills], *to have*

a. *Veni Athenas, & nemo me novit* [I came to Athens, and no one knew me].
b. *Hip. Ep. Damag.*
c. *Perpetuo risu pulmonem agitare solebat Democritus* [Democritus used to exercise his lungs with incessant laughter], *Juv. Sat. 10.*
d. *Non sum dignus praestare matellam* [I'm not worthy of looking after a chamber pot]. *Mart.*
e. Christ Church in Oxford.
f. *Praefat. hist.*
g. Keeper of our College Library lately revived by *Otho Nicholson* Esquire.
h. *Scaliger.*
i. *In Theaetet.*
j. *Phil. Stoic. lib. 3 diss. 8.*

an oar in every man's boat, to taste of every dish and sip of every cup, which saith [a]*Montaigne*, was well performed by *Aristotle* and his learned countryman *Adrian Turnebus*. This roving humour (though not with like success) I have ever had, & like a ranging spaniel, that barks at every bird he sees, leaving his game, I have followed all, saving that which I should, & may justly complain, and truly, *qui ubique est, nusquam est* [he who's everywhere is nowhere], which [b]*Gesner did in modesty*, that I have read many books, but to little purpose, for want of good method, I have confusedly tumbled over diverse authors in our Libraries, with small profit for want of art, order, memory, judgement. I never travelled but in Map or Card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever been especially delighted with the study of *Cosmography*.[12] [c]*Saturn* was Lord of my geniture, culminating, &c., and *Mars* principal *significator* of manners, in partile conjunction with mine *Ascendant*; both fortunate in their houses, &c.[13] I am not poor, I am not rich; *nihil est, nihil deest*, I have little, I want nothing: all my treasure is in *Minerva's* tower. Greater preferment as I could never get, so am I not in debt for it, I have a competency (*Laus Deo* [praise be to God]) from my noble and munificent Patrons, though I live still a Collegiate student, as *Democritus* in his garden, and lead a monastic life, *ipse mihi theatrum* [a theatre to myself], sequestered from those tumults and troubles of the world, *et tanquam in specula positus* [and as if placed on a watch-tower] (as [d]he said), in some high place above you all, like *Stoicus Sapiens, omnia saecula, praeterita presentiaque videns, uno velut intuitu* [the Stoic sage, seeing all ages, past and present, as if in a single vision], I hear and see what is done abroad, how others [e]run, ride, turmoil, and macerate themselves in court and country, far from those wrangling Lawsuits, *aulae vanitatem, fori ambitionem, ridere mecum soleo* [I'm used to laughing to myself at the vanity of the court, the flattery of the public square]: I laugh at all, *only secure, lest my suit go amiss, my ships perish*, corn and cattle miscarry, trade decay, *I have no wife nor children good or bad to provide for*.[14] A mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures, and how they act their parts, which methinks are diversely presented unto me, as from a common theatre or scene. I hear new news every day, and those ordinary rumours of war, plagues, fires, inundations, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in *France*, *Germany*, *Turkey*, *Persia*, *Poland*, *&c.*, daily musters and preparations, and such-like, which these tempestuous times afford, battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwrecks, piracies, and sea-fights, peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms.[15] A vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, lawsuits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances are daily brought to our ears. New books every day, pamphlets, corantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new

a. *Essays lib. 1 cap. 3.*
b. *Praefat. Bibliothec.*
c. *Ambo fortes & fortunati, Mars idem magisterii dominus juxta primam Leovitii regulam* [Both powerful and fortunate, and the dominant influence being Mars, according to the first rule of Leovitius].
d. *Heinsius.*
e. *Calide ambientes, solicite litigantes, aut misere excidentes; voces, strepitum, contentiones, &c.* [Eagerly striving, restlessly quarrelling or miserably losing; cries, clamour, strife, etc.] *Cyp. ad Donat.*

paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, &c.[16] Now come tidings of weddings, masquings, mummeries, entertainments, jubilees, embassies, tilts and tournaments, trophies, triumphs, revels, sports, plays: then again, as in a new shifted scene, treasons, cheating tricks, robberies, enormous villainies in all kinds, funerals, burials, death of Princes, new discoveries, expeditions; now comical, then tragical matters. Today we hear of new Lords and officers created, tomorrow of some great men deposed, and then again of fresh honours conferred; one is let loose, another imprisoned; one purchaseth, another breaketh: he thrives, his neighbour turns bankrupt; now plenty, then again dearth and famine; one runs, another rides, wrangles, laughs, weeps, &c. Thus I daily hear, and such-like, both private and public news, amidst the gallantry and misery of the world; jollity, pride, perplexities and cares, simplicity and villainy; subtlety, knavery, candour and integrity, mutually mixed and offering themselves, I rub on *privus privatus* [as my own private person], as I have still lived, so I now continue, *statu quo prius* [in the same condition as before], left to a solitary life, and mine own domestic discontents: saving that sometimes, *ne quid mentiar* [lest I should lie], as *Diogenes* went into the city, and *Democritus* to the haven to see fashions, I did for my recreation now and then walk abroad, look into the world, and could not choose but make some little observation, *non tam sagax observator, ac simplex recitator* [not so much as an acute observer as a simple reciter], not as they did to scoff or laugh at all, but with a mixed passion.[17]

[a]*Bilem saepe, jocum vestri movere tumultus.*

[Your uproar has stirred my laughter, often my bile.]

I did sometime laugh and scoff with *Lucian*, and satirically tax with *Menippus*, lament with *Heraclitus*, sometimes again I was [b]*petulanti splene cachinno* [a cackler with a peevish spleen], and then again, [c]*urere bilis jecur* [I burned with anger], I was much moved to see that abuse which I could not amend. In which passion howsoever I may sympathize with him or them, 'tis for no such respect I shroud myself under his name, but either in an unknown habit, to assume a little more liberty and freedom of speech, or if you will needs know, for that reason and only respect, which *Hippocrates* relates at large in his Epistle to *Damagetus*, wherein he doth express, how coming to visit him one day, he found *Democritus* in his garden at *Abdera*, in the suburbs, [d]under a shady bower, with a book on his knees, busy at his study, sometimes writing, sometime walking. The subject of his book was melancholy and madness, about him lay the carcasses of many several beasts, newly by him cut up and anatomized, not that he did contemn God's creatures, as he told *Hippocrates*, but to find out the seat of this *atra bilis* [black bile], or melancholy, whence it proceeds, and how it was engendered in

a. *Hor.*
b. *Per.*
c. *Hor.*
d. *Secundum moenia locus erat frondosis populis opacus, vitibusque sponte natis, tenuis prope aqua defluebat, placide murmurans, ubi sedile & domus Democriti conspiciebatur* [Along the walls the place was shaded with leafy poplar trees, with vines growing freely; nearby flowed a small stream, softly murmuring, and there the seat and home of Democritus could be seen].

men's bodies, to the intent he might better cure it in himself, by his writings and observations [a]teach others how to prevent and avoid it.[18] Which good intent of his, *Hippocrates* highly commended: *Democritus Junior* is therefore bold to imitate, & because he left it unperfect, & it is now lost, *quasi succenturiator Democriti* [like a stand-in for Democritus], to revive again, prosecute and finish in this treatise.

You have had a reason of the name; if the title and inscription offend your gravity, were it a sufficient justification to accuse others, I could produce many sober treatises, even sermons themselves, which in their fronts carry more fantastical names. Howsoever it is a kind of policy in these days, to prefix a fantastical title to a book which is to be sold: for as Larks come down to a day net, many vain readers will tarry and stand gazing like silly passengers, at an antic picture in a painter's shop, that will not look at a judicious piece.[19] And indeed, as [b]*Scaliger* observes, *nothing more invites a reader than an argument unlooked for, unthought of, and sells better than a scurrile pamphlet*, tum maxime cum novitas excitat palatum [above all, when novelty stimulates the palate]. Many men, saith [c]*Gellius*, *are very conceited in their inscriptions*, and able (as [d]*Pliny* quotes out of *Seneca*) to make him loiter by the way, *that went in haste to fetch a midwife for his daughter, now ready to lie down*.[20] For my part I have honourable [e]precedents for this which I have done: I will cite one for all, *Anthony Zara Pap. Episc.*, his Anatomy of wit, in four sections, members, subsections, &c., to be read in our Libraries.

If any man except against the matter or manner of treating of this my subject, and will demand a reason of it, I can allege more than one, I write of melancholy, by being busy to avoid melancholy.[21] There is no greater cause of melancholy than idleness, *no better cure than business*, as [f]*Rhasis* holds: and howbeit, *stultus labor est ineptiarum*, to be busied in toys is to small purpose, yet hear that divine *Seneca*, better *aliud agere quam nihil*, better do to no end than nothing. I writ therefore, and busied myself in this playing labour, *otiosaque diligentia ut vitarem torporem feriandi* [so that by this idle industry I can escape the sluggishness of inactivity], with *Vettius* in *Macrobius*, atque otium in utile verterem negotium [and turn leisure into profitable business].

——— [g]*Simul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitae,*
Lectorem delectando simul atque monendo.

[. . . To say things that are both pleasant and useful for life,
Delighting and advising the reader at the same time.]

a. *Cum mundus extra se sit, & mente captus sit, & nesciat se languere, ut medelam adhibeat* [Since the world is beside itself, and has lost its mind, and doesn't know that it's sick, for the purpose of administering a cure].
b. *Scaliger Ep. ad Patisonem.*
c. *Lib. 20 cap. 11.*
d. *Praefat. Nat. Hist.*
e. Anatomy of popery. Anatomy of immortality. *Angelus Salas*, Anatomy of *Antimony*, &c.
f. *Cont. lib. 1 cap. 9.*
g. *Hor.*

To this end I write, like them, saith *Lucian*, that *recite to trees, and declaim to pillars for want of auditors*: as *Paulus Aegineta* ingeniously confesseth, *not that anything was unknown or omitted, but to exercise myself*, which course if some took, I think it would be good for their bodies, and much better for their souls; or peradventure as others do, for fame, to show myself (*Scire tuum nihil est, nisi te scire hoc sciat alter* [your knowing is nothing, unless another knows you know it]). I might be of *Thucydides'* opinion, *to know a thing and not to express it, is all one as if he knew it not*. When I first took this task in hand, *& quod ait* [a]*ille, impellente genio negotium suscepi* [and, as he says, I began this enterprise being driven by my genius], this I aimed at, [b]*vel ut lenirem animum scribendo*, to ease my mind by writing, for I had *gravidum cor, foetum caput* [a burdened heart, a pregnant head], a kind of impostume in my head, which I was very desirous to be unladen of, and could imagine no fitter evacuation than this.[22] Besides I might not well refrain, for *ubi dolor, ibi digitus* [where's the ache, there's the finger], one must needs scratch where it itches. I was not a little offended with this malady, shall I say my Mistress *melancholy*, my *Aegeria*, or my *malus genius* [evil genius], & for that cause as he that is stung with a scorpion, I would expel *clavum clavo* [one nail with another], comfort one sorrow with another, idleness with idleness, *ut ex vipera Theriacum* [get a remedy for poison from the viper], make an Antidote out of that which was the prime cause of my disease.[23] Or as he did, of whom [c]*Felix Plater* speaks, that thought he had some of *Aristophanes'* frogs in his belly, still crying *Brecec'ekex, coax, coax, oop, oop, oop*, and for that cause studied physic seven years, and travelled over most part of *Europe* to ease himself: to do myself good I turned over such physicians as our libraries would afford, or my [d]private friends impart, and have taken this pains.[24] And why not? *Cardan* professeth he writ his book *De consolatione* after his son's death, to comfort himself; so did *Tully* write of the same subject with like intent after his daughter's departure, if it be his at least, or some impostor's put out in his name, which *Lipsius* probably suspects. Concerning myself, I can peradventure affirm with *Marius* in *Sallust*, *that which others hear or read of, I felt, and practised myself, they get their knowledge by books, I mine by melancholizing, Experto crede* Roberto [trust Robert, who's experienced].[25] Something I can speak out of experience, *aerumnabilis experientia me docuit* [I've been taught by wretched affliction], and with her in the Poet, [e]*Haud ignara mali miseris succurrere disco* [I learn from my own miseries to help those in distress]. I would help others out of a fellow-feeling, and as that virtuous Lady did of old, [f]*being a leper herself, bestow all her portion to build an Hospital for Lepers*, I will spend my time and knowledge, which are my greatest fortunes, for the common good of all.

Yea but you will infer that this is [g]*actum agere* [doing what's been done], an

a. *Jovius Praef. Hist.*
b. *Erasmus.*
c. *Observat. lib. 1.*
d. Mr. John Rous our *Protobib. Oxon.* Mr. Hopper. Mr. Guthridge, &c.
e. *Dido Virg.*
f. *Camden.*
g. *Iliada post Homerum* [Writing the *Iliad* after Homer].

unnecessary work, *cramben bis coctam apponere* [serving up reheated cabbage], the same again and again in other words. To what purpose? *Nothing is omitted that may well be said*, so thought *Lucian* in the like theme. How many excellent Physicians have written just Volumes and elaborate tracts of this subject?[26] No news here, that which I have is stolen from others, [a]*Dicitque mihi mea pagina fur es* [and my page says to me, 'You're a thief']. If that severe doom of *Synesius* be true, *It is a greater offence to steal dead men's labours, than their clothes*, what shall become of most Writers? I hold up my hand at the bar amongst others, and am guilty of felony in this kind, *habes confitentem reum* [you have a defendant who has confessed], I am content to be pressed with the rest. 'Tis most true, *tenet insanabile multos scribendi cacoethes* [many are gripped by an incurable itch to write], and [b]*there is no end of writing of books*, as the Wise man found of old, in this [c]scribbling age, especially wherein [d]*the number of books is without number* (as a worthy man saith), *presses be oppressed*, and out of an itching humour, that every man hath to show himself, [e]desirous of fame and honour (*scribimus indocti doctique* ——— [we write, learned and unlearned . . .]), he will write no matter what, and scrape together it boots not whence. [f]*Bewitched with this desire of fame, etiam mediis in morbis* [even in the midst of sickness], to the disparagement of their health, and scarce able to hold a pen, they must say something, have it out, *and get themselves a name*, saith *Scaliger*, *though it be to the downfall and ruin of many others*.[27] To be counted writers, *scriptores ut salutentur*, to be thought and held *Polymaths* and *Polyhistors*, *apud imperitum vulgus ob ventosae nomen artis* [renowned among the ignorant mob for a puffed-up art], to get a paper kingdom: *nulla spe quaestus sed ampla famae* [with no hope of gain but plenty of fame], in this precipitate, ambitious age, *nunc ut est saeculum, inter immaturam eruditionem, ambitiosum & praeceps* [as the times are now, surrounded by immature, ambitious and hasty scholarship] ('tis [g]*Scaliger's* censure), and they that are scarce auditors, *vix auditores*, must be masters and teachers, before they be capable and fit hearers. They will rush into all learning, *togatam*, *armatam* [civil, military], divine, humane authors, rake over all *Indexes* & Pamphlets for notes, as our merchants do strange havens for traffic, write great Tomes, *cum non sint re vera doctiores, sed loquaciores*, when as they are not thereby better scholars, but greater praters.[28] They commonly pretend public good, but as [h]*Gesner* observes, 'tis pride and vanity that eggs them on, no news or aught worthy of note, but the same in other terms. *Ne feriarentur fortasse typographi, vel ideo scribendum est aliquid ut se vixisse testentur* [They must write, so that the printers might not be idle, and so that they might

a. *Martialis.*
b. *Eccl. ult.*
c. *Libros Eunuchi gignunt, steriles pariunt* [Eunuchs produce children, the barren give birth].
d. Dr. King *praefat lect. Jonas*, the late right reverend Lord Bishop of *London.*
e. *Homines famelici gloriae ad ostentationem eruditionis undique congerent* [Men starving for glory amass stuff from everywhere to show off their learning], *Buchananus.*
f. *Justus Baronius.*
g. *Exercit. 288.*
h. *Praef. Biblioth.*

have something to attest that they have lived]. As Apothecaries we make new mixtures every day, pour out of one vessel into another; and as those old *Romans* robbed all the cities of the world, to set out their bad sited *Rome*, we skim off the cream of other men's wits, pick the choice flowers of their tilled gardens to set out our own sterile plots.[29] *Castrant alios ut libros suos per se graciles alieno adipe suffarciant* [They castrate others to stuff their own slender volumes with flab from elsewhere] (so [a]*Jovius* inveighs). They lard their lean books with the fat of others' works. *Ineruditi fures, &c.* [Uneducated thieves, etc.] A fault that every Writer finds, as I do now, and yet faulty themselves, [b]*Trium literarum homines* [three-letter men], all thieves; they pilfer out of old Writers to stuff up their new Comments, scrape *Ennius'* dunghills, and out of *Democritus'* pit, as I have done. By which means it comes to pass, [c]*that not only libraries and shops are full of our putid papers, but every close-stool and jakes, Scribunt carmina quae legunt cacantes* [they write poems that are read while shitting]; they serve to put under pies, to [d]lap spice in, and keep roast meat from burning.[30] With us in France, saith [e]*Scaliger*, *every man hath liberty to write, but few ability. Heretofore learning was graced by judicious scholars, but now noble sciences are vilified by base and illiterate scribblers*, that either write for vainglory, need, to get money, or as Parasites to flatter and collogue with some great men, they put out [f]*burras, quisquiliasque ineptiasque* [nonsense, dregs and follies].[31] *Amongst so many thousand Authors you shall scarce find one, by reading of whom you shall be any whit better, but rather much worse, quibus inficitur potius, quam perficitur*, by which he is rather infected than anyway perfected.

> ——— [g]*Qui talia legit,*
> *Quid didicit tandem, quid scit nisi somnia, nugas?*
>
> [. . . He who reads such things,
> What has he finally learned, what does he know, apart
> from fantasies, trifles?]

So that oftentimes it falls out (which *Callimachus* taxed of old) a great Book is a great mischief. [h]*Cardan* finds fault with Frenchmen and Germans, for their scribbling to no purpose, *non inquit ab edendo deterreo, modo novum aliquid inveniant*, he doth not bar them to write, so that it be some new invention of their own; but we weave the same web still, twist the same rope again and again, or if it be a new invention, 'tis but some bauble or toy which idle fellows write, for as idle fellows to read, and whoso cannot invent? *He must have a*

a. *Praefat. hist.*
b. *Plautus.*
c. *Non tam refertae bibliothecae quam cloacae* [The libraries aren't as crammed full as the drains].
d. *Et quicquid cartis amicitur ineptis* [And whatever's wrapped up in sheets of waste-paper].
e. *Epist. ad Patis.*
f. *Aus. pac.*
g. *Palingenius.*
h. *Lib. 5 de sap.*

barren wit, that in this scribbling age can forge nothing. [a]*Princes show their armies, rich men vaunt their buildings, soldiers their manhood, and scholars vent their toys*, they must read, they must hear whether they will or no.[32]

> [b]*Et quodcunque semel chartis illeverit, omnes*
> *Gestiet a furno redeuntes scire lacuque,*
> *Et pueros & anus* ———

> What once is said and writ, all men must know,
> Old wives and children as they come and go.

What a company of Poets hath this year brought out, as *Pliny* complains to *Sossius Sinesius*; [c]*this April every day some or other have recited.*[33] What a catalogue of new books all this year, all this age (I say) have our *Frankfurt* Marts, our domestic Marts brought out?[34] Twice a year, [d]*Proferunt se nova ingenia & ostentant*, we stretch our wits out, and set them to sale, *magno conatu nihil agimus* [with great striving we achieve nothing]. So that which *Gesner* much desires, if a speedy reformation be not had, by some Prince's Edicts and grave Supervisors, to restrain this liberty, it will run on *in infinitum*. *Quis tam avidus librorum helluo* [Who is such a greedy glutton for books?], who can read them? As already, we shall have a vast *Chaos* and [e]confusion of Books, we are [f]oppressed with them, our eyes ache with reading, our fingers with turning.[35] For my part I am one of the number, *nos numerus sumus*, I do not deny it, I have only this of *Macrobius* to say for myself, *Omne meum, nihil meum*, 'tis all mine, and none mine. As a good housewife out of diverse fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, a Bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers, and makes a new bundle of all,

> [g]*Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,*

> [As bees in flowery pastures take a taste of everything,]

I have laboriously [h]collected this *Cento* out of diverse Writers, and that *sine injuria* [without harm], I have wronged no authors, but given every man his own; which [i]*Jerome* so much commends in *Nepotian*, he stole not whole verses, pages, tracts, as some do nowadays, concealing their Authors' names, but still said this was *Cyprian's*, that *Lactantius'*, that *Hillarius'*, so said *Minucius Felix*, so *Victorinus*, thus far *Arnobius*: I cite and quote mine Authors (which howsoever some

a. *Cardan. praef. ad consol.*
b. *Hor. ser. 1 Sat. 4.*
c. *Epist. Lib. 1.*
d. *Idem.*
e. *Onerabuntur ingenia, nemo legendis sufficit* [Wits are overburdened, no one's able to read them].
f. *Fam. Strada. Momo.*
g. *Lucretius.*
h. *Quicquid ubique bene dictum facio meum, & illud nunc meis ad compendium, nunc ad fidem & authoritatem alienis exprimo verbis, omnes authores meos clientes esse arbitrior, &c.* [Whatever's been well said anywhere I've made my own, and I express it sometimes in my own words for concision, sometimes in the words of others for credibility and authority; I consider all authors to be under my protection, etc.] *Sarisburiensis ad Polycrat. prol.*
i. *In Epitaph. Nep.*

illiterate scribblers account pedantical, as a cloak of ignorance, and opposite to their affected fine style, I must and will use), *sumpsi, non surripui* [I've borrowed, not stolen]; and what *Varro Lib. 6 de re rust.* speaks of Bees, *minime maleficae nullius opus vellicantes faciunt deterius* [not at all wicked, for they damage no work that they pluck], I can say of myself, whom have I injured? The matter is theirs most part, and yet mine, *apparet unde sumptum sit* (which *Seneca* approves) *aliud tamen quam unde sumptum sit apparet* [it's clear where it's taken from . . . but it appears as something different from the original], which nature doth with the aliment of our bodies incorporate, digest, assimilate, I do *conquoquere quod hausi* [digest what I've swallowed], dispose of what I take. I make them pay tribute, to set out this my *Maceronicon*, the method only is mine own, I must usurp that of [a]*Wecker e Terentio*, *nihil dictum quod non dictum prius, methodus sola artificem ostendit*, we can say nothing but what hath been said, the composition and method is ours only, & shows a Scholar.[36] *Oribasius*, *Aetius*, *Avicenna*, have all out of *Galen*, but to their own method, *diverso stilo, non diversa fide* [differing in style, not faithfulness], our Poets steal from *Homer*, he spews, saith *Aelian*, they lick it up. Divines use *Austin's* words *verbatim* still, and our Story-dressers do as much, he that comes last is commonly best,

——— *donec quid grandius aetas*
Postera sorsque ferat melior. ———

[. . . until a later age
And happier destiny bring something better . . .][37]

Though there were many Giants of old in Physic and Philosophy, yet I say with [b]*Didacus Stella*, *A dwarf standing on the shoulders of a Giant may see farther than a Giant himself*; I may likely add, alter, and see farther than my predecessors; [c]and it is no greater prejudice for me to indite after others, than for *Aelianus Montaltus* that famous Physician, to write *de morbis capitis* [on the diseases of the head] after *Jason Pratensis*, *Heurnius*, *Hildesheim*, *&c.*, many horses to run in a race, one Logician, one Rhetorician, after another.[38] Oppose then what thou wilt,

Allatres licet usque nos & usque,
Et gannitibus improbis lacessas.

[You can bark at us forever,
And hound us with vicious snarling.]

I solve it thus.[39] And for those other faults of barbarism, *Doric* dialect, extemporanean style, tautologies, apish imitation, a rhapsody of rags gathered together from several dunghills, excrements of authors, toys and fopperies confusedly tumbled out, without art, invention, judgement, wit, learning, harsh,

a. *Praef. ad Syntax. med.*
b. *In Luc. 10 Tom. 2.*
c. *Nec aranearum textus ideo melior quia ex se fila gignuntur, nec noster ideo vilior, quia ex alienis libamus ut apes* [Neither is the spider's web therefore better, because the threads originate from itself, nor is ours therefore worse, because we extract from the works of others like bees]. *Lipsius adversus dialogist.*

raw, rude, fantastical, absurd, insolent, indiscreet, ill-composed, indigested, vain, scurrile, idle, dull and dry; I confess all ('tis partly affected), thou canst not think worse of me than I do of myself.[40] 'Tis not worth the reading, I yield it, I desire thee not to lose time in perusing so vain a subject, I should be peradventure loath myself to read him or thee so writing, 'tis not *operae pretium* [worth the trouble]. All I say, is this, that I have [a]precedents for it, which *Isocrates* calls *perfugium iis qui peccant* [a refuge for those who've offended], others as absurd, vain, idle, illiterate, &c. *Nonnulli alii idem fecerunt*, others have done as much, it may be more, and perhaps thou thyself, *novimus & qui te, &c.* [we know, and who was with you, etc.], we have all our faults; *scimus, & hanc veniam, &c.* [we know, and {claim} that licence, etc.], [b]thou censurest me, so have I done others, and may do thee, *caedimus inque vicem, &c.* [we take turns to strike, etc.], 'tis *lex talionis* [the law of retaliation], *quid pro quo*. Go now censure, criticize, scoff and rail.

> [c]*Nasutus sis usque licet, sis denique nasus:*
> *Non potes in nugas dicere plura meas,*
> *Ipse ego quam dixi, &c.*
>
> Werst thou all scoffs and flouts, a very *Momus*,
> Than we ourselves, thou canst not say worse of us.[41]

Thus, as when women scold, have I cried whore first, and in some men's censures, I am afraid I have overshot myself, *Laudare se vani, vituperare stulti* [the vain praise themselves, the foolish blame themselves], as I do not arrogate, I will not derogate. *Primus vestrum non sum, nec imus*, I am none of the best, I am none of the meanest of you. As I am an inch, or so many feet, so many parasangs, after him or him, I may be peradventure an ace before thee.[42] Be it therefore as it is, well or ill, I have assayed, put myself upon the stage, I must abide the censure, I may not escape it. It is most true, *stylus virum arguit*, our style bewrays us, & as [d]hunters find their game by the trace, so is a man's *genius* descried by his works, *Multo melius ex sermone quam lineamentis, de moribus hominum judicamus* [we judge the characters of men far more accurately from their speech than from their features]; 'twas old *Cato's* rule.[43] I have laid myself open (I know it) in this treatise, turned mine inside outward, I shall be censured, I doubt not, for to say truth with *Erasmus*, *nihil morosius hominum judiciis*, there's naught so peevish as men's judgements, yet this is some comfort, *ut palata, sic judicia*, our censures are as various as our palates.

> [e]*Tres mihi convivae prope dissentire videntur*
> *Poscentes vario multum diversa palato, &c.*
>
> [They seem to me to be like three dissenting guests,
> Requesting great variety for their different palates, etc.]

a. *Uno absurdo dato mille sequuntur* [Permitted one absurdity, a thousand follow].
b. *Non dubito multos lectores hic fore stultos* [I don't doubt that many readers will be fools here].
c. *Martial. 13. 2.*
d. *Lipsius.*
e. *Hor.*

Our writings are as so many dishes, our readers guests, our books like beauty, that which one admires, another rejects; so are we approved as men's fancies are inclined.

Pro captu lectoris habent sua fata libelli.

[Books have their fates, depending on the capacity of the reader.]

That which is most pleasing to one is *amaracum sui* [marjoram to a hog], most harsh to another.[44] *Quot homines, tot sententiae*, so many men, so many minds: that which thou condemnest he commends.

[a]*Quod petis, id sane est invisum acidumque duobus.*

[Your choice is truly hateful and sour to the other two.]

He respects matter, thou art wholly for words, he loves a loose and free style, thou art all for neat composition, strong lines, hyperboles, allegories; he desires a fine frontispiece, enticing pictures, such as *Hieron.* [b]*Natalis* the Jesuit hath cut to the Dominicals, to draw on the Reader's attention, which thou rejectest; that which one admires, another explodes as most absurd and ridiculous.[45] If it be not point blank to his humour, his method, his conceit, [c]*Si quid forsan omissum, quod is animo conceperit, si quae dictio, &c.*, if aught be omitted, or added, which he likes, or dislikes, thou art *mancipium paucae lectionis* [a poorly read drudge], an idiot, an ass, *nullus es* [you're nothing], or *plagiarius* [a plagiarist], a trifler, a trivant, thou art an idle fellow; or else 'tis a thing of mere industry, a collection without wit or invention, a very toy.[46] [d]*Facilia sic putant omnes quae jam facta, nec de salebris cogitant, ubi via strata* [So everyone considers things that are already done to be easy, nor do they think about the rugged spots where the road is paved], so men are valued, their labours vilified by fellows of no worth themselves; as things of naught, who could not have done as much? *Unusquisque abundat sensu suo*, every man abounds in his own sense; and whilst each particular party is so affected, how should one please all?

[e]*Quid dem, quid non dem? Renuis tu quod jubet ille.*

[What shall I offer, what shall I not offer? You refuse what the other man orders.]

How shall I hope to express myself to each man's humour and [f]conceit, or to give satisfaction to all? Some understand too little, some too much, *qui similiter in legendos libros, atque in salutandos homines irruunt, non cogitantes quales, sed quibus vestibus induti sint* [those who, in the same way that they read books, rush to greet men, not considering their nature, but what they're

a. *Hor.*
b. *Antwerp. fol. 1607.*
c. *Muretus.*
d. *Lipsius.*
e. *Hor.*
f. *Fieri non potest, ut quod quisque cogitat, dicat unus* [It's not possible for one man to say what everyone thinks]. *Muretus.*

clothed in], as [a]*Austin* observes, not regarding what, but who write, [b]*orexin habet authoris celebritas* [the celebrity of the author generates the craving], not valuing the metal, but stamp that is upon it, *Cantharum aspiciunt, non quid in eo* [they see the tankard, not what's in it]. If he be not rich, in great place, polite and brave, a great doctor, or full fraught with grand titles, though never so well qualified, he is a dunce, but as [c]*Baronius* hath it of Cardinal *Carafa's* works, he is a mere hog that rejects any man for his poverty.[47] Some are too partial, as friends to overween, others come with a prejudice to carp, vilify, detract, and scoff (*qui de me forsan, quicquid est, omni contemptu contemptius judicant* [who declare whatever I might produce to be beneath contempt]); some as bees for honey, some as spiders to gather poison. What shall I do in this case? As a Dutch host, if you come to an Inn in *Germany*, and dislike your fare, diet, lodging, &c., replies in a surly tone, [d]*aliud tibi quaeras diversorium*, if you like not this, get you to another Inn: I resolve, if you like not my writing, go read something else.[48] I do not much esteem thy censure, take thy course, 'tis not as thou wilt, nor as I will, but when we have both done, that of [e]*Plinius Secundus* to *Trajan* will prove true, *Every man's witty labour takes not, except the matter, subject, occasion, and some commending favourite happen to it*.[49] If I be taxed, exploded by thee and some such, I shall haply be approved and commended by others, & so have been (*Expertus loquor* [I speak from experience]), and may truly say with [f]*Jovius* in like case (*absit verbo jactantia*) *heroum quorundam, pontificum, & virorum nobilium familiaritatem & amicitiam, gratasque gratias, & multorum* [g]*bene laudatorum laudes sum inde promeritus* [(let there be no bragging) I have earned the intimate acquaintance and friendship of certain illustrious men, bishops and noblemen, and had pleasing favours from them, and the praise of many who have themselves been well praised], as I have been honoured by some worthy men, so have I been vilified by others, and shall be. At the first publishing of this book (which [h]*Probus* of *Persius'* satires), *editum librum continuo mirari homines, atque avide deripere coeperunt* [as soon as the book was produced, men began to admire it, and eagerly snatch it up], I may in some sort apply to this my work, the first, second, and third edition were suddenly gone, eagerly read, & as I have said, not so much approved by some, as scornfully rejected by others. But it was *Democritus* his fortune, *idem admirationi & [i]irrisioni habitus* [the object of admiration as well as mockery]. 'Twas *Seneca's* fate, that superintendent of wit, learning, judgement, [j]*ad stuporem doctus* [stupefyingly learned], the best of *Greek* and *Latin* writers, in *Plutarch's*

a. *Lib. 1 de ord. cap. 11.*
b. *Erasmus.*
c. *Annal. Tom. 3 ad annum 360.*
d. *Erasm. dial.*
e. *Epist. lib. 6.*
f. *Praef. hist.*
g. *Laudari a laudato laus est* [To be praised by someone who has been praised is true praise].
h. *Vit. Persii.*
i. *Minuit praesentia famam* [Presence diminishes fame].
j. *Lipsius Judic. de Seneca.*

opinion; that *renowned corrector of vice*, as [a]*Fabius* terms him, *and painful omniscious philosopher, that writ so excellently and admirably well*, could not please all parties, or escape censure: how is he vilified by [b]*Caligula*, *Gellius*, *Fabius*, and *Lipsius* himself, his chief propugner?[50] *In eo pleraque pernitiosa* [There are many dangerous things in him], saith the same *Fabius*, many childish tracts and sentences he hath, *sermo illaboratus* [uncultivated language], too negligent often, and remiss, as *Gellius* observes, *oratio vulgaris & protrita, dicaces & ineptae sententiae, eruditio plebeia* [vulgar and trite speech, sarcastic and improper opinions, plebeian knowledge], an homely shallow writer as he is. *In partibus spinas & fastidia habet* [In places he contains perplexities and pickiness], saith [c]*Lipsius*, and as in all his other works, so especially in his epistles, *aliae in argutiis & ineptiis occupantur, intricatus alicubi, & parum compositus, sine copia rerum hoc fecit* [some are occupied with subtleties and absurdities, elsewhere he is tangled up, and not orderly enough, and he did this without an abundance of subject matter], he jumbles up many things together immethodically, after the Stoics' fashion, *parum ordinavit, multa accumulavit, &c.* [he did not arrange well, he heaped many things up, etc.] If *Seneca* be thus lashed, and many famous men that I could name, what shall I expect? How shall I that am *vix umbra tanti philosophi* [barely the shadow of such a great philosopher], hope to please? *No man so absolute*, [d]*Erasmus* holds, *to satisfy all, except antiquity, prescription, &c., set a bar.*[51] But as I have proved in *Seneca*, this will not always take place, how shall I evade?[52] 'Tis the common doom of all writers, I must (I say) abide it, I seek not applause; [e]*Non ego ventosae venor suffragia plebis* [I don't hunt for the votes of the fickle commoners]; again, *non sum adeo informis* [I'm not so misshapen], I would not be [f]vilified.

——— [g]*laudatus abunde,*
Non fastiditus si tibi lector ero.

[. . . I'll be amply praised
If I'm not loathsome to you, reader.]

I fear good men's censures, and to their favourable acceptance I submit my labours,

a. *Lib. 10. Plurimum studii, multam rerum cognitionem, omnem studiorum materiam, &c., multa in eo probanda, multa admiranda* [{He possessed} great studiousness, abundant familiarity with things, {and} every subject of learning, etc.; {there was} much in him to be esteemed, much to be admired].
b. *Suet. Arena sine calce* [Sand without lime].
c. *Introduc. ad Sen.*
d. *Judic. de Sen. Vix aliquis tam absolutus, ut alteri per omnia satisfaciat, nisi longa temporis praescriptio, semota judicandi libertate, religione quadam animos occuparit* [There's hardly any author so perfect that he can satisfy another in every respect, unless long-standing custom, setting aside freedom of judgement, possesses our minds with a kind of religious reverence].
e. *Hor. Ep. 1 lib. 19.*
f. *Aeque turpe frigide laudari ac insectanter vituperari* [It's equally shameful to be coolly praised as to be bitterly reproached]. *Favorinus, Gel. lib. 19 cap. 3.*
g. *Ovid. trist. 1 eleg. 6.*

——— [a]*& linguas Mancipiorum*
Contemno, ———

[. . . and I despise the talk of slaves . . .]

as the barking of a dog, I securely contemn those malicious and scurrile obloquies, flouts, calumnies of railers and detractors, I scorn the rest. What therefore I have said, *pro tenuitate mea* [as far as my slender abilities permit] I have said.

One or two things yet I was desirous to have amended if I could, concerning the manner of handling this my subject, for which I must apologize, *deprecari* [plead in excuse], and upon better advice give the friendly reader notice: it was not mine intent to prostitute my muse in *English*, or to divulge *secreta Minervae* [Minerva's secrets], but to have exposed this more contract in *Latin*, if I could have got it printed.[53] Any scurrile pamphlet is welcome to our mercenary Stationers in *English*, they print all,

——— *cuduntque libellos*
In quorum foliis vix simia nuda cacaret;

[. . . and they print books
On whose pages a mere ape would scarcely shit;]

but in *Latin* they will not deal; which is one of the reasons [b]*Nicholas Carr* in his oration of the paucity of *English* writers, gives, that so many flourishing wits are smothered in oblivion, lie dead and buried in this our nation. Another main fault is, that I have not revised the copy, and amended the style, which now flows remissly, as it was first conceived, but my leisure would not permit, *Feci nec quod potui, nec quod volui*, I confess it is neither as I would, or as it should be.

[c]*Cum relego scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno*
Me quoque quae fuerant judice digna lini.

When I peruse this tract which I have writ,
I am abash'd, and much I hold unfit.

Et quod gravissimum [And what's most disagreeable], in the matter itself, many things I disallow at this present, which then I writ, [d]*Non eadem est aetas, non mens* [my age isn't the same, nor's my mind]; I would willingly retract much, &c., but 'tis too late, I can only crave pardon now for what is amiss.

I might indeed (had I wisely done) observed that precept of the poet,

——— *nonumque prematur in annum,*

[. . . it should be held back for nine years,]

and have taken more care: or as *Alexander* the physician would have done by *Lapis Lazuli*, fifty times washed before it be used, I should have revised, corrected and amended this tract; but I had not (as I said) that happy leisure, no

a. *Juven. Sat. 9.*
b. *Aut artis inscii, aut quaestui magis quam literis student* [Either ignorant of their art, or more zealous for profit than for literature]. *hab. Cantab. & Lond. Excus. 1576.*
c. *Ovid. de pont. Eleg. 1. 6.*
d. *Hor.*

Amanuenses or assistants. *Pancrates* in [a]*Lucian*, wanting a servant as he went from *Memphis* to *Coptus* in *Egypt*, took a door bar, and after some superstitious words pronounced (*Eucrates* the relator was then present), made it stand up like a serving-man, fetch him water, turn the spit, serve in supper, and what work he would besides; and when he had done that service he desired, turned his man to a stick again. I have no such skill to make new men at my pleasure, or means to hire them, no whistle to call like the master of a ship, and bid them run, &c. I have no such authority, no such benefactors, as that noble [b]*Ambrosius* was to *Origen*, allowing him six or seven *Amanuenses* to write out his dictates, I must for that cause do my business myself, and was therefore enforced, as a Bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump, I had not time to lick it into form, as she doth her young ones, but even so to publish it, as it was first written, *quicquid in buccam venit* [whatever came into my head], in an extemporean style, as [c]I do commonly all other exercises, *effudi quicquid dictavit genius meus* [I poured out whatever my genius dictated], out of a confused company of notes, and writ with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak, without all affectation of big words, fustian phrases, jingling terms, tropes, strong lines, that like [d]*Acestes'* arrows caught fire as they flew, strains of wit, brave heats, elogies, hyperbolical exornations, elegancies, &c., which many so much affect.[54] I am [e]*aquae potor* [a drinker of water], drink no wine at all, which so much improves our modern wits, a loose, plain, rude writer, *ficum voco ficum, & ligonem ligonem* [I call a fig a fig, and a hoe a hoe], and as free, as loose, *idem calamo quod in mente* [the same with the pen as in the mind], [f]I call a spade a spade, *animis haec scribo, non auribus* [I write this for minds, not for ears], I respect matter, not words; remembering that of *Cardan*, *verba propter res, non res propter verba* [words for the sake of things, not things for the sake of words]: and seeking with *Seneca*, *quid scribam, non quemadmodum*, rather what, than how to write. For as *Philo* thinks, *he that is conversant about matter, neglects words, and those that excel in this art of speaking, have no profound learning*,

> [g]*Verba nitent phaleris, at nullas verba medullas*
> *Intus habent* ———
>
> [They glisten like decorations, but words
> Have no inner essence . . .]

Besides, it was the observation of that wise *Seneca*, [h]*when you see a fellow careful about his words, and neat in his speech, know this for a certainty, that man's mind is busied about toys, there's no solidity in him. Non est ornamentum virile*

a. *Tom. 3 Philopseud.*
b. *Eusebius eccles. Hist. lib. 6.*
c. *Stans pede in uno* [Standing on one leg], as he made verses.
d. *Virg.*
e. *Non eadem a summo expectes, minimoque Poeta* [You shouldn't expect the same from the greatest and the slightest poet].
f. *Stylus hic nullus praeter parrhesiam* [There's no style here except freedom of speech].
g. *Palingenius.*
h. *Epist. lib. 1. 21.*

concinnitas [Being too neatly dressed is not a manly distinction]: as he said of a nightingale,

——— *vox es, praeterea nihil, &c.*

[. . . you're a voice, and nothing else, etc.]

I am therefore in this point a professed disciple of [a]*Apollonius*, a scholar of *Socrates*, I neglect phrases, and labour wholly to inform my reader's understanding, not to please his ear; 'tis not my study or intent to compose neatly, which an Orator requires, but to express myself readily & plainly as it happens.[55] So that as a River runs sometimes precipitate and swift, then dull and slow; now direct, then *per ambages* [digressively]; now deep, then shallow; now muddy, then clear; now broad, then narrow; doth my style flow: now serious, then light; now comical, then satirical; now more elaborate, then remiss, as the present subject required, or as at that time I was affected. And if thou vouchsafe to read this treatise, it shall seem no otherwise to thee, than the way to an ordinary Traveller, sometimes fair, sometimes foul; here champian, there enclosed; barren in one place, better soil in another: by woods, groves, hills, dales, plains, &c.[56] I shall lead thee *per ardua montium, & lubrica vallium, & roscida cespitum, &* [b]*glebosa camporum* [over lofty mountains, through dangerous valleys, dewy lawns, and fields full of clods], through variety of objects, that which thou shalt like and surely dislike.[57]

For the matter itself or method, if it be faulty, consider I pray you that of *Columella*, *Nihil perfectum aut a singulari consummatum industria* [nothing's perfected, or brought to the highest degree of completion, by the industry of a single person], no man can observe all, much is defective no doubt, may be justly taxed, altered, and avoided in *Galen*, *Aristotle*, those great Masters. *Boni venatoris* ([c]one holds) *plures feras capere, non omnes*; he is a good Huntsman can catch some, not all: I have done my endeavour. Besides, I dwell not in this study, *Non hic sulcos ducimus, non hoc pulvere desudamus* [we don't plough furrows here, we don't exert ourselves in this soil], I am but a smatterer, I confess, a stranger, [d]here and there I pull a flower; I do easily grant, if a rigid censurer should criticize on this which I have writ, he should not find three sole faults, as *Scaliger* in *Terence*, but 300, so many as he hath done in *Cardan's* subtleties, as many notable errors as [e]*Gul. Laurembergius*, a late professor of *Rostock*, discovers in that anatomy of *Laurentius*, or *Barocius* the *Venetian* in *Sacroboscus*.[58] And although this be a sixth Edition, in which I should have been more accurate,

a. *Philostratus lib. 8 vit. Apoll. Negligebat oratoriam facultatem, & penitus aspernabatur ejus professores, quod linguam duntaxat, non autem mentem redderent eruditiorem* [He disregarded oratorical skill, and spurned utterly those of his teachers who would render him more accomplished only in speaking, not in understanding].

b. *Hic enim, quod Seneca de Ponto, bos herbam, ciconia lacertam, canis leporem, virgo florem legat* [For here, as Seneca writes of Pontus, let the ox gather its grass, the stork its lizard, the dog its hare, the girl her flower].

c. *Pet. Nannius not. in Hor.*

d. *Non hic colonus domicilium habeo, sed topiarii in morem, hinc inde florem vellico, ut canis Nilum lambens* [I don't live here as a farmer, but in the manner of a gardener I pluck a flower here and there, like a dog lapping at the Nile].

e. *Supra bis mille notabiles errores Laurentii demonstravi, &c.* [I have pointed out over two thousand conspicuous errors by Du Laurens, etc.]

corrected all those former escapes, yet it was *magni laboris opus* [a work of great toil], so difficult and tedious, that as Carpenters do find out of experience, 'tis much better build anew sometimes, than repair an old house; I could as soon write as much more, as alter that which is written. If aught therefore be amiss (as I grant there is), I require a friendly admonition, no bitter invective,

> [a]*Sint musis socii Charites, Furia omnis abesto,*
>
> [Let the Graces be companions of the Muses,
> let all the Furies be banished,]

otherwise as in ordinary controversies, *funem contentionis nectamus, sed cui bono?* [we may twist the rope of contention, but to what end?] We may contend, and likely misuse each other, but to what purpose? We are both scholars, say,

> ——— [b]*Arcades ambo,*
> *Et cantare pares, & respondere parati.*
>
> [. . . both Arcadians,
> Ready to be matched in song, and ready to respond.]

If we do wrangle, what shall we get by it? Trouble and wrong ourselves, make sport to others. If I be convict of an error, I will yield, I will amend. *Si quid bonis moribus, si quid veritati dissentaneum, in sacris vel humanis literis a me dictum sit, id nec dictum esto* [If I should say anything contrary to good morals or to truth in sacred or secular letters, let it be unsaid]. In the meantime I require a favourable censure of all faults omitted, harsh compositions, pleonasms of words, tautological repetitions (though *Seneca* bear me out, *nunquam nimis dicitur, quod nunquam satis dicitur* [what's never said often enough is never said too much]), perturbations of tenses, numbers, printer's faults, &c.[59] My translations are sometimes rather paraphrases, than interpretations, *non ad verbum* [not word for word], but as an author, I use more liberty, and that's only taken, which was to my purpose: quotations are often inserted in the Text, which make the style more harsh, or in the margent as it happened.[60] *Greek* authors, *Plato*, *Plutarch*, *Athenaeus*, &c., I have cited out of their interpreters, because the original was not so ready.[61] I have mingled *sacra prophanis* [sacred matters with profane], but I hope not profaned, and in repetition of authors' names, ranked them *per accidens* [incidentally], not according to Chronology; sometimes Neoterics before Ancients, as my memory suggested.[62] Some things are here altered, expunged in this sixth Edition, others amended, much added, because many [c]good authors in all kinds are come to my hands since, and 'tis no prejudice, no such *indecorum*, or oversight.

> [d]*Nunquam ita quicquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit,*
> *Quin res, aetas, usus, semper aliquid apportent novi,*
> *Aliquid moneant, ut illa quae scire te credas, nescias,*
> *Et quae tibi putaris prima, in exercendo ut repudias.*

a. *Philo de Con.*
b. *Virg.*
c. *Frambesarius, Sennertus, Ferrandus, &c.*
d. *Ter. Adelph.*

> Ne'er was aught yet at first contriv'd so fit,
> But use, age, or something would alter it;
> Advise thee better, and, upon peruse,
> Make thee not say, and what thou tak'st, refuse.[63]

But I am now resolved never to put this treatise out again, *Ne quid nimis* [nothing in excess], I will not hereafter add, alter, or retract, I have done.[64]

The last and greatest exception is, that I being a divine have meddled with physic,

> ——— [a]*tantumne est ab re tua otii tibi,*
> *Aliena ut cures, eaque nihil quae ad te attinent?*

Which *Menedemus* objected to *Chremes*, have I so much leisure, or little business of mine own, as to look after other men's matters which concern me not?[65] What have I to do with physic? *Quod medicorum est promittant medici* [Medicine should be practised by doctors]. The [b]*Lacedaemonians* were once in counsel about state matters, a deboshed fellow spake excellent well, and to the purpose, his speech was generally approved: a grave Senator steps up, and by all means would have it repealed, though good, because *dehonestabatur pessimo authore*, it had no better an author; let some good man relate the same, and then it should pass.[66] This counsel was embraced, *factum est* [it was done], and it was registered forthwith, *et sic bona sententia mansit, malus author mutatus est* [and so the good advice stood, the bad counsellor was changed]. Thou sayest as much of me, stomachosus [peevish] as thou art, & grantest peradventure this which I have written in physic, not to be amiss, had another done it, a professed physician, or so; but why should I meddle with this tract? Hear me speak: there be many other subjects, I do easily grant, both in humanity and divinity, fit to be treated of, of which had I written *ad ostentationem* [for display] only, to show myself, I should have rather chosen, and in which I have been more conversant, I could have more willingly luxuriated, and better satisfied myself and others; but that at this time I was fatally driven upon this rock of melancholy, and carried away by this by-stream, which as a rillet, is deducted from the main channel of my studies, in which I have pleased and busied myself at idle hours, as a subject most necessary and commodious.[67] Not that I prefer it before Divinity, which I do acknowledge to be the Queen of professions, and to which all the rest are as handmaids, but that in Divinity I saw no such great need. For had I written positively, there be so many books in that kind, so many commentators, treatises, pamphlets, expositions, sermons, that whole teams of oxen cannot draw them; and had I been as forward and ambitious as some others, I might have haply printed a sermon at *Paul's Cross*, a sermon in St. *Mary's Oxon*, a sermon in *Christ Church*, or a sermon before the right honourable, right reverend, a sermon before the right worshipful, a sermon in Latin, in English, a sermon with a name, a sermon without, a sermon, a sermon, &c.[68] But I have ever been as desirous to suppress my labours in this kind, as others have been to press and publish theirs. To have written in controversy, had been to cut off an

a. *Heaut. Act. 1 scen. 1.*
b. *Gellius lib. 18 cap. 3.*

Hydra's head, [a]*lis litem generat* [a quarrel produces a quarrel], one begets another, so many duplications, triplications, & swarms of questions, [b]*in sacro bello hoc quod stili mucrone agitur* [in this holy war being waged with the pen-point], that having once begun, I should never make an end.[69] One had much better, as *Alexander* the sixth Pope, long since observed, provoke a great prince than a begging friar, a Jesuit, or a seminary priest, I will add, for *inexpugnabile genus hoc hominum* [this kind of man's unconquerable], they are an irrefragable society, they must and will have the last word; and that with such eagerness, impudence, abominable lying, falsifying, and bitterness in their questions they proceed, that as [c]he said, *furorne caecus, an rapit vis acrior, an culpa, responsum date?*[70] Blind fury, or error, or rashness, or what it is that eggs them, I know not, I am sure many times, which [d]*Austin* perceived long since, *tempestate contentionis, serenitas charitatis obnubilatur*, with this tempest of contention, the serenity of charity is overclouded, and there be too many spirits conjured up already in this kind in all sciences, and more than we can tell how to lay, which do so furiously rage, and keep such a racket, that as [e]*Fabius* said, *It had been much better for some of them to have been born dumb, and altogether illiterate, than so far to dote to their own destruction.*[71]

> *At melius fuerat non scribere, namque tacere*
> *Tutum semper erit,* ———
>
> [But it would have been better not to write, for keeping silent
> Will always be safe . . .]

'tis a general fault, so *Severinus* the *Dane* complains in physic, *unhappy men as we are, we spend our days in unprofitable questions and disputations*, intricate subtleties, *de lana caprina* [about goat's wool], about moonshine in the water, *leaving in the meantime those chiefest treasures of nature untouched, wherein the best medicines for all manner of diseases are to be found, and do not only neglect them ourselves, but hinder, condemn, forbid and scoff at others, that are willing to enquire after them.*[72] These motives at this present have induced me to make choice of this medicinal subject.

If any physician in the meantime shall infer, *Ne sutor ultra crepidam* [let the cobbler stick to his last], and find himself grieved that I have intruded into his profession, I will tell him in brief, I do not otherwise by them, than they do by us. If it be for their advantage, I know many of their sect which have taken orders, in hope of a benefice, 'tis a common transition, and why may not a melancholy divine, that can get nothing but by simony, profess physic? *Drusianus* an *Italian* (*Crusianus*, but corruptly, *Trithemius* calls him), [f]*because he was not fortunate in his practice, forsook his profession, and writ afterwards in Divinity.*[73] *Marsilius Ficinus* was *semel & simul* [at one and the same time],

a. *Et inde catena quaedam fit quae haeredes etiam ligat* [And thereafter a kind of chain is created that binds even the heirs]. *Cardan.*
b. *Heinsius.*
c. *Hor. epod. lib. od. 7.*
d. *Epist. 86 ad Casulam presbyt.*
e. *Lib. 12 cap. 1.*
f. *Gesner Bibliotheca.*

a priest and a physician at once, and [a]*T. Linacre* in his old age took orders.[74] The *Jesuits* profess both at this time, diverse of them *permissu superiorum* [by permission of their superiors], Chirurgeons, panders, bawds, and midwives, &c.[75] Many poor country vicars for want of other means, are driven to their shifts; to turn mountebanks, quacksalvers, empirics, and if our greedy patrons hold us to such hard conditions, as commonly they do, they will make most of us work at some trade, as *Paul* did, at last turn taskers, maltsters, costermongers, graziers, sell ale as some have done, or worse.[76] Howsoever in undertaking this task, I hope I shall commit no great error or *indecorum*, if all be considered aright, I can vindicate myself with *Georgius Braunus*, and *Hieronymus Henninges*, those two learned Divines; who (to borrow a line or two of mine [b]elder brother) drawn by a *natural love, the one of pictures and maps, prospectives and chorographical delights, writ that ample theatre of cities; the other to the study of genealogies, penned* theatrum genealogicum.[77] Or else I can excuse my studies with [c]*Lessius* the *Jesuit* in like case, it is a disease of the soul, on which I am to treat, and as much appertaining to a Divine as to a physician; and who knows not what an agreement there is betwixt these two professions? A good Divine either is or ought to be a good physician, a spiritual physician at least, as our Saviour calls himself, and was indeed, *Mat. 4. 23*, *Luke 5. 18*, *Luke 7 & 8*. They differ but in object, the one of the body, the other of the soul, and use diverse medicines to cure: one amends *animam per corpus* [the soul through the body], the other *corpus per animam* [the body through the soul], as [d]our Regius Professor of physic well informed us in a learned lecture of his not long since. One helps the vices and passions of the soul, anger, lust, desperation, pride, presumption, &c., by applying that spiritual physic; as the other use proper remedies in bodily diseases. Now this being a common infirmity of body and soul, and such a one that hath as much need of spiritual as a corporal cure, I could not find a fitter task to busy myself about, a more apposite theme, so necessary, so commodious, and generally concerning all sorts of men, that should so equally participate of both, and require a whole physician. A divine in this compound mixed malady, can do little alone, a physician in some kinds of melancholy much less, both make an absolute cure.

[e]*Alterius sic altera poscit opem.*

[So one needs the help of the other.]

And 'tis proper to them both, and I hope not unbeseeming me, who am by my profession a Divine, and by mine inclination a physician. I had *Jupiter* in my sixth house; I say with [f]*Beroaldus*, *Non sum medicus, nec medicinae prorsus expers* [I am not a doctor, but I'm not completely ignorant of medicine], in the

a. *P. Jovius.*
b. Mr. *William Burton* Preface to his description of *Leicestershire*, printed at London by *W. Jaggard*, for *John White*, 1622.
c. *In Hygiasticon.*
d. Dr. *Clayton in comitiis* [at the degree ceremony], *anno 1621.*
e. *Hor.*
f. *Lib. de pestil.*

theoric of physic I have taken some pains, not with an intent to practise, but to satisfy myself, which was a cause likewise of the first undertaking of this subject.[78]

If these reasons do not satisfy thee good Reader, as *Alexander Munificus* that bountiful prelate, sometimes bishop of *Lincoln*, when he had built six castles, *ad invidiam operis eluendam*, saith [a]Mr. *Camden*, to take away the envy of his work (which very words *Nubrigensis* hath of *Roger* the rich bishop of *Salisbury*, who in King *Stephen's* time, built *Sherborne* castle, and that of *Devizes*), to divert the scandal or imputation, which might be thence inferred, built so many religious houses: if this my discourse be over medicinal, or savour too much of humanity, I promise thee, that I will hereafter make thee amends in some treatise of divinity.[79] But this I hope shall suffice, when you have more fully considered of the matter of this my subject, *rem substratam* [the object submitted for examination], melancholy, madness, and of the reasons following, which were my chief motives: the generality of the disease, the necessity of the cure, and the commodity or common good that will arise to all men by the knowledge of it, as shall at large appear in the ensuing preface. And I doubt not but that in the end you will say with me, that to anatomize this humour aright, through all the members of this our *Microcosmus*, is as great a task, as to reconcile those Chronological errors in the Assyrian monarchy, find out the *quadrature* of a circle, the creeks and sounds of the north-east, or north-west passages, & all out as good a discovery as that hungry [b]*Spaniard's* of *Terra Australis Incognita*, as great trouble as to perfect the motion of *Mars* and *Mercury*, which so crucifies our Astronomers, or to rectify the *Gregorian* Calendar.[80] I am so affected for my part, and hope as [c]*Theophrastus* did by his characters, *That our posterity, O friend* Polycles, *shall be the better for this which we have written, by correcting and rectifying what is amiss in themselves by our examples, and applying our precepts and cautions to their own use*. And as that great captain *Zisca* would have a drum made of his skin when he was dead, because he thought the very noise of it would put his enemies to flight, I doubt not but that these following lines, when they shall be recited, or hereafter read, will drive away melancholy (though I be gone) as much as *Zisca's* drum could terrify his foes.[81] Yet one caution let me give by the way to my present, or future Reader, who is actually melancholy, that he read not the [d]symptoms or prognostics in this following tract, lest by applying that which he reads to himself, aggravating, appropriating things generally spoken, to his own person (as melancholy men for the most part do) he trouble or hurt himself, and get in conclusion more harm than good. I advise them therefore warily to peruse that tract, *Lapides loquitur* (so said [e]*Agrippa de occ. Phil.*) *& caveant lectores ne cerebrum iis excutiat* [he speaks stones . . . and readers should beware lest he

a. In *Newark* in *Nottinghamshire. Cum duo aedificasset castella, ad tollendam structionis invidiam, & expiandam maculam duo instituit coenobia, & collegis religiosis implevit* [After he had built two castles, to counteract the ill-will over their construction and to make amends for the fault, he erected two monasteries, and filled them with religious fraternities].
b. *Ferdinando de Quir. anno 1612. Amsterdami impress.*
c. *Prefat. ad Characteres.*
d. *Part 1 Sect. 3.*
e. *Praef. Lectori.*

bash their brains out with them]. The rest I doubt not they may securely read, and to their benefit.[82] But I am over-tedious, I proceed.

Of the necessity and generality of this which I have said, if any man doubt, I shall desire him to make a brief survey of the world, as [a]*Cyprian* adviseth *Donat*, *supposing himself to be transported to the top of some high mountain, and thence to behold the tumults and chances of this wavering world, he cannot choose but either laugh at, or pity it*. St. *Jerome* out of a strong imagination, being in the wilderness, conceived with himself, that he then saw them dancing in *Rome*; and if thou shalt either conceive, or climb to see, thou shalt soon perceive that all the world is mad, that it is melancholy, dotes: that it is (which *Epichthonius Cosmopolites* expressed not many years since in a map) made like a fool's head (with that Motto, *Caput helleboro dignum* [a head deserving hellebore], a crazed head, *cavea stultorum* [a cage for the stupid], a fool's paradise, or as *Apollonius*, a common prison of gulls, cheaters, flatterers, &c., and needs to be reformed.[83] *Strabo* in the ninth book of his geography, compares *Greece* to the picture of a man, which comparison of his, *Nic. Gerbelius* in his exposition of *Sophianus'* map, approves; the breast lies open from those *Acroceraunian* hills in *Epirus*, to the *Sunian* promontory in *Attica*; *Pagae* and *Megara* are the two shoulders; that *Isthmus* of *Corinth* the neck; and *Peloponnesus* the head. If this allusion hold, 'tis sure a mad head; *Morea* may be *Moria*; and to speak what I think, the inhabitants of modern *Greece*, swerve as much from reason, & true religion at this day, as that *Morea* doth from the picture of a man.[84] Examine the rest in like sort, and you shall find that Kingdoms and Provinces are melancholy, cities and families, all creatures, vegetal, sensible, and rational, that all sorts, sects, ages, conditions, are out of tune, as in *Cebes'* table, *omnes errorem bibunt* [they all imbibe error], before they come into the world, they are intoxicated by error's cup, from the highest to the lowest, have need of Physic, and those particular actions in [b]*Seneca*, where father & son prove one another mad, may be general; *Porcius Latro* shall plead against us all.[85] For indeed who is not a fool, melancholy, mad? ——— [c]*Qui nil molitur inepte* [Who undertakes nothing foolish?], who is not brainsick? Folly, melancholy, madness, are but one disease, *Delirium* is a common name to all. *Alexander*, *Gordonius*, *Jason Pratensis*, *Savonarola*, *Guainerius*, *Montaltus*, confound them as differing *secundum magis & minus* [to a greater or lesser degree]; so doth *David*, *Psal. 75. 4*, *I said unto the fools, deal not so madly*, & 'twas an old *Stoical* Paradox, *omnes stultos insanire*, [d]all fools are mad, though some madder than others.[86] And who is not a fool, who is free from melancholy? Who is not touched more or less in habit or disposition? If in disposition, *ill dispositions beget habits, if they persevere*, saith [e]Plutarch, habits either are, or turn to diseases. 'Tis the same which *Tully* maintains in the second of his *Tusculans*,

a. *Ep. 2 lib. 2 ad Donatum.*
b. *Controv. lib. 2 cont. 6 & lib. 6 cont. 7.*
c. *Hor.*
d. *Idem Hor. lib. 2 Sat. 3. Damasippus Stoicus probat omnes stultos insanire* [Damasippus the Stoic proves that all fools are mad].
e. *Tom. 2 sympos. lib. 5 cap. 6.*

omnium insipientum animi in morbo sunt, & perturbatorum, fools are sick, and all that are troubled in mind: for what is sickness, but as [a]*Gregory Tholosanus* defines it, *a dissolution or perturbation of the bodily league, which health combines*: and who is not sick, or ill disposed? In whom doth not passion, anger, envy, discontent, fear and sorrow reign? Who labours not of this disease? Give me but a little leave, & you shall see by what testimonies, confessions, arguments I will evince it, that most men are mad, that they had as much need to go to a pilgrimage to the *Anticyrae* (as in [b]*Strabo's* time they did), as in our days they run to *Compostella*, our Lady of *Sichem*, or *Lauretta*, to seek for help; that it is like to be as prosperous a voyage as that of *Guiana*, and that there is much more need of *Hellebore* than of *Tobacco*.[87]

That men are so misaffected, melancholy, mad, giddy-headed, hear the testimony of *Solomon*, *Eccl. 2. 12*, *And I turned to behold wisdom, madness and folly, &c.* And *ver. 23*, *All his days are sorrow, his travail grief, and his heart taketh no rest in the night.* So that take melancholy in what sense you will, properly or improperly, in disposition or habit, for pleasure or for pain, dotage, discontent, fear, sorrow, madness, for part, or all, truly, or metaphorically, 'tis all one. Laughter itself is madness according to *Solomon*, and as St. *Paul* hath it, *worldly sorrow brings death. The hearts of the sons of men are evil, and madness is in their hearts while they live*, *Eccl. 9. 3. Wise men themselves are no better*, *Eccl. 1. 18. In the multitude of wisdom is much grief, and he that increaseth wisdom increaseth sorrow*, *Cap. 2. 17.* He hated life itself, nothing pleased him; he hated his labour, all, as [c]he concludes, is *sorrow, grief, vanity, vexation of spirit.* And though he were the wisest man in the world, *sanctuarium sapientiae* [the shrine of wisdom], and had wisdom in abundance, he will not vindicate himself, or justify his own actions. *Surely I am more foolish than any man, and have not the understanding of a man in me*, *Prov. 30. 2.* Be they *Solomon's* words, or the words of *Agur* the son of *Jakeh*, they are canonical.[88] *David* a man after God's own heart, confesseth as much of himself, *Psal. 73. 21, 22*, *So foolish was I and ignorant, I was even as a beast before thee.* And condemns all for fools, *Psal. 94 & 32. 9 & 49. 20.* He compares them to *beasts, horses, and mules, in which there is no understanding.* The Apostle *Paul* accuseth himself in like sort, *2 Cor. 11. 21*, *I would you would suffer a little my foolishness, I speak foolishly. The whole head is sick* saith *Isaiah*, *and the heart is heavy*, *Cap. 1. 5*, and makes lighter of them *than of Oxen and Asses*, *The Ox knows his owner, &c.* Read *Deut. 32. 6*, *Jer. 4*, *Amos 3. 1*, *Ephes. 5. 6*, *Be not mad, be not deceived, foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you?* How often are they branded with this Epithet of madness and folly? No word so frequent amongst the fathers of the Church and Divines; you may see what an opinion they had of the world, and how they valued men's actions.

I know that we think far otherwise, and hold them most part wise men that

a. *Lib. 28 cap. 1 Synt. art. mir.*

b. *Lib. 9 Geogr. Plures olim gentes navigabant illuc sanitatis causa* [Many once sailed there for the sake of their health].

c. *Eccles. 1. 14.*

are in authority, princes, magistrates, [a]rich men, they are wise men born, all Politicians and Statesmen must needs be so, for who dare speak against them? And on the other, so corrupt is our judgement, we esteem wise and honest men fools. Which *Democritus* well signified in an *Epistle* of his to *Hippocrates*: the *Abderites account virtue madness*, and so do most men living. Shall I tell you the reason of it? [b]*Fortune* and *Virtue*, *Wisdom* and *Folly*, their seconds, upon a time contended in the *Olympics*; every man thought that *fortune* and *folly* would have the worst, and pitied their cases. But it fell out otherwise. *Fortune* was blind and cared not where she struck, nor whom, without laws, *andabatarum instar, &c.* [like blindfolded gladiators, etc.] *Folly* rash and inconsiderate, esteemed as little what she said or did. *Virtue* and *Wisdom* gave [c]place, were hissed out, and exploded by the common people; *folly* and *fortune* admired, and so are all their followers ever since: knaves and fools commonly fare and deserve best in worldlings' eyes & opinions. Many good men have no better fate in their ages: *Achish*, *1 Sam. 21. 14*, held *David* for a madman. [d]*Elisha* & the rest were no otherwise esteemed. *David* was derided of the common people, *Psa. 9. 7*, *I am become a monster to many.* And generally we are accounted fools for Christ, *1 Cor. 14. We fools thought his life madness, and his end without honour, Wisd. 5. 4.* Christ and his Apostles were censured in like sort, *John 10*, *Mark 3*, *Acts 26*. And so were all Christians in [e]*Pliny's* time, *fuerunt & alii similis dementiae, &c.* [there were others of a similar madness, etc.], and called not long after, [f]*vesaniae sectatores, eversores hominum, polluti novatores fanatici, canes, malefici, venefici, Galilaei homunciones, &c.* [followers of insanity, destroyers of men, foul innovators, fanatics, dogs, criminals, poisoners, manikins of the Galilean]. 'Tis an ordinary thing with us, to account honest, devout, orthodox, divine, religious, plain-dealing men, idiots, asses, that cannot, or will not lie and dissemble, shift, flatter, *accommodare se ad eum locum ubi nati sunt* [adapt themselves to the position in which they were born], make good bargains, supplant, thrive, *patronis inservire; solennes ascendendi modos apprehendere, leges, mores, consuetudines recte observare, candide laudare, fortiter defendere, sententias amplecti, dubitare de nullis, credere omnia, accipere omnia, nihil reprehendere, caeteraque quae promotionem ferunt & securitatem, quae sine ambage foelicem reddunt hominem, & vere sapientem apud nos* [serve their patrons, learn the customary means of advancement, correctly observe laws, manners and traditions, praise sincerely, defend

a. *Jure haereditario sapere jubentur* [They are ordered to be wise by the law of inheritance]. *Euphormio Satyr.*

b. *Calcagninus Apol. Omnes mirabantur, putantes illisam iri stultitiam. Sed praeter expectationem res evenit. Audax stultitia in eam irruit, &c., illa cedit irrisa, & plures hinc habet sectatores stultitia* [Everyone was astonished, thinking Folly would be beaten. But the result turned out to be contrary to expectation. Audacious Folly made an attack on her {Wisdom}, etc. She departed a laughing stock, and hence Folly has more followers].

c. *Non est respondendum stulto secundum stultitiam* [Don't answer a fool according to his folly].

d. *2 Reg. 7.*

e. *Lib. 10 ep. 97.*

f. *Aug. ep. 178.*

robustly, hold fast to their opinions, doubt nothing, believe everything, accept everything, reprove nothing, and all the other things that bring promotion and security, which in our time, to get right to the point, make a man happy and truly wise]; that cannot temporize as other men do, [a]hand and take bribes, &c., but fear God, and make a conscience of their doings.[89] But the holy Ghost that knows better how to judge, he calls them fools. *The fool hath said in his heart, Psal. 53. 1. And their ways utter their folly, Psal. 49. 14. For what can be more mad, than for a little worldly pleasure to procure unto themselves eternal punishment?* As *Gregory* and others inculcate unto us.

Yea even all those great Philosophers, the world hath ever had in admiration, whose works we do so much esteem, that gave precepts of wisdom to others, inventors of Arts and Sciences, *Socrates* the wisest man of his time by the Oracle of *Apollo*, whom his two Scholars [b]*Plato* and [c]*Xenophon* so much extol and magnify with those honourable titles, *best and wisest of all mortal men, the happiest, and most just*; and as [d]*Alcibiades* incomparably commends him; *Achilles* was a worthy man, but *Brasidas* and others were as worthy as himself; *Antenor* and *Nestor* were as good as *Pericles*, and so of the rest, but none present, before, or after *Socrates*, *nemo veterum neque eorum qui nunc sunt* [none of the ancients, nor of those now living], were ever such, will match, or come near him.[90] Those seven wise men of *Greece*, those *Briton Druids*, *Indian Brachmanni*, *Ethiopian Gymnosophists*, *Magi* of the *Persians*, *Apollonius*, of whom *Philostratus*, *non doctus sed natus sapiens* [wise not from learning but from birth], wise from his cradle, *Epicurus* so much admired by his Scholar *Lucretius*;

> *Qui genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes*
> *Restinxit Stellas exortus ut aetherius Sol.*
>
> Whose wit excel'd the wits of men as far,
> As the Sun rising doth obscure a Star.[91]

Or that so much renowned *Empedocles*,

> [e]*Ut vix humana videatur stirpe creatus.*
>
> [That he seems hardly to have been born of human stock.][92]

All those, of whom we read such [f]*Hyperbolical elogiums*; as of *Aristotle*, that he was wisdom itself in the abstract, [g]a Miracle of nature, breathing

a. *Quis nisi mentis inops, &c.* [Who but the mindless, etc.?]
b. *In fine Phaedonis. Hic finis fuit amici nostri, o Eucrates, nostro quidem judicio omnium quos experti sumus optimi & apprime sapientissimi, & justissimi* [At the conclusion of the *Phaedo*: 'Eucrates, this was the end of our friend, in my opinion the best, the very wisest, and most just of all those I've known'].
c. *Xenop. lib. 4 de dictis Socratis ad finem. Talis fuit Socrates quem omnium optimum & faelicissimum statuam* [on the sayings of Socrates, at the end: 'Such was Socrates, whom I shall declare the best and happiest of all men'].
d. *Lib. 25 Platonis Convivio.*
e. *Lucretius.*
f. *Anaxagoras olim mens dictus ab antiquis* [Anaxagoras was formerly called 'Mind' by the ancients].
g. *Regula naturae, naturae miraculum, ipsa eruditio, daemonium hominis, sol scientiarum, mare, Sophia, antistes literarum & sapientiae, ut Scioppius olim de Scal. & Heinsius,*

libraries, as *Eunapius* of *Longinus*, lights of nature, giants for wit, quintessence of wit, divine spirits, eagles in the clouds, fallen from heaven, gods, spirits, lamps of the world, dictators,

Nulla ferant talem saecla futura virum:

[No future ages could produce such a man:]

monarchs, miracles, superintendents of wit and learning, *Oceanus, Phoenix, Atlas, Monstrum, portentum hominis, orbis universi musaeum, ultimus humanae naturae conatus, naturae maritus* [the Ocean, Phoenix, Atlas, Wonder, a prodigy of a man, the museum of the whole world, the highest enterprise of human nature, the spouse of nature],

——— *merito cui doctior orbis*
Submissis defert fascibus imperium.

[. . . to whom the world of the learned,
With fasces lowered, worthily brings power.][93]

As *Aelian* writ of *Protagoras* and *Gorgias*, we may say of them all, *tantum a sapientibus abfuerunt, quantum a viris pueri* [they were as far from being wise as boys from being men], they were children in respect, infants, not eagles but kites; novices, illiterate, *Eunuchi sapientiae* [eunuchs in wisdom].[94] And although they were the wisest, and most admired in their age, as he censured *Alexander*, I do them, there were 10,000 in his army as worthy Captains (had they been in place of command) as valiant as himself; there were Myriads of men wiser in those days, & yet all short of what they ought to be.[95] [a]*Lactantius* in his book of wisdom, proves them to be dizzards, fools, asses, madmen, so full of absurd and ridiculous tenets, and brainsick positions, that to his thinking never any old woman or sick person doted worse.[96] *Democritus* took all from *Leucippus*, and left, saith he, *the inheritance of his folly to* Epicurus, [b]*insanienti dum sapientiae, &c.* [while in an insane wisdom, etc.] The like he holds of *Plato*, *Aristippus*, and the rest, making no difference [c]*betwixt them and beasts, saving that they could speak*.[97] [d]*Theodoret* in his tract *De cur. graec. affect.* manifestly evinces as much of *Socrates*, whom though that Oracle of *Apollo* confirmed to be the wisest man then living, and saved him from the plague, whom 2,000 years have admired, of whom some will as soon speak evil as of *Christ*, yet *re vera* [speaking truthfully], he was an illiterate idiot, as

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Aquila in nubibus, Imperator literatorum, columen literarum, abyssus eruditionis, ocellus Europae, Scaliger [The exemplar of nature, a miracle of nature, erudition itself, a divinity of a man, the sun of knowledge, the sea, Wisdom, the high priest of letters and wisdom, as Scioppius once said of Scaliger, and Heinsius: an eagle in the clouds, the emperor of the learned, the acme of letters, a bottomless pit of erudition, apple of Europe's eye, Scaliger].

a. *Lib. 3 de sap. cap. 17 & 20. Omnes Philosophi, aut stulti, aut insani; nulla anus, nullus aeger ineptius deliravit* [All philosophers are either fools or madmen; no old woman, no sick man, has been more absurdly deranged].

b. *Hor. car. lib. 1 od. 34 et epicureae.*

c. *De sap. lib. 26 cap. 8.*

d. *Cap. de virt.*

[a]*Aristophanes* calls him, *irrisor & ambitiosus* [a scoffer and a show-off], as his Master *Aristotle* terms him, *scurra Atticus* [an Attic buffoon], as *Zeno*, an [b]enemy to all arts & sciences, as *Athenaeus*, to Philosophers & Travellers, an opinative ass, a caviller, a kind of Pedant; for his manners, as *Theod. Cyrensis* describes him, a [c]*Sodomite*, an *Atheist* (so convict by *Anytus*), *iracundus & ebrius, dicax, &c.* [irascible and drunk, garrulous, etc.], a pot-companion, by [d]*Plato's* own confession, a sturdy drinker; and that of all others he was most sottish, a very madman in his actions and opinions.[98] *Pythagoras* was part philosopher, part magician, or part witch. If you desire to hear more of *Apollonius* a great wise man, sometime paralleled by *Julian* the apostate to Christ, I refer you to that learned tract of *Eusebius* against *Hierocles*, and for them all to *Lucian's Piscator*, *Icaromenippus*, *Necyomantia*: their actions, opinions in general were so prodigious, absurd, ridiculous, which they broached and maintained, their books and elaborate Treatises were full of dotage, which *Tully ad Atticum*, long since observed, *delirant plerumque scriptores in libris suis* [most writers are deranged in their books], their lives being opposite to their words, they commended poverty to others, and were most covetous themselves, extolled love and peace, and yet persecuted one another with virulent hate and malice. They could give precepts for verse and prose, but not a man of them (as [e]*Seneca* tells them home) could moderate his affections. Their music did show us *flebiles modos, &c.* [elegiac modes, etc.], how to rise and fall, but they could not so contain themselves as in adversity not to make a lamentable tone. They will measure ground by Geometry, set down limits, divide and subdivide, but cannot yet prescribe *quantum homini satis* [how much is enough for a man], or keep within compass of reason and discretion. They can square circles, but understand not the state of their own souls, describe right lines, and crooked, &c., but know not what is right in this life, *quid in vita rectum sit, ignorant*; so that as he said,

Nescio an Anticyram ratio illis destinet omnem.[99]

I think all the *Anticyrae* will not restore them to their wits, [f]if these men now, that held *Zenodotus'* heart, *Crates'* liver, *Epictetus'* lantern, were so sottish, and had no more brains than so many beetles, what shall we think of the commonalty?[100] What of the rest?

Yea, but will you infer, that is true of *heathens*, if they be conferred with Christians, *1 Cor. 3. 19*, *The wisdom of this world is foolishness with God, earthly and devilish*, as *James* calls it, *3. 15. They were vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was full of darkness*, *Rom. 1. 21, 22*, *When they professed themselves wise, became fools.* Their witty works are admired here on earth, whilst their souls are tormented in hell-fire. In some sense, *Christiani*

a. *Neb. & Ranis.*
b. *Omnium disciplinarum ignarus* [Ignorant of every discipline].
c. *Pulchorum adolescentum causa frequenter gymnasium obibat, &c.* [He often went to the gymnasium because of the beautiful young men, etc.]
d. *Ad finem Platonis Convivio.*
e. *Seneca. Scis rotunda metiri sed non tuum animum* [You know how to judge elegance of style, but not your own heart].
f. *Ab uberibus sapientia lactati caecutire non possunt* [Those who have sucked milk from the breasts of Wisdom cannot be blind].

Crassiani, Christians are Crassians, & if compared to that wisdom, no better than fools.[101] *Quis est sapiens? Solus Deus*, *Pythagoras* replies, *God is only wise*, *Rom. 16*, *Paul* determines, *only good*, as [a]*Austin* well contends, *and no man living can be justified in his sight. God looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if any did understand*, *Psalm. 53. 2, 3*, but all are corrupt, err. *Rom. 3. 12*, *None doth good, no not one. Job* aggravates this, *4. 18*, *Behold he found no steadfastness in his servants, and laid folly upon his angels*, *19*, *How much more on them that dwell in houses of clay?* In this sense we are all as fools, and the [b]Scripture alone is *arx Minervae* [Minerva's tower], we and our writings are shallow and unperfect. But I do not so mean; even in our ordinary dealings, we are no better than fools. All our actions, as [c]*Pliny* told *Trajan*, *upbraid us of folly*, our whole course of life is but matter of laughter: we are not soberly wise; and the world itself, which ought at least to be wise by reason of his antiquity, as [d]*Hugo de Prato Florido* will have it, *semper stultizat, is every day more foolish than other; the more it is whipped, the worse it is, and as a child, will still be crowned with roses and flowers*. We are apish in it, *asini bipedes* [two-legged asses], and every place is full *inversorum Apuleiorum* [of inverted Apuleiuses], of metamorphosed and two-legged asses, *inversorum Silenorum* [of inverted Silenuses], childish, *pueri instar bimuli, tremula patris dormientis in ulna* [like a two-year-old boy, asleep in the rocking arm of his father].[102] *Jovianus Pontanus*, *Antonio Dial.*, brings in some laughing at an old man, that by reason of his age was a little fond, but as he admonisheth there, *Ne mireris mi hospes de hoc sene*, marvel not at him only, for *tota haec civitas delirium*, all our Town dotes in like sort, [e]we are a company of fools.[103] Ask not with him in the Poet, [f]*Larvae hunc intemperiae insaniaeque agitant senem?* What madness ghosts this old man, but what madness ghosts us all? For we are *ad unum omnes* [all, to a man], all mad, *semel insanavimus omnes* [we've all been insane once], not once but always so, *& semel, & simul, & semper* [once for all, and all at once, and always], ever and altogether as bad as he; and not *senex bis puer, delira anus* [the old man's a child twice, the old woman's crazy], but say it of us all, *semper pueri* [always children], young and old, all dote, as *Lactantius* proves out of *Seneca*; and no difference betwixt us and children, saving that, *majora ludimus, & grandioribus pupis*, they play with babies of clouts & such toys, we sport with greater baubles.[104] We cannot accuse or condemn one another, being faulty ourselves, [g]*deliramenta loqueris*, you talk idly, or as [h]*Micio* upbraided *Demea*, *insanis, auferte* [you're mad, go away!], for we are as mad our own selves, and it is hard to say which is the worst. Nay 'tis universally so,

a. *Lib. de nat. boni.*
b. *Hic profundissimae Sophiae fodinae* [Here are the deepest mines of Wisdom].
c. *Panegyr. Trajano.*
d. *Ser. 4 in domi. Pal.*
e. *Insanum te omnes pueri, clamantque puellae* [All the boys and girls shout 'Madman!' at you]. *Hor.*
f. *Plautus Aulular.*
g. *Plautus Captivi act. 3 scen. 4.*
h. *Adelph. act. 5 scen. 8.*

[a]*Vitam regit fortuna, non sapientia.*

[Fortune, not wisdom, governs life.]

When [b]*Socrates* had taken great pains to find out a wise man, and to that purpose had consulted with philosophers, poets, artificers, he concluded all men were fools; and though it procured him both anger and much envy, yet in all companies he would openly profess it. When [c]*Suppatius* in *Pontanus* had travelled all over *Europe* to confer with a wise man, he returned at last without his errand, and could find none. [d]*Cardan* concurs with him, *Few there are* (*for aught I can perceive*) *well in their wits*. So doth *Tully*, *I see everything to be done, foolishly and unadvisedly.*

Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum, unus utrique
Error, sed variis illudit partibus omnes.

One reels to this, another to that wall.
'Tis the same error that deludes them all.

[e]They dote all, but not alike, Μανία γὰρ οὐ πᾶσιν ὁμοία [for madness isn't the same for everyone], not in the same kind, *One is covetous, a second lascivious, a third ambitious, a fourth envious, &c.*, as *Damasippus* the *Stoic* hath well illustrated in the poet,

[f]*Desipiunt omnes aeque ac tu.*

[Everyone's as foolish as you.]

[g]'Tis an inbred malady in every one of us, there is *seminarium stultitiae*, a seminary of folly, *which if it be stirred up, or get a head, will run* in infinitum, *& infinitely varies, as we ourselves are severally addicted*, saith [h]*Balthasar Castilio*: and cannot so easily be rooted out, it takes such fast hold, as *Tully* holds, *altae radices stultitiae* [the roots of folly are deep], [i]so we are bred, and so we continue.[105] Some say there be two main defects of wit, error and ignorance, to which all others are reduced; by ignorance we know not things necessary, by error we know them falsely. Ignorance is a privation, error a positive act. From ignorance comes vice, from error heresy, &c. But make how many kinds you will, divide and subdivide, few men are free, or that do not impinge on some one kind or other. [j]*Sic plerumque agitat stultos inscitia* [Thus ignorance commonly excites fools], as he that examines his own and other men's actions, shall find.

a. *Tully Tusc. 5.*
b. *Plato Apologia Socratis.*
c. *Ant. Dial.*
d. *Lib. 3 de sap.*
e. *Erasm. chil. 3 cent. 10.*
f. *Hor. lib. 2 sat. 3.*
g. *Primaque lux vitae prima furoris erat* [The dawn of life was the dawn of madness].
h. *Lib. 1 de aulico.*
i. *Tibullus. Stulti praetereunt dies* [Fools squander their days], *their wits are a woolgathering.*
j. So fools commonly dote.

[a]*Charon* in *Lucian*, as he wittily feigns, was conducted by *Mercury* to such a place, where he might see all the world at once; after he had sufficiently viewed, and looked about, *Mercury* would needs know of him what he had observed: he told him, that he saw a vast multitude, and a promiscuous, their habitations like molehills, the men as emmets, *he could discern cities like so many hives of Bees, wherein every Bee had a sting, and they did naught else but sting one another, some domineering like Hornets, bigger than the rest, some like filching Wasps, others as drones.*[106] Over their heads were hovering a confused company of perturbations, hope, fear, anger, avarice, ignorance, &c., and a multitude of diseases hanging, which they still pulled on their pates. Some were Brawling, some fighting, riding, running, *sollicite ambientes, callide litigantes* [anxiously striving, craftily quarrelling], for toys, and trifles, and such momentary things. Their Towns and Provinces mere factions, rich against poor, poor against rich, nobles against artificers, they against nobles, and so the rest. In conclusion, he condemned them all for madmen, fools, idiots, asses, *O stulti, quaenam haec est amentia?* [fools, what madness is this?] O fools, O madmen he exclaims, *insana studia, insani labores, &c.* Mad endeavours, mad actions, mad, mad, mad, [b]*O saeclum insipiens & infacetum* [O foolish and witless times!], a giddy-headed age. *Heraclitus* the Philosopher, out of a serious meditation of men's lives, fell a-weeping, and with continual tears bewailed their misery, madness, and folly. *Democritus* on the other side burst out a-laughing; their whole life seemed to him so ridiculous, & he was so far carried with this ironical passion, that the Citizens of *Abdera* took him to be mad, and sent therefore Ambassadors to *Hippocrates* the Physician, that he would exercise his skill upon him. But the story is set down at large by *Hippocrates*, in his epistle to *Damagetus*, which because it is not impertinent to this discourse, I will insert *verbatim* almost, as it is delivered by *Hippocrates* himself, with all the circumstances belonging unto it.

When *Hippocrates* was now come to *Abdera*, the people of the City came flocking about him, some weeping, some entreating of him, that he would do his best. After some little repast, he went to see *Democritus*, the people following him, whom he found (as before) in his garden in the suburbs all alone, *sitting upon a stone under a plane tree, without hose or shoes, with a book on his knees, cutting up several beasts, and busy at his study.* The multitude stood gazing round about to see the congress. *Hippocrates* after a little pause, saluted him by his name, whom he resaluted, ashamed almost that he could not call him likewise by his, or that he had forgot it. *Hippocrates* demanded of him what he was doing: he told him that he was [c]*busy in cutting up several beasts, to find out the cause of madness and melancholy. Hippocrates* commended his work, admiring his happiness and leisure. And why, quoth *Democritus*, have not you that leisure? Because, replied *Hippocrates*, domestical affairs hinder,

a. *Dial. contemplantes, Tom.* 2.

b. *Catullus.*

c. *De furore, mania, melancholia scribo, ut sciam quopacto in hominibus gignatur, fiat, crescat, cumuletur, minuatur, haec inquit animalia quae vides propterea seco, non dei opera perosus, sed fellis bilisque naturam disquirens* [I write of frenzy, mania, melancholy, in order to know by what means it may be caused, formed, strengthened, increased, diminished; this is why (he said) I am cutting up these animals that you see, not because I detest the works of God, but because I am investigating the nature of gall and bile].

necessary to be done, for ourselves, neighbours, friends; expenses, diseases, frailties and mortalities which happen; wife, children, servants, and such businesses which deprive us of our time. At this speech *Democritus* profusely laughed (his friends and the people standing by, weeping in the meantime, and lamenting his madness). *Hippocrates* asked the reason why he laughed. He told him, at the vanities and fopperies of the time, to see men so empty of all virtuous actions, to hunt so far after gold, having no end of ambition; to take such infinite pains for a little glory, and to be favoured of men; to make such deep mines into the earth for gold, and many times to find nothing, with loss of their lives and fortunes. Some to love dogs, others horses, some to desire to be obeyed in many Provinces, [a]and yet themselves will know no obedience. [b]Some to love their wives dearly at first, and after a while to forsake & hate them, begetting children, with much care and cost for their education, yet when they grow to man's estate, [c]to despise, neglect, and leave them naked to the world's mercy. [d]Do not these behaviours express their intolerable folly? When men live in peace, they covet war, detesting quietness, [e]deposing Kings, and advancing others in their stead, murdering some men to beget children of their wives. How many strange humours are in men? When they are poor and needy, they seek riches, and when they have them, they do not enjoy them, but hide them underground, or else wastefully spend them. O wise *Hippocrates*, I laugh at such things being done, but much more when no good comes of them, and when they are done to so ill purpose. There is no truth or justice found amongst them, for they daily plead one against another, [f]the son against the father and the mother, brother against brother, kindred & friends of the same quality; and all this for riches, whereof after death they cannot be possessors. And yet notwithstanding they will defame & kill one another, commit all unlawful actions, contemning God and men, friends and country. They make great account of many senseless things, esteeming them as a great part of their treasure, [g]statues, pictures, and such-like movables, dear bought, & so cunningly wrought, as nothing but speech wanteth in them, [h]and yet they hate living persons speaking to them. Others affect difficult things; if they dwell on firm Land, they will remove to an Island, and thence to land again, being no way constant to their desires. They commend courage & strength in wars, & let themselves be conquered by lust & avarice; they are in brief, as disordered in their minds, as *Thersites* was in his body.[107] And now methinks, O most worthy *Hippocrates*, you should not

a. *Aust. lib. 1 in Gen. Jumenti & servi tui obsequium rigide postulas, & tu nullum praestas aliis, nec ipsi Deo* [You rigidly demand obedience of your slaves and beasts of burden, and show none to others, or to God himself].
b. *Uxores ducunt, mox foras ejiciunt* [They take wives; soon they throw them out].
c. *Pueros amant, mox fastidiunt* [They love their boys; soon they despise them].
d. *Quid hoc ab insania deest?* [How does this fall short of madness?]
e. *Reges eligunt, deponunt* [They select kings, they depose them].
f. *Contra parentes, fratres, cives perpetuo rixantur, & inimicitias agunt* [The citizens are forever quarrelling with their parents and brothers, and maintaining hostilities].
g. *Credo equidem vivos ducent e marmore vultus* [I truly believe they will draw the living features from the marble].
h. *Idola inanimata amant, animata odio habent, sic pontificii* [They love lifeless forms and regard living ones with hatred; the papists are like this].

reprehend my laughing, perceiving so many fooleries in men; for no man will mock his own folly, but that which he seeth in a second, and so they justly mock one another. The drunkard calls him a glutton, whom he knows to be sober. Many men love the sea, others husbandry; briefly, they cannot agree in their own trades and professions, much less in their lives and actions.

When *Hippocrates* heard these words so readily uttered, without premeditation, to declare the world's vanity, full of ridiculous contrariety, he made answer, that necessity compelled men to many such actions, & diverse wills ensuing from divine permission, that we might not be idle, being nothing is so odious to them as sloth and negligence. Besides, men cannot foresee future events, in this uncertainty of human affairs; they would not so marry, if they could foretell the causes of their dislike and separation; or parents, if they knew the hour of their children's death, so tenderly provide for them; or an husbandman sow, if he thought there would be no increase; or a merchant adventure to sea, if he foresaw shipwreck; or be a Magistrate, if presently to be deposed. Alas, worthy *Democritus*, every man hopes the best, and to that end he doth it, and therefore no such cause, or ridiculous occasion of laughter.

Democritus hearing this poor excuse, laughed again aloud, perceiving he wholly mistook him, and did not well understand what he had said concerning perturbations, and tranquillity of the mind. Insomuch, that if men would govern their actions by discretion and providence, they would not declare themselves fools, as now they do, and he should have no cause of laughter; but (quoth he) they swell in this life, as if they were immortal, and demigods, for want of understanding.[108] It were enough to make them wise, if they would but consider the mutability of this world, and how it wheels about, nothing being firm and sure. He that is now above, tomorrow is beneath; he that sat on this side today, tomorrow is hurled on the other: and not considering these matters, they fall into many inconveniences and troubles, coveting things of no profit, and thirsting after them, tumbling headlong into many calamities. So that if men would attempt no more than what they can bear, they should lead contented lives, and learning to know themselves, would limit their ambition, [a]they would perceive then that Nature hath enough without seeking such superfluities, & unprofitable things, which bring nothing with them but grief and molestation.[109] As a fat body is more subject to diseases, so are rich men to absurdities and fooleries, to many casualties and gross inconveniences. There are many that take no heed what happeneth to others by bad conversation, and therefore overthrow themselves in the same manner through their own fault, not foreseeing dangers manifest.[110] These are things (O more than mad, quoth he) that give me matter of laughter, by suffering the pains of your impieties, as your avarice, envy, malice, enormous villainies, mutinies, unsatiable desires, conspiracies, and other incurable vices; besides, your [b]dissimulation and hypocrisy, bearing deadly

a. *Denique sit finis quaerendi, cumque habeas plus, pauperiem metuas minus, & finire laborem incipias, partis quod avebas, utere* [In short, set a limit to your striving, and as you gain more, fear poverty less, and start to make an end of your work; when you have obtained the things you desired, enjoy them]. *Hor.*

b. *Astutam vapido servat sub pectore vulpem. Et cum vulpe positus pariter vulpinarier. Cretizandum cum Crete* [He keeps a cunning fox in his rotten breast. And play the fox when placed with a fox. When in Crete, do as the Cretans do].

hatred one to the other, and yet shadowing it with a good face, flying out into all filthy lusts, and transgressions of all laws, both of nature and civility. Many things which they have left off, after a while they fall to again, husbandry, navigation; and leave again, fickle and unconstant as they are. When they are young, they would be old, and old, young. [a]Princes commend a private life, private men itch after honour: a Magistrate commends a quiet life, a quiet man would be in his office, and obeyed as he is: and what is the cause of all this, but that they know not themselves.[111] Some delight to destroy, [b]one to build, another to spoil one country to enrich another and himself. [c]In all these things they are like children, in whom is no judgement or counsel, and resemble beasts, saving that beasts are better than they, as being contented with nature. [d]When shall you see a Lion hide gold in the ground, or a Bull contend for a better pasture? When a Boar is thirsty, he drinks what will serve him, and no more; and when his belly is full, he ceaseth to eat: but men are immoderate in both; as in lust, they covet carnal copulation at set times; men always, ruinating thereby the health of their bodies. And doth it not deserve laughter, to see an amorous fool torment himself for a wench; weep, howl for a misshapen slut, a dowdy, sometimes that might have his choice of the finest beauties? Is there any remedy for this in physic? I do anatomize and cut up these poor beasts, to see the cause of these distempers, vanities, and follies, yet such proof were better made on man's body, if my kind nature would endure it: who from the hour of his birth is most miserable, weak and sickly; when he sucks he is guided by others, when he is grown great practiseth unhappiness, [e]and is sturdy, and when old, a child again, and repenteth him of his life past. And here being interrupted by one that brought books, he fell to it again, that all were mad, careless, stupid. To prove my former speeches, look into courts, or private houses. [f]Judges give judgement according to their own advantage, doing manifest wrong to poor innocents, to please others. Notaries alter sentences, and for money lose their Deeds. Some make false moneys, others counterfeit false weights. Some abuse their parents, yea corrupt their own sisters, others make long libels and pasquils, defaming men of good life, and extol such as are lewd and vicious. Some rob one, some another; [g]Magistrates make laws against thieves, and are the veriest thieves themselves.

a. *Qui fit Maecenas ut nemo quam sibi sortem, seu ratio dederit, seu sors adjecerit, illa contentus vivat, &c.* [How come, Maecenas, no one lives content with his lot, whether it has been brought about by choice, or thrown in his way by chance, etc.] *Hor.*
b. *Diruit, aedificat, mutat quadrata rotundis. Trajanus pontem struxit super Danubium, quem successor ejus Adrianus statim demolitus* [He destroys, he builds, he changes squares into circles. Trajan constructed a bridge over the Danube, which his successor Hadrian immediately demolished].
c. *Qua qui in re ab infantibus differunt, quibus mens & sensus sine ratione inest, quicquid sese his offert, volupe est* [How do they differ in this from infants, who have a mind and senses without reason? Whatever presents itself to them is a source of pleasure].
d. *Idem Plut.*
e. *In vigore furibundus, quum decrescit insanabilis* [Frenzied in his prime, incurable when he's on the wane].
f. *Cyprian ad Donatum.*
g. *Tu pessimus omnium latro es* [You're the worst thief of all], as a thief told *Alexander* in *Curtius. Damnat foras judex, quod intus operatur* [The judge condemns outdoors what he's busy doing indoors]. *Cyprian.*

Some kill themselves, others despair, not obtaining their desires. Some dance, sing, laugh, feast and banquet, whilst others sigh, languish, mourn and lament, having neither meat, drink, nor clothes. [a]Some prank up their bodies, and have their minds full of execrable vices.[112] Some trot about [b]to bear false witness, and say anything for money; and though Judges know of it, yet for a bribe they wink at it, and suffer false Contracts to prevail against Equity. Women are all day adressing, to pleasure other men abroad, and go like sluts at home, not caring to please their own husbands whom they should. Seeing men are so fickle, so sottish, so intemperate, why should I not laugh at those, to whom [c]folly seems wisdom, will not be cured, and perceive it not?

It grew late, *Hippocrates* left him, and no sooner was he come away, but all the Citizens came about flocking, to know how he liked him. He told them in brief, that notwithstanding those small neglects of his attire, body, diet, [d]the world had not a wiser, a more learned, a more honest man, and they were much deceived to say that he was mad.

Thus *Democritus* esteemed of the World in his time, and this was the cause of his laughter: and good cause he had.

> [e]*Olim jure quidem, nunc plus Democrite ride;*
> *Quin rides? vita haec nunc mage ridicula est.*
>
> *Democritus* did well to laugh of old,
> Good cause he had, but now much more,
> This life of ours is more ridiculous
> Than that of his, or long before.

Never so much cause of laughter, as now, never so many fools and madmen. 'Tis not one [f]*Democritus* will serve turn to laugh in these days, we have now need of a *Democritus to laugh at Democritus*, one Jester to flout at another, one fool to fleer at another.[113] A great *Stentorian Democritus*, as big as that *Rhodian Colossus*. For now, as [g]*Sarisburiensis* said in his time, *totus mundus histrionem agit*, the whole world plays the fool; we have a new theatre, a new scene, a new comedy of errors, a new company of personate actors, *volupiae*

a. *Vultus magna cura, magna animi incuria* [Great care for their appearance, great negligence for their minds]. *Am. Marcel.*

b. *Horrenda res est, vix duo verba sine mendacio proferuntur: & quamvis solenniter homines ad veritatem dicendam invitentur pejerare tamen non dubitant, ut ex decem testibus vix unus verum dicat* [It's a horrible thing: they hardly utter two words without lying; and however much men are solemnly urged to speak truthfully, yet they don't hesitate to perjure themselves, so that out of ten witnesses scarcely one tells the truth]. *Calvin in 8 Job. Serm. 1.*

c. *Sapientiam insaniam esse dicunt* [They say that wisdom is madness].

d. *Siquidem sapientiae suae admiratione me complevit. Democritum offendi sapientissimum virum, qui solus potest omnes homines prudentiores reddere* [For truly he filled me with wonder at his wisdom. I met the wisest man in Democritus, who alone can render all men more prudent].

e. *E Graec. epig.*

f. *Plures Democriti nunc non sufficiunt, opus Democrito qui Democritum rideat* [Many Democrituses now aren't enough, a Democritus is required to laugh at Democritus]. *Eras. Moria.*

g. *Polycrat. lib. 3 cap. 8 e Petron.*

sacra [the rites of the goddess of pleasure] (as *Calcagninus* wittily feigns in his Apologues) are celebrated all the world over, where all the actors were madmen and fools, and every hour changed habits, or took that which came next.[114] He that was a Mariner today, is an Apothecary tomorrow; a smith one while, a philosopher another, *in his volupiae ludis* [in these games of pleasure]; a king now with his crown, robes, sceptre, attendants, by and by drove a loaded ass before him like a carter, &c. If *Democritus* were alive now, he should see strange alterations, a new company of counterfeit vizards, whifflers, *Cuman* asses, masquers, mummers, painted Puppets, outsides, fantastic shadows, gulls, monsters, giddy-heads, butterflies.[115] And so many of them are indeed ([a]if all be true that I have read). For when *Jupiter* & *Juno's* wedding was solemnized of old, the gods were all invited to the feast, and many noblemen besides: amongst the rest came *Chrysalus* a *Persian* prince, bravely attended, rich in golden attires, in gay robes, with a majestical presence, but otherwise an ass.[116] The gods seeing him come in such pomp and state, rose up to give him place, *ex habitu hominem metientes* [judging the man by his attire]; but *Jupiter* perceiving what he was, a light, fantastic, idle fellow, turned him and his proud followers into butterflies: and so they continue still (for aught I know to the contrary) roving about in pied coats, and are called *Chrysalides* by the wiser sort of men: that is, golden outsides, drones, flies, and things of no worth. Multitudes of such, &c.

——— *ubique invenies*
Stultos avaros, sycophantas prodigos.

[. . . everywhere you'll find
Greedy fools, wasteful tricksters.]

Many additions, much increase of madness, folly, vanity, should *Democritus* observe, were he now to travel, or could get leave of *Pluto* to come see fashions, as *Charon* did in *Lucian* to visit our cities of *Moronia Pia*, and *Moronia Foelix*, sure I think he would break the rim of his belly with laughing.[117]

[b]*Si foret in terris rideret Democritus, seu, &c.*

[If Democritus were living on earth, he would laugh if, etc.]

A satirical *Roman* in his time, thought all vice, folly, and madness were all at full sea,

[c]*Omne in praecipiti vitium stetit.* ———

[Every vice is at its peak . . .]

[d]*Josephus* the historian taxeth his countrymen *Jews* for bragging of their vices, publishing their follies, and that they did contend amongst themselves,

a. *Calcagninus Apol.*
b. *Juven.*
c. *Juven.*
d. *De bello Jud. lib. 6 cap. 11. Iniquitates vestrae neminem latent, inque dies singulos certamen habetis quis pejor sit* [Your iniquities lie hidden from no one, and every single day you have a contest to see who'll be worse].

who should be most notorious in villainies; but we flow higher in madness, far beyond them,

> [a]*Mox daturi progeniem vitiosiorem,*
>
> [Soon to produce offspring more vicious,]

and the latter end (you know whose oracle it is) is like to be worst.[118] 'Tis not to be denied, the world alters every day, *Ruunt urbes, regna transferuntur, &c., variantur habitus, leges innovantur* [cities fall, kingdoms are transformed, etc., habits are changed, laws are made anew], as [b]*Petrarch* observes, we change language, habits, laws, customs, manners, but not vices, not diseases, not the symptoms of folly and madness, they are still the same. And as a River we see, keeps the like name and place, but not water, and yet ever runs,

> [c]*Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis aevum;*
>
> [It flows, and will continue to flow, rolling on for all eternity;]

our times and persons alter, vices are the same, and ever will be; look how Nightingales sang of old, Cocks crowed, Kine lowed, Sheep bleated, Sparrows chirped, Dogs barked, so they do still; we keep our madness still, play the fools still, *nec dum finitus Orestes* [and an Orestes still not finished], we are of the same humours and inclinations as our predecessors were, you shall find us all alike, much at one, we and our sons,

> *Et nati natorum, & qui nascuntur ab illis,*
>
> [And the sons of our sons, and those who'll be born of them,]

and so shall our posterity continue to the last.[119] But to speak of times present.

If *Democritus* were alive now, and should but see the superstition of our age, our [d]religious madness, as [e]*Meteran* calls it, *Religiosam insaniam*, so many professed Christians, yet so few imitators of *Christ*, so much talk of religion, so much science, so little conscience, so much knowledge, so many preachers, so little practice; such variety of sects, such have and hold of all sides,

> ——— [f]*obvia signis Signa, &c.*
>
> [. . . banners set against banners, etc.]

such absurd and ridiculous traditions and ceremonies: if he should meet a [g]*Capuchin*, a *Franciscan*, a *Pharisaical Jesuit*, a man-serpent, a shave-crowned *Monk* in his robes, a begging Friar, or see their three crowned Sovereign Lord the Pope, poor *Peter's* successor, *servus servorum Dei* [the servant of God's servants], to depose Kings with his foot, to tread on Emperors' necks, make them stand

a. *Hor.*
b. *Lib. 5 Epist. 8.*
c. *Hor.*
d. *Superstitio est insanus error* [Superstition is an insane error].
e. *Lib. 8 hist. Belg.*
f. *Lucan.*
g. Father *Angelo*, the Duke of *Joyeux*, going barefoot over the Alps to *Rome*, &c.

barefoot and bare-legged at his gates, hold his bridle and stirrup, &c. (O that *Peter* and *Paul* were alive to see this!)[120] If he should observe a [a]Prince creep so devoutly to kiss his toe, and those Red-cap Cardinals, poor parish priests of old, now Princes' companions; what would he say? *Coelum ipsum petitur stultitia* [Heaven itself is striven for through folly]. Had he met some of our devout pilgrims going barefoot to *Jerusalem*, our lady of *Lauretta*, *Rome*, St. *Iago*, St. *Thomas' Shrine*, to creep to those counterfeit & Maggot-eaten Relics. Had he been present at a Mass, and seen such kissing of Paxes, crucifixes, cringes, duckings, their several attires and ceremonies, pictures of saints, [b]indulgences, pardons, vigils, fasting, feasts, crossing, knocking, kneeling at *Ave Marias*, bells, with many such,

——— *jucunda rudi spectacula plebi,*

[. . . delightful spectacles for ignorant plebeians,]

praying in Gibberish, and mumbling of beads.[121] Had he heard an old woman say her prayers in Latin, their sprinkling of holy water, and going a Procession,

——— [c]*incedunt monachorum agmina mille;*
Quid memorem vexilla, cruces, idolaque culta, &c.

[. . . a thousand armies of monks advance;
What shall I say of banners, crosses, and revered idols, etc.]

their Breviaries, bulls, hallowed beans, exorcisms, pictures, curious crosses, fables, and baubles.[122] Had he read the *Golden Legend*, the *Turks' Alcoran*, or *Jews' Talmud*, the *Rabbins' Comments*, what would he have thought?[123] How dost thou think he might have been affected? Had he more particularly examined a *Jesuit's* life amongst the rest, he should have seen an hypocrite profess poverty, [d]and yet possess more goods & lands than many princes, to have infinite treasures and revenues; teach others to fast, and play the gluttons themselves;

a. *Si cui intueri vacet quae patiuntur superstitiosi, inveniet tam indecora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubitaturus furere eos, si cum paucioribus furerent* [If anyone has the time to investigate what the superstitious suffer, he'll discover things so indecent for men of honour, so unworthy of free men, and so unlike those of the sane, that if they had fewer companions in their madness, no one would doubt that they were mad]. *Senec.*

b. *Quid dicam de eorum indulgentiis, oblationibus, votis, solutionibus, jejuniis, coenobiis, vigiliis, somniis, horis, organis, cantilenis, campanis, simulacris, missis, purgatoriis, mitris, breviariis, bullis, lustralibus aquis, rasuris, unctionibus, candelis, calicibus, crucibus, mappis, cereis, thuribulis, incantationibus, exorcismis, sputis, legendis, &c.* [What should I say about their indulgences, offerings, prayers, absolutions, fasts, monasteries, vigils, visions, hours, organs, old songs, bells, images, masses, purgatories, mitres, breviaries, bulls, holy waters, tonsures, unctions, candles, chalices, crosses, cloths, tapers, thuribles, incantations, exorcisms, spittings, legends, etc.?] *Baleus de actis Rom. Pont.*

c. *Th. Naogeor.*

d. *Dum simulant spernere, acquisiuerunt sibi 30 annorum spatio bis centena millia librarum annua* [While they feign contempt, over the course of 30 years they have procured for themselves 200,000 livres annually]. *Arnold.*

like watermen, that row one way, and look another. [a]Vow virginity, talk of holiness, and yet indeed a notorious Bawd, and famous fornicator, *lascivum pecus* [a lascivious brute], a very goat. Monks by profession, such as give over the world, and the vanities of it, and yet a *Machiavellian* rout [b]interested in all matters of state: holy men, peacemakers, and yet composed of envy, lust, ambition, hatred and malice, firebrands, *adulta patriae pestis* [the inveterate disease of the country], traitors, assassinates, *hac itur ad astra* [this is the way to the stars], [c]and this is to supererogate, and merit heaven for themselves and others.[124] Had he seen on the adverse side, some of our nice & curious schismatics in another extreme, abhor all ceremonies, and rather lose their lives and livings, than do or admit anything Papists have formerly used, though in things indifferent (they alone are the true Church, *sal terrae, cum sint omnium insulsissimi* [the salt of the earth, though they're the most absurdly tasteless of all]).[125] Formalists, out of fear and base flattery, like so many weathercocks turn round, a rout of temporizers, ready to embrace and maintain all that is, or shall be proposed in hope of preferment: Another Epicurean company, lying at lurch as so many vultures, watching for a prey of Church goods, and ready to rise by the downfall of any: as *Lucian* said in like case, what dost thou think *Democritus* would have done, had he been spectator of these things?[126]

Or had he but observed the common people follow like so many sheep one of their fellows drawn by the horns over a gap, some for zeal, some for fear, *quo se cunque rapit tempestas* [wherever the storm takes him], to credit all, examine nothing, and yet ready to die before they will abjure any of those ceremonies, to which they have been accustomed; others out of hypocrisy frequent sermons, knock their breasts, turn up their eyes, pretend zeal, desire reformation, and yet professed usurers, gripers, monsters of men, harpies, devils, in their lives to express nothing less.[127]

What would he have said to see, hear, and read so many bloody battles, so many thousands slain at once, such streams of blood able to turn Mills: *unius ob noxam furiasque* [because of the crime and fury of a single man], or to make sport for princes, without any just cause, *for vain titles* (saith *Austin*), *precedency, some wench, or such-like toy, or out of desire of domineering, vainglory, malice, revenge, folly, madness* (goodly causes all, *ob quas universus orbis bellis & caedibus misceatur* [for which the whole world is to be embroiled in warfare and carnage]), whilst Statesmen themselves in the meantime are secure at home, pampered with all delights & pleasures, take their ease, and follow their lusts, not considering what intolerable misery poor soldiers endure, their often wounds, hunger, thirst, &c., the lamentable cares, torments, calamities & oppressions that accompany such proceedings, they feel not, take no notice of it. *So wars are begun, by the persuasion of a few deboshed, hare-brain, poor, dissolute, hungry captains, parasitical fawners,*

a. *Et quum interdiu de virtute loquuti sunt, sero in latibulis clunes agitant labore nocturno* [And while by day they've talked about virtue, later in hidden places they thrust their buttocks in nocturnal exertion], *Agrippa.*

b. *Benignitatis sinus solebat esse, nunc litium officina curia Romana* [The Roman curia used to be the bosom of kindness, now it's a workshop of lawsuits]. *Budaeus.*

c. *1 Tim. 3. 13.* But they shall prevail no longer, their madness shall be known to all men.

unquiet hotspurs, restless innovators, greenheads, to satisfy one man's private spleen, lust, ambition, avarice, &c., tales rapiunt scelerata in proelia causae [such causes drag men into wicked battles].[128] *Flos hominum* [The flower of men], Proper men, well-proportioned, carefully brought up, able both in body and mind, sound, led like so many [a]beasts to the slaughter in the flower of their years, pride, and full strength, without all remorse and pity, sacrificed to *Pluto*, killed up as so many sheep, for devils' food, 40,000 at once. At once, said I, that were tolerable, but these wars last always, and for many ages; nothing so familiar as this hacking and hewing, massacres, murders, desolations,

——— *ignoto caelum clangore remugit,*

[. . . the sky resounds with the strange clanging,]

they care not what mischief they procure, so that they may enrich themselves for the present; they will so long blow the coals of contention, till all the world be consumed with fire. The [b]siege of *Troy* lasted ten years eight months, there died 870,000 *Grecians*, 670,000 *Trojans*, at the taking of the City, and after were slain 276,000 men, women, and children of all sorts. *Caesar* killed a million, [c]*Mahomet* the second *Turk* 300,000 persons: *Sicinius Dentatus* fought in an hundred battles, eight times in single combat he overcame, had forty wounds before, was rewarded with 140 crowns, triumphed nine times for his good service. *M. Sergius* had 32 wounds; *Scaeva* the Centurion I know not how many; every nation hath their *Hectors*, *Scipios*, *Caesars* and *Alexanders*.[129] Our [d]*Edward* the fourth was in 26 battles afoot: and as they do all, he glories in it, 'tis related to his honour. At the siege of *Jerusalem* 1,100,000 died with sword and famine. At the battle of *Cannae*, 70,000 men were slain, as [e]*Polybius* records, and as many at Battle *Abbey* with us; and 'tis no news to fight from sun to sun, as they did, as *Constantine* and *Licinius*, &c.[130] At the siege of *Ostend* (the devil's Academy), a poor town in respect, a small fort, but a great grave, 120,000 men lost their lives, besides whole towns, dorps, and hospitals, full of maimed soldiers; there were engines, fireworks, and whatsoever the devil could invent to do mischief with 2,500,000 iron bullets shot of 40 pound weight, three or four millions of gold consumed.[131] [f]*Who* (saith mine Author) *can be sufficiently amazed at their flinty hearts, obstinacy, fury, blindness, who without any likelihood of good success, hazard poor soldiers, and lead them without pity to the slaughter, which may justly be called the rage of furious beasts, that run without reason upon their own deaths:* [g]*quis malis genius, quae furia, quae pestis, &c.* [what evil spirit, what scourge,

a. *Bellum rem plane belluinam vocat Morus* [More calls warfare completely bestial], *Utop. lib. 2.*
b. *Munster Cosmog. lib. 5 cap. 3. E Dict. Cretens.*
c. *Jovius vit. ejus.*
d. *Cominaeus.*
e. *Lib. 3.*
f. Hist. of the siege of *Ostend* fol. 23.
g. *Erasmus de bello. Ut placidum illud animal benevolentiae natum tam ferina vecordia in mutuam rueret pernitiem* [So that this gentle animal, born for kindness, should rush with such brutal senselessness into mutual destruction].

what disease, etc.], what plague, what fury brought so devilish, so brutish a thing as war first into men's minds?[132] Who made so soft and peaceable a creature, born to love, mercy, meekness, so to rave, rage like beasts, & run on to their own destruction? How may nature expostulate with mankind, *Ego te divinum animal finxi, &c.* I made thee an harmless, quiet, a divine creature: how may God expostulate, and all good men? Yet, *horum facta* (as [a]one condoles) *tantum admirantur, & heroum numero habent* [they admire their deeds so much, and place them in the class of heroes]: these are the brave spirits, the gallants of the world, these admired alone, triumph alone, have statues, crowns, pyramids, obelisks to their eternal fame, that immortal *Genius* attends on them, *hac itur ad astra* [this is the way to the stars].[133] When *Rhodes* was besieged, [b]*fossae urbis cadaveribus repletae sunt*, the ditches were full of dead carcasses; and as when the said *Suleyman* great *Turk* beleaguered *Vienna*, they lay level with the top of the walls.[134] This they make a sport of, and will do it to their friends and confederates, against oaths, vows, promises, by treachery or otherwise,

——— [c]*dolus an virtus? quis in hoste requirat?*

[. . . deceit or virtue? Who would look for this in an enemy?]

leagues and laws of arms ([d]*silent leges inter arma* [the laws are silent during war]), for their advantage, *omnia jura, divina, humana, proculcata plerumque sunt*; God's and men's laws are trampled under foot, the sword alone determines all; to satisfy their lust and spleen, they care not what they attempt, say, or do,

[e]*Rara fides, probitasque viris qui castra sequuntur,*

[Men who serve in military camps are rarely loyal and upright,]

nothing so common as to have *father fight against the son, brother against brother, kinsman against kinsman, kingdom against kingdom, province against province, Christians against Christians: a quibus nec unquam cogitatione fuerunt laesi*, of whom they never had offence in thought, word or deed. Infinite treasures consumed, towns burned, flourishing cities sacked and ruinated, *quodque animus meminisse horret* [and what the mind shudders to recall], goodly countries depopulated and left desolate, old inhabitants expelled, trade and traffic decayed, maids deflowered,

Virgines nondum thalamis jugatae,
Et comis nondum positis ephaebi;

[Maidens not yet married,
And young men not yet shaven;]

a. *Rich. Dinoth, praefat. Belli civilis Gal.*
b. *Jovius.*
c. *Dolus, asperitas, injustitia propria bellorum negotia* [Deceit, harshness, injustice, the proper business of wars]. *Tertul.*
d. *Tully.*
e. *Lucan.*

chaste matrons cry out with *Andromache*, [a]*Concubitum mox cogar pati ejus, qui interemit Hectorem* [soon I'll be forced to endure sleeping with the man who killed Hector], they shall be compelled peradventure to lie with them that erst killed their husbands: to see rich, poor, sick, sound, Lords, servants, *eodem omnes incommodo macti* [all mauled by the same misfortune], consumed all or maimed, &c.[135] *Et quicquid gaudens scelere animus audet, & perversa mens* [And whatever a soul rejoicing in evil, and a perverse mind, dares], saith *Cyprian*, and whatsoever torment, misery, mischief, hell itself, the devil, [b]fury and rage can invent to their own ruin and destruction; so abominable thing is [c]war, as *Gerbelius* concludes, *adeo foeda & abominanda res est bellum, ex quo hominum caedes, vastationes, &c.* [war is such a foul and abominable thing; from it come the killing of men, pillaging, etc.], the scourge of God, cause, effect, fruit and punishment of sin, and not *tonsura humani generis* [the pruning of the human race], as *Tertullian* calls it, but *ruina* [the downfall]. Had *Democritus* been present at the late civil wars in *France*, those abominable wars,

——— *bellaque matribus detestata,*

[. . . and wars cursed by mothers,]

where in less than ten years, ten hundred thousand men were consumed, saith *Collignius*, 20 thousand Churches overthrown; nay, the whole kingdom subverted (as [d]*Richard Dinoth* adds).[136] So many myriads of the Commons were butchered up, with sword, famine, war, *tanto odio utrinque ut barbari ad abhorrendam lanienam obstupescerent*, with such feral hatred, the world was amazed at it: or at our late *Pharsalian* fields in the time of *Henry* the sixth, betwixt the houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, an hundred thousand men slain, [e]one writes, [f]another, ten thousand families were rooted out, *that no man can but marvel*, saith *Cominaeus*, *at that barbarous immanity, feral madness, committed betwixt men of the same nation, language and religion.*[137] [g]*Quis furor o cives?* [What fury grips you, citizens?] *Why do the Gentiles so furiously rage*, saith the Prophet *David*, *Psal. 2. 1.* But we may ask, why do the Christians so furiously rage?

[h]*Arma volunt, quare poscunt, rapiuntque juventus?*

[Why do young men want, demand, and seize weapons?]

a. *Libanii declam.*
b. *Ira enim & furor Bellonae consultores, &c. dementes sacerdotes sunt* [For anger and fury are the counsellors of the goddess of war, etc., her demented priests].
c. *Bellum quasi bellua & ad omnia scelera furor immissus* [War is like a beast, and a fury that instigates all crimes].
d. *Belli civilis gal. lib. 1. Hoc ferali bello & caedibus omnia repleverunt, & regnum amplissimum a fundamentis pene everterunt, plebis tot myriades gladio, bello, fame miserabiliter perierunt* [They overran everything with this deadly war and slaughter, and nearly toppled the greatest kingdom from its foundations; so many multitudes of people died by the sword, war and famine].
e. *Pont. Heuterus.*
f. *Cominaeus.*
g. *Lucan.*
h. *Virg.*

Unfit for Gentiles, much less for us so to tyrannize, as the *Spaniard* in the West *Indies*, that killed up in 42 years (if we may believe [a]*Bartholomaeus à Casa* their own bishop) 12 millions of men, with stupend & exquisite torments; neither should I lie (said he) if I said 50 millions.[138] I omit those *French* Massacres, *Sicilian* Evensongs, [b]the Duke of *Alva's* tyrannies, our gunpowder machinations, and that fourth fury, as [c]one calls it, the *Spanish* inquisition, which quite obscures those ten persecutions,

——— [d]*saevit toto Mars impius orbe,*

[. . . impious Mars rages over the whole world,]

is this not [e]*Mundus furiosus*, a mad world, as he terms it, *insanum bellum* [mad war]?[139] Are not these madmen, as [f]*Scaliger* concludes, *qui in praelio acerba morte, insaniae suae memoriam pro perpetuo teste relinquunt posteritati*; which leave so frequent battles, as perpetual memorials of their madness to all succeeding ages? Would this, think you, have enforced our *Democritus* to laughter, or rather made him turn his tune, alter his tone, and weep with [g]*Heraclitus*, or rather howl, [h]roar, and tear his hair in commiseration, stand amazed; or as the Poets feign, that *Niobe* was for grief quite stupefied, and turned to a stone?[140] I have not yet said the worst, that which is more absurd and [i]mad, in their tumults, seditions, civil & unjust wars, [j]*quod stulte suscipitur, impie geritur, misere finitur* [that which is foolishly started is conducted wickedly and ends wretchedly], such wars I mean, for all are not to be condemned, as those fantastical *Anabaptists* vainly conceive.[141] Our Christian Tactics are all out as necessary as the *Roman Acies*, or *Grecian* Phalanx; to be a soldier is a most noble and honourable profession (as the world is) not to be spared, they are our best walls and bulwarks, and I do therefore acknowledge that of [k]*Tully* to be most true, *All our civil affairs, all our studies, all our pleading, industry and commendation lies under the protection of warlike virtues, and whensoever there is any suspicion of tumult, all our arts cease*; wars are most behoveful, *& bellatores agricolis civitati sunt utiliores* [and warriors are more useful to the state than farmers], as [l]*Tyrius* defends: and valour is much to be commended in a wise man, but they mistake most part, *auferre, trucidare, rapere, falsis nominibus virtutem vocant, &c.* ('twas *Calgacus'* observation in *Tacitus*), they term

a. Bishop of *Cusco* an eyewitness.
b. Read *Meteran* of his stupend cruelties.
c. *Heinsius Austriaco.*
d. *Virg. Georg.*
e. *Jansonius. Gallobelgicus 1596. Mundus furiosus, inscriptio Libri* [*Mad World*, the title of the book].
f. *Exercitat. 250 serm. 4.*
g. *Fleat Heraclitus an rideat Democritus* [Would Heraclitus weep or Democritus laugh?].
h. *Curae leves loquuntur, ingentes stupent* [Light cares speak out, heavy ones are stupefied].
i. *Arma amens capio, nec sat rationis in armis* [Out of my mind, I take up arms, not that there's much use in arms].
j. *Erasmus.*
k. *Pro Murena.*
l. *Ser. 13.*

theft, murder, and rapine, virtue, by a wrong name, rapes, slaughters, massacres, &c., *jocus & ludus* [a joke and a game], are pretty pastimes, as *Lodovicus Vives* notes.[142] *They commonly call the most hare-brain bloodsuckers, strongest thieves, the most desperate villains, treacherous rogues, inhuman murderers, rash, cruel and dissolute caitiffs, courageous and generous spirits, heroical and worthy Captains,* [a]*brave men-at-arms, valiant and renowned soldiers, possessed with a brute persuasion of false honour*, as *Pontus Heuter* in his *Burgundian* history complains.[143] By means of which it comes to pass that daily so many voluntaries offer themselves, leaving their sweet wives, children, friends, for sixpence (if they can get it) a day, prostitute their lives and limbs, desire to enter upon breaches, lie sentinel perdue, give the first onset, stand in the forefront of the battle, marching bravely on, with a cheerful noise of drums and trumpets, such vigour and alacrity, so many banners streaming in the air, glittering armours, motions of plumes, woods of pikes, and swords, variety of colours, cost and magnificence, as if they went in triumph, now victors to the Capitol, and with such pomp, as when *Darius'* army marched to meet *Alexander* at *Issus*.[144] Void of all fear they run into eminent dangers, *Cannon's* mouth, &c., *ut vulneribus suis ferrum hostium hebetent* [to blunt the swords of enemies with their wounds], saith [b]*Barletius*, to get a name of valour, honour and applause, which lasts not neither, for it is but a mere flash this fame, and like a rose, *intra diem unum extinguitur*, 'tis gone in an instant. Of 15,000 proletaries slain in a battle, scarce fifteen are recorded in history, or one alone, the General perhaps, and after a while his and their names are likewise blotted out, the whole battle itself is forgotten.[145] Those *Grecian* Orators, *summa vi ingenii & eloquentiae* [with the greatest force of wit and eloquence], set out the renowned overthrows at *Thermopylae*, *Salamina*, *Marathon*, *Mycale*, *Mantinea*, *Chaeronaea*, *Plataea*: the *Romans* record their battle at *Cannae*, and *Pharsalian* fields, but they do but record, and we scarce hear of them.[146] And yet this supposed honour, popular applause, desire of immortality by this means, pride and vainglory spurs them on many times rashly and unadvisedly, to make away themselves and multitudes of others. *Alexander* was sorry, because there were no more worlds for him to conquer, he is admired by some for it, *animosa vox videntur, & regia*, 'twas spoken like a Prince, but as wise [c]*Seneca* censures him, 'twas *vox iniquissima & stultissima* [a most evil and stupid saying], 'twas spoken like a bedlam fool; and that sentence which the same [d]*Seneca* appropriates to his father *Philip* and him, I apply to them all, *Non minores fuere pestes mortalium quam inundatio, quam conflagratio, quibus, &c.*, they did as much mischief to mortal men as fire and water, those merciless elements when they rage. [e]Which is yet more to be lamented, they persuade them, this hellish course of life is holy, they promise heaven to such as venture their lives *bello sacro* [in

a. *Eobanus Hessus. Quibus omnis in armis vita placet, non ulla juvat nisi morte, nec ullam esse putant vitam, quae non assueverit armis* [Men who are pleased to spend their whole lives armed, gratified by nothing except death; nor do they reckon it any kind of life if it's not familiar with fighting].
b. *Lib. 10 vit. Scanderbeg.*
c. *De Benef. lib. 2 cap. 16.*
d. *Nat. quaest. lib. 3 q. 1.*
e. *Boterus Amphitheatridion.*

holy war], and that by these bloody wars, as [a]*Persians*, *Greeks*, and *Romans* of old, as modern [b]*Turks* do now their Commons, to encourage them to fight, *ut cadant infeliciter* [so they can die pointlessly], *If they die in the field, they go directly to heaven, and shall be canonized for saints* (O diabolical invention), put in the Chronicles, *in perpetuam rei memoriam* [in perpetual memory of the event], to their eternal memory: when as in truth, as [c]some hold, it were much better (since wars are the scourge of God for sin, by which he punisheth mortal men's peevishness and folly) such brutish stories were suppressed, because *ad morum institutionem nihil habent*, they conduce not at all to manners, or good life. But they will have it thus nevertheless, & so they put a note of *divinity upon the most cruel, and pernicious plague of humankind*, adore such men with grand titles, degrees, statues, images, [d]honour, applaud and highly reward them for their good service, no greater glory than to die in the field. So *Africanus* is extolled by *Ennius*: *Mars*, and [e]*Hercules*, & I know not how many besides of old were deified, went this way to heaven, that were indeed bloody butchers, wicked destroyers, and troublers of the world, prodigious monsters, hellhounds, feral plagues, devourers, common executioners of humankind, as *Lactantius* truly proves, & *Cyprian* to *Donat*, such as were desperate in wars, and precipitately made away themselves (like those *Celts* in *Damascen*, with ridiculous valour, *ut dedecorosum putarent muro ruenti se subducere*, [as they thought it] a disgrace to run away for a rotten wall, now ready to fall on their heads), such as will not rush on a sword's point, or seek to shun a cannon's shot, are base cowards, & no valiant men.[147] By which means, *Madet orbis mutuo sanguine*, the earth wallows in her own blood, [f]*Saevit amor ferri & scelerati insania belli* [desire for the sword rages, and the insanity of impious war], and for that, which if it be done in private, a man shall be rigorously executed, [g]*and which is no less than murder itself, if the same fact be done in public in wars, it is called manhood, and the party is honoured for it*,

——— [h]*prosperum & foelix scelus*
Virtus vocatur ———

[. . . successful and profitable crime
Is called virtue . . .][148]

a. *Nulli beatiores habiti, quam qui in praeliis cecidissent* [None were held more blessed than those who had fallen in combat]. *Brissonius de reg. Persarum lib. 3 fol. 344. Idem Lactantius de Romanis & Graecis. Idem Ammianus lib. 23 de Parthis. Judicatur is solus beatus apud eos, qui in praelio fuderit animam* [Lactantius says the same about the Romans and the Greeks. Ammianus, Bk 23, says the same about the Parthians. Among them he alone is adjudged blessed who has breathed his last in battle].
b. *Busbequius Turc. hist. Lactant. de falsa relig. lib. 1 cap. 8.*
c. *Rich. Dinoth. praefat. hist. Gall.*
d. *Et quod dolendum, applausum habent & occursum viri tales* [And what's deplorable, such men are welcomed and applauded].
e. *Herculi eadem porta ad caelum patuit, qui magnam generis humani partem perdidit* [The same gate to heaven was opened for Hercules, who destroyed a great part of the human race].
f. *Virg. Aeneid. 7.*
g. *Cyprianus.*
h. *Seneca.*

We measure all as *Turks* do, by the event, and most part, as *Cyprian* notes, in all ages, countries, places, *saevitiae magnitudo impunitatem sceleris acquirit*, the foulness of the fact vindicates the offender.[149] [a]One is crowned for that which another is tormented:

> *Ille crucem sceleris precium tulit, hic diadema,*
>
> [That man's reward for crime is the gallows, this one's is a crown,]

made a Knight, a Lord, an Earl, a great Duke (as [b]*Agrippa* notes), for which another should have hung in gibbets, as a terror to the rest,

> ——— [c]*& tamen alter,*
> *Si fecisset idem, caderet sub judice morum.*
>
> [. . . and yet if another man
> Had done the same, he'd have been convicted
> by the judge of morals.]

A poor sheep-stealer is hanged for stealing of victuals, compelled peradventure by necessity of that intolerable cold, hunger, and thirst, to save himself from starving: but a [d]great man in office, may securely rob whole provinces, undo thousands, pill and poll, oppress *ad libitum* [at will], flay, grind, tyrannize, enrich himself by spoils of the Commons, be uncontrollable in his actions, and after all, be recompensed with turgent titles, honoured for his good service, and no man dare find fault, or [e]mutter at it.[150]

How would our *Democritus* have been affected, to see a wicked caitiff, or [f]*fool, a very idiot, a funge, a golden ass, a monster of men, to have many good men, wise men, learned men to attend upon him with all submission, as an appendix to his riches, for that respect alone, because he hath more wealth and money,* [g]*and to honour him with divine titles, and bombast Epithets*, to smother him with fumes and eulogies, whom they know to be a dizzard, a fool, a covetous wretch, a beast, &c., *because he is rich*?[151] To see *sub exuviis leonis onagrum* [a wild ass in a lion's skin], a filthy loathsome carcass, a *Gorgon's* head puffed up by parasites, assume this unto himself, glorious titles, in worth an infant, a Cuman ass, a painted sepulchre, an *Egyptian* temple?[152] To see a withered face, a diseased, deformed, cankered complexion, a rotten carcass, a viperous mind, and Epicurean soul set out with orient pearls, jewels, diadems,

a. *Juven.*
b. *De vanit. scient. de princip. nobilitatis.*
c. *Juven. Sat. 4.*
d. *Pansa rapit quod Natta reliquit* [Pansa snatches what Natta left behind]. *Tu pessimus omnium latro es* [You're the worst thief of all], as *Demetrius* the Pirate told *Alexander* in *Curtius.*
e. *Non ausi mutire, &c.* [Having not dared to mutter, etc.] *Aesop.*
f. *Morus Utopia.*
g. *Eorumque detestantur Utopienses insaniam, qui divinos honores iis impendunt, quos sordidos & avaros agnoscunt; non alio respectu honorantes, quam quod dites sint* [The Utopians abhor the madness of those who devote divine honours to people whom they know to be vile and grasping, honouring them for no reason other than that they are rich]. *Idem lib. 2.*

perfumes, curious elaborate works, as proud of his clothes, as a child of his new coats; and a goodly person, of an angelic divine countenance, a saint, an humble mind, a meek spirit clothed in rags, beg, and now ready to be starved?[153] To see a silly contemptible sloven in apparel, ragged in his coat, polite in speech, of a divine spirit, wise? Another neat in clothes, spruce, full of courtesy, empty of grace, wit, talk nonsense?

To see so many lawyers, advocates, so many tribunals, so little Justice; so many Magistrates, so little care of common good; so many Laws, yet never more disorders; *tribunal litium segetem* [the court as a field of disputes], the Tribunal a Labyrinth, so many thousand suits in one court sometimes, so violently followed? To see *injustissimum saepe juri praesidentem, impium religioni, imperitissimum eruditioni, otiosissimum labori, monstrosum humanitati* [the most unjust often presiding over justice, the impious over religion, the most ignorant over learning, the most lazy over work, the monstrous over humanity]? To see a lamb [a]executed, a wolf pronounce sentence, *latro* [a robber] arraigned, and *fur* [a thief] sit on the bench, the Judge severely punish others, and do worse himself, [b]*eundem furtum facere & punire* [the same man commit and punish theft], [c]*rapinam plectere, quum sit ipse raptor* [to punish robbery, when he is himself a robber]? Laws altered, misconstrued, interpreted *pro* and *con*, as the [d]Judge is made by friends, bribed, or otherwise affected as a nose of wax, good today, none tomorrow; or firm in his opinion, cast in his?[154] Sentence prolonged, changed, *ad arbitrium judicis* [at the will of the judge], still the same case, [e]*one thrust out of his inheritance, another falsely put in by favour, false forged deeds or wills. Incisae leges negligantur*, laws are made and not kept; or if put in execution, [f]they be some silly ones that are punished.[155] As put case it be fornication, the father will disinherit or abdicate his child, quite cashier him (out villain begone, come no more in my sight), a poor man is miserably tormented with loss of his estate perhaps, goods, fortunes, good name, forever disgraced, forsaken, and must do penance to the utmost; a mortal sin, and yet make the worst of it, *nunquid aliud fecit*, saith *Tranio* in the [g]poet, *nisi quod faciunt summis nati generibus?*[156] He hath done no more than what Gentlemen usually do.

> [h]*Neque novum, neque mirum, neque secus quam alii solent.*
>
> [Neither new, nor astonishing, nor different from what others ordinarily do.]

a. *Cypr. 2 ad Donat. ep. Ut reus innocens pereat fit nocens. Judex damnat foras, quod intus operatur* [So that the innocent defendant should die, {the judge} makes himself guilty. The judge condemns outdoors what he's busy doing indoors].
b. *Sidonius Apol.*
c. *Salvianus lib. 3 de providen.*
d. *Ergo judicium nihil est nisi publica merces* [Therefore a trial is nothing but a public sale]. *Petronius. Quid faciunt leges ubi sola pecunia regnat?* [What can the laws accomplish where only money rules?] *Idem.*
e. *Idem.*
f. *Vexat censura columbas* [The censorship persecutes the doves].
g. *Plaut. Mostel.*
h. *Idem.*

For in a great person, right worshipful Sir, a right honourable Grandee, 'tis not a venial sin, no not a *peccadillo*, 'tis no offence at all, a common and ordinary thing, no man takes notice of it; he justifies it in public, and peradventure brags of it,

> [a]*Nam quod turpe bonis, Titio, Seioque, decebat*
> *Crispinum* ———

> [For what would be disgraceful in the good men Titius and Seius,
> Was proper in Crispinus . . .]

[b]Many poor men, younger brothers, &c., by reason of bad policy, and idle education (for they are likely brought up in no calling) are compelled to beg or steal, and then hanged for theft; than which, what can be more ignominious, *non minus enim turpe principi multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera* [for many punishments are just as shameful to a prince as many funerals are to a physician], 'tis the governor's fault.[157] *Libentius verberant quam docent* [They enjoy beating more than teaching], as Schoolmasters do rather correct their pupils, than teach them when they do amiss. [c]*They had more need provide there should be no more thieves and beggars, as they ought with good policy, and take away the occasions, than let them run on, as they do to their own destruction*: root out likewise those causes of wrangling, a multitude of lawyers, and compose controversies, *lites lustrales & seculares* [disputes lasting five years and a hundred years], by some more compendious means.[158] Whereas now for every toy and trifle they go to law, [d]*Mugit litibus insanum forum, & saevit invicem discordantium rabies* [the crazy court rumbles with lawsuits, and the frenzy of mutual quarrelling is savage], they are ready to pull out one another's throats; and for commodity *to squeeze blood*, saith *Jerome*, *out of their brother's heart*, defame, lie, disgrace, backbite, rail, bear false witness, swear, forswear, fight and wrangle, spend their goods, lives, fortunes, friends, undo one another, to enrich an *Harpy* advocate, that preys upon them both, and cries *Eia Socrates, Eia Xantippe* [go on, Socrates! go on, Xanthippe!]; or some corrupt Judge, that like the [e]Kite in *Aesop*, while the mouse & frog fought, carried both away.[159] Generally they prey one upon another as so many ravenous birds, brute beasts, devouring fishes, no *medium*, [f]*omnes hic aut captantur aut captant; aut cadavera quae lacerantur, aut corvi qui lacerant* [everyone here is either hunted or hunts; {they are} either corpses which are torn to pieces, or crows which tear to pieces], either deceive or be deceived; tear others, or be torn in pieces themselves; like so many buckets in a Well, as one riseth another falleth, one's empty, another's full; his ruin is a ladder to the third; such are our ordinary proceedings.[160] What's the

a. *Juven. Sat. 4.*
b. *Quot tot sint fures & mendici, magistratuum culpa fit, qui malos imitantur praeceptores, qui discipulos libentius verberant quam docent* [It is the fault of the magistrates that there are so many thieves and beggars; they copy bad teachers who enjoy beating their pupils more than teaching them]. *Morus Utop. lib. 1.*
c. *Idem.*
d. *Boterus de augment. urb. lib. 3 cap. 3.*
e. *Milvus rapit ac deglubit* [The kite snatches and skins {them}].
f. *Petronius de Crotone civitate* [on the city of Croton].

market? A place according to *Anacharsis*, wherein they cozen one another, a trap; nay, what's the world itself? A vast *Chaos*, a confusion of manners, as fickle as the air, *domicilium insanorum* [the home of the insane], a turbulent troop full of impurities, a mart of walking spirits, goblins, the theatre of hypocrisy, a shop of knavery, flattery, a nursery of villainy, the scene of babbling, the school of giddiness, the academy of vice; a warfare, *ubi velis nolis pugnandum, aut vincas aut succumbas* [where whether you want to or not, you must fight, and either vanquish or succumb], in which kill or be killed; wherein every man is for himself, his private ends, and stands upon his own guard. No charity, [a]love, friendship, fear of God, alliance, affinity, consanguinity, Christianity can contain them, but if they be anyways offended, or that string of commodity be touched, they fall foul. Old friends become bitter enemies on a sudden, for toys and small offences, and they that erst were willing to do all mutual offices of love and kindness, now revile, & persecute one another to death, with more then *Vatinian* hatred, & will not be reconciled.[161] So long as they are behoveful, they love, or may bestead each other, but when there is no more good to be expected, as they do by an old dog, hang him up or cashier him: which [b]*Cato* counts a great *indecorum*, to use men like old shoes or broken glasses, which are flung to the dunghill; he could not find in his heart to sell an old Ox, much less to turn away an old servant: but they instead of recompense, revile him, and when they have made him an instrument of their villainy, as [c]*Bajazet* the second Emperor of the *Turks*, did by *Acmet Bassa*, make him away, or instead of [d]reward, hate him to the death, as *Silius* was served by *Tiberius*.[162] In a word, every man for his own ends. Our *summum bonum* [highest good] is commodity, and the goddess we adore *Dea moneta*, Queen money, to whom we daily offer sacrifice, which steers our hearts, hands, [e]affections, all: that most powerful goddess, by whom we are reared, depressed, elevated, [f]esteemed [g]the sole commandress of our actions, for which we pray, run, ride, go, come, labour, and contend as fishes do for a crumb that falleth into the water.[163] It's not worth, virtue (that's *bonum theatrale* [a feigned good]), wisdom, valour, learning, honesty, religion, or any sufficiency for which we are respected, but [h]money, greatness, office, honour, authority; honesty is accounted

a. *Nemo coelum, nemo jusjurandum, nemo Jovem pluris facit, sed omnes apertis oculis bona sua computant* [No one esteems heaven, taking an oath, or Jove more highly, but everyone calculates their own wealth with open eyes]. *Petronius.*
b. *Plutarch. vit. ejus.*
c. *Jovius. Cum innumera illius beneficia rependere non posset aliter, interfici iussit* [Since he couldn't return that man's innumerable kindnesses any other way, he ordered him to be killed].
d. *Beneficia eo usque laeta sunt dum videntur solvi posse, ubi multum antevenere, pro gratia odium redditur* [Kindnesses are delightful as long as it seems they can be repaid; when they go farther, hatred is returned instead of thanks]. *Tac.*
e. *Paucis charior est fides quam pecunia* [Faithfulness is more beloved than money by few]. *Sallust.*
f. *Prima fere vota & cunctis, &c.* [Usually the first prayer, in all {the temples}, etc.]
g. *Et genus & formam Regina pecunia donat* [Queen Money grants both breeding & beauty].
h. *Quantum quisque sua nummorum servat in arca tantum habet & fidei* [However much money someone keeps in his chest, that's how much credit he has].

folly; knavery, policy; [a]men admired out of opinion, not as they are, but as they seem to be: such shifting, lying, cogging, plotting, counterplotting, temporizing, flattering, cozening, dissembling, [b]*that of necessity one must highly offend God if he be conformable to the world*, Cretizare cum Crete [do as the Cretans do in Crete], *or else live in contempt, disgrace, and misery.*[164] One takes upon him temperance, holiness, another austerity, a third an affected kind of simplicity, when as indeed he, and he, and he, and the rest are [c]*hypocrites*, *ambidexters*, outsides, [d]like so many turning pictures, a lion on the one side, a lamb on the other.[165] How would *Democritus* have been affected to see these things?

To see a man turn himself into all shapes like a Chameleon, or as *Proteus*, *omnia transformans sese in miracula rerum* [changing himself into every freakish thing], to act twenty parts and persons at once, for his advantage, to temporize & vary like *Mercury* the Planet, good with good, bad with bad; having a several face, garb, & character for everyone he meets; of all religions, humours, inclinations; to fawn like a Spaniel, *mentitis & mimicis obsequiis* [with lies and feigned obedience], rage like a lion, bark like a Cur, fight like a dragon, sting like a serpent, as meek as a lamb, & yet again grin like a tiger, weep like a crocodile, insult over some, & yet others domineer over him, here command, there crouch, tyrannize in one place, be baffled in another, a wise man at home, a fool abroad to make others merry.[166]

To see so much difference betwixt words and deeds, so many parasangs betwixt tongue and heart, men like stage-players act variety of parts, [e]give good precepts to others, soar aloft, whilst they themselves grovel on the ground.

To see a man protest friendship, kiss his hand, [f]*quem mallet truncatum videre* [whom he'd prefer to see maimed], [g]smile with an intent to do mischief, or cozen him whom he salutes, [h]magnify his friend unworthy with hyperbolical elogiums; his enemy albeit a good man, to vilify and disgrace him, yea all his actions, with the utmost livor and malice can invent.[167]

To see a servant able to buy out his Master, him that carries the mace more worth than the Magistrate, which *Plato lib. 11 de leg.* absolutely forbids, *Epictetus* abhors. An horse that tills the land fed with chaff, an idle jade have provender

a. *Non a peritia sed ab ornatu & vulgi vocibus habemur excellentes* [We're not regarded as outstanding for our skill, but for our apparel and the opinions of the mob]. *Cardan. lib. 2 de cons.*

b. *Perjurata suo postponit numina lucro, Mercator. Ut necessarium sit vel Deo displicere, vel ab homnibus contemni, vexari, negligi* [The merchant esteems the gods he has perjured less than his money. As if it were necessary either to displease God, or to be despised, abused, or neglected by men].

c. *Qui Curios simulant & Bacchanalia vivunt* [Who pretend to be Curii, and live as Bacchanals].

d. *Tragelapho similes vel centauris, sursum homines, deorsum equi* [Similar to the goat-stag or the centaurs, men above, horses below].

e. *Praeceptis suis coelum promittunt, ipsi interim pulveris terreni vilia mancipia* [They promise heaven with their precepts, while they themselves are the base slaves of earthly dust].

f. *Aeneas Silv.*

g. *Cyp. ad Donatum.*

h. Love & hate are like the two ends of a perspective glass, the one multiplies, the other makes less.

in abundance; him that makes shoes go barefoot himself, him that sells meat almost pined; a toiling drudge starve, a drone flourish.[168]

To see men buy smoke for wares, castles built with fools heads, men like apes follow the fashions in tires, gestures, actions: if the King laugh, all laugh;

> [a]*Rides? majore chachinno*
> *Concutitur, flet si lachrimas conspexit amici.*
>
> [You laugh? He splits his sides with laughter;
> He weeps if he sees his friend in tears.][169]

[b]*Alexander* stooped, so did his Courtiers; *Alphonsus* turned his head, and so did his parasites.[170] [c]*Sabina Poppaea*, *Nero's* wife, wore amber-coloured hair, so did all the *Roman* Ladies in an instant, her fashion was theirs.

To see men wholly led by affection, admired and censured out of opinion without judgement: an inconsiderate multitude, like so many dogs in a village, if one bark all bark without a cause: as fortune's fan turns, if a man be in favour, or commended by some great one, all the world applauds him; [d]if in disgrace, in an instant all hate him, & as at the Sun when he is eclipsed, that erst took no notice, now gaze, and stare upon him.[171]

To see a man [e]wear his brains in his belly, his guts in his head, an hundred oaks on his back, to devour 100 oxen at a meal, nay more, to devour houses and towns, or as those *Anthropophagi*, [f]to eat one another.[172]

To see a man roll himself up like a snowball, from base beggary to right worshipful and right honourable titles, unjustly to screw himself into honours and offices; another to starve his *genius*, damn his soul to gather wealth, which he shall not enjoy, [g]which his prodigal son melts and consumes in an instant.[173]

To see the κακοζηλίαν [unhappy imitation] of our times, a man bend all his forces, means, time, fortunes, to be a favourite's, favourite's, favourite, &c., a parasite's, parasite's, parasite, that may scorn the servile world as having enough already.

To see an hirsute beggar's brat, that lately fed on scraps, crept and whined, crying to all, and for an old jerkin run off errands, now ruffle in silk and satin, bravely mounted, jovial and polite, now scorn his old friends and familiars, neglect his kindred, insult over his betters, domineer over all.[174]

To see a scholar crouch and creep to an illiterate peasant for a meal's meat; a scrivener better paid for an obligation; a falconer receive greater wages than a student: a lawyer get more in a day than a philosopher in a year, better reward for an hour, than a scholar for a twelvemonth's study; him that can

a. *Juven.*
b. *Bodin lib. 4 de Repub. cap. 6.*
c. *Plinius lib. 37 cap. 3.*
d. *Odit damnatos* [He hates the condemned]. *Juv.*
e. *Agrippa epist. 28 lib. 7. Quorum cerebrum est in ventre, ingenium in patinis* [Who has his brain in his stomach, his wit in his saucepan].
f. *Psal.* They eat up my people as bread.
g. *Absumet haeres cacecuba dignior servata centum clavibus, & mero distinguet pavimentum superbo, pontificum potiore coenis* [A more deserving heir will consume the Caecuban wine that's protected by a hundred keys, and stain the street with the superb vintage, finer than those at the dinners of pontiffs]. *Hor.*

paint *Thais*, play on a fiddle, curl hair, &c., sooner get preferment than a philologer or a poet.[175]

To see a fond mother like *Aesop's* ape, hug her child to death, a [a]wittol wink at his wife's honesty, and too perspicacious in all other affairs; one stumble at a straw, and leap over a block; rob *Peter*, and pay *Paul*; scrape unjust sums with one hand, purchase great Manors by corruption, fraud and cozenage, and liberally to distribute to the poor with the other, give a remnant to pious uses, &c.[176] Penny wise, pound foolish; blind men judge of colours; wise men silent, fools talk; [b]find fault with others, and do worse themselves; [c]denounce that in public which he doth in secret; and which *Aurelius Victor* gives out of *Augustus*, severely censure that in a third, of which he is most guilty himself.

To see a poor fellow, or an hired servant venture his life for his new Master that will scarce give him his wages at year's end; a country colon toil and moil, till and drudge for a prodigal idle drone, that devours all the gain, or lasciviously consumes with fantastical expenses; a nobleman in a bravado to encounter death, and for a small flash of honour to cast away himself; a worldling tremble at an Executioner, and yet not fear hell-fire; to wish and hope for immortality, desire to be happy, and yet by all means avoid death, a necessary passage to bring him to it.[177]

To see a foolhardy fellow like those old [d]*Danes*, *qui decollari malunt quam verberari* [who would prefer to be beheaded than beaten], die rather than be punished, in a sottish humour embrace death with alacrity, yet scorn to lament his own sins and miseries, or his dearest friends' departures.

To see wise men degraded, fools preferred, one govern Towns and Cities, and yet a silly woman overrules him at home; [e]command a Province, and yet his own servants or children prescribe laws to him, as *Themistocles'* son did in Greece, *What I will* (said he) *my mother will, and what my mother will, my father doth.* To see horses ride in a Coach, men draw it; dogs devour their masters; towers build masons; children rule; old men go to school; women wear the breeches; [f]sheep demolish towns, devour men, &c. And in a word, the world turned upside downward. *O viveret Democritus* [If only Democritus were alive!].

a. *Doctus spectare lacunar* [An expert at staring at the ceiling].
b. *Tullius. Est enim proprium stultitiae aliorum cernere vitia, oblivisci suorum* [It's a characteristic of folly to perceive the faults of others and forget one's own]. *Idem Aristippus Charidemo apud Lucianum. Omnino stultitiae cujusdam esse puto, &c.* [I think it is entirely some kind of folly, etc.]
c. *Salvianus lib. de pro.*
d. *Adamus eccl. hist. cap. 212. Siquis damnatus fuerit, laetus esse gloria est; nam lachrymas & planctum caeteraque compunctionum genera quae nos salubria censemus, ita abominantur Dani, ut nec pro peccatis nec pro defunctis amicis ulli flere liceat* [If someone was to be sentenced to death, he rejoices at the fame; for tears and wailing, and other sorts of remorse which we value as healthy, the Danes abominate, so that it's not permitted for anyone to weep either for one's sins or for departed friends].
e. *Orbi dat leges foras, vix famulum regit sine strepitu domi* [He imposes laws on the world outside, and can barely control a servant at home without a commotion].
f. *Oves, olim mite pecus, nunc tam indomitum & edax ut homines devorent, oppida diruant, &c.* [Sheep, once a mellow flock, are now so fierce and voracious that they devour men, demolish towns, etc.] *Morus Utop. lib. 1.*

[a]To insist in every particular were one of *Hercules' labours*, there's so many ridiculous instances, as motes in the Sun.[178] *Quantum est in rebus inane?* [How great is the vanity in human affairs?] And who can speak of all? *Crimine ab uno disce omnes* [From one crime you learn about them all], take this for a taste.

But these are obvious to sense, trivial and well known, easy to be discerned. How would *Democritus* have been moved, had he seen [b]the secrets of their hearts? If every man had a window in his breast, which *Momus* would have had in *Vulcan's* man, or that which *Tully* so much wished it were written on every man's forehead, *quid quisque de republica sentiret* [all his opinions about the commonwealth], what he thought; or that it could be effected in an instant, which *Mercury* did by *Charon* in *Lucian*, by touching of his eyes, to make him discern *semel & simul rumores & susurros* [at one and the same time, gossip and mutterings].[179]

> *Spes hominum caecas, morbos, votumque labores,*
> *Et passim toto volitantes aethere curas.*
>
> Blind hopes and wishes, their thoughts and affairs,
> Whispers and rumours, and those flying cares.

That he could *cubiculorum obductas foras recludere, & secreta cordium penetrare* [unlock the closed doors of bedrooms and penetrate the secrets of hearts], which [c]*Cyprian* desired, open doors and locks, shoot bolts, as *Lucian's Gallus* did with a feather of his tail: or *Gyges'* invisible ring, or some rare perspective glass, or *Otacousticon*, which would so multiply *species*, that a man might hear and see all at once (as [d]*Martianus Capella's Jupiter* did in a sphere, which he held in his hand, which did present unto him all that was daily done upon the face of the earth), observe cuckolds' horns, forgeries of alchemists, the philosophers' stone, new projectors, &c., and all those works of darkness, foolish vows, hopes, fears and wishes, what a deal of laughter would it have afforded?[180] He should have seen Windmills in one man's head, an Hornets' nest in another. Or had he been present with *Icaromenippus* in *Lucian* at *Jupiter's* whispering place, [e]and

a. *Diversos variis tribuit natura furores* [Nature bestows different insanities upon diverse people].

b. *Democrit. ep. praed. Hos dejerantes & potantes deprehenderet, hos vomentes, illos verberantes, alios litigantes, insidias molientes, suffragantes, venena miscentes, in amicorum accusationem subscribentes, hos gloria, illos ambitione, cupiditate, mente captos, &c.* [He will detect these people drinking while they take oaths, these ones puking, those ones whipping, others suing at law, setting traps, canvassing for votes, mixing poison, signing their names on indictments of their friends, these ones deprived of sense by pride, those by ambition, avarice, etc.]

c. *Ad Donat. ep. 2 lib. 2. O si posses in specula sublimi constitutus, &c.* [Oh, if you were able, standing on a high watch-tower, etc.]

d. *Lib. 1 de nup. Philol.*

e. *O Jupiter contingat mihi aurum, haereditas, &c. Multos da Jupiter annos. Dementia quanta est hominum, turpissima vota diis insusurrant, si quis admoverit aurem, conticescunt; & quod scire homines nolunt, Deo narrant* ['O Jupiter, let gold come to me, an inheritance,' etc. 'Grant me, Jupiter, many years!' The insanity of men is so great, they whisper the most repulsive prayers to the gods; if any bend an ear towards them they keep silent, and what they don't want men to know, they tell to God], *Senec. ep. 10 lib. 1.*

heard one pray for rain, another for fair weather; one for his wives, another for his father's death, &c., *to ask that at God's hand which they are abashed any man should hear*: how would he have been confounded? Would he, think you, or any man else, say that these men were well in their wits?

Haec sani esse hominis quis sanus juret Orestes?

[What sane Orestes could swear to the sanity of these men?][181]

Can all the *Hellebore* in the *Anticyrae* cure these men? No sure, [a]*an acre of Hellebore will not do it*.

That which is more to be lamented, they are mad like *Seneca's* blind woman, and will not acknowledge, or [b]seek for any cure of it, for *pauci vident morbum suum, omnes amant* [few see their own sickness; all love it], [c]if our leg or arm offend us, we covet by all means possible to redress it; [d]and if we labour of a bodily disease, we send for a physician; but for the diseases of the mind we take no notice of them: lust harrows us on the one side, envy, anger, ambition on the other.[182] We are torn in pieces by our passions, as so many wild horses, one in disposition, another in habit; one is melancholy, another mad; [e]and which of us all seeks for help, doth acknowledge his error, or knows he is sick? As that stupid fellow put out the Candle, because the biting fleas should not find him; he shrouds himself in an unknown habit, borrowed titles, because nobody should discern him. Every man thinks with himself *Egomet videor mihi sanus* [I seem to myself to be sane], I am well, I am wise, and laughs at others. And 'tis a general fault amongst us all, that [f]which our forefathers have approved, diet, apparel, opinions, humours, customs, manners, we deride and reject in our time as absurd. [g]Old men account Juniors all fools, when they are mere dizzards; and as to sailors

——— *terraeque urbesque recedunt* ———

[. . . both lands and cities recede . . .]

they move, the land stands still, the world hath much more wit, they dote themselves. *Turks* deride us, we them; *Italians Frenchmen*, accounting them

a. *Plautus Menech.*
b. *Eoque gravior morbus quo ignotior periclitanti* [A disease so much more severe for being unknown to the person in peril].
c. *Quae laedunt oculos festinas demere; si quid est animum, differs curandi tempus in annum* [You hurry to remove anything that injures your eyes; if something affects your mind, you put off taking care of it until next year]. *Hor.*
d. *Si caput, crus dolet, brachium, &c. Medicum accersimus, recte & honeste si par etiam industria in animi morbis poneretur* [If the head hurts, or leg, arm, etc., we call the doctor, and it would be correct and proper if an equal diligence were applied to diseases of the mind]. *Joh. Pelecyus Jesuita, lib. 2 de hum. affec. morborumque cura.*
e. *Et quotusquisque tamen est qui contra tot pestes medicum requirat vel aegrotare se agnoscat? ebullit ira, &c. Et nos tamen aegros esse negamus. Incolumes medicum recusant* [Yet how few are there who ask for a doctor to treat so many diseases, or acknowledge that they are sick with them? Anger boils up, etc., and still we deny that we're sick. The healthy refuse the doctor].
f. *Praesens aetas stultitiam priscis exprobrat* [The present age reproaches the foolishness of former times]. *Bud. de asse lib. 5.*
g. *Balth. Cast.*

light-headed fellows; the *French* scoff again at *Italians*, and at their several customs; *Greeks* have condemned all the world but themselves of *barbarism*, the world as much vilifies them now; we account *Germans* heavy, dull fellows, explode many of their fashions; they as contemptibly think of us; *Spaniards* laugh at all, and all again at them. So are we fools and ridiculous, absurd in our actions, carriages, diet, apparel, customs and consultations; we [a]scoff and point one at another, when as in conclusion all are fools, [b]*and they the veriest asses that hide their ears most*.[183] A private man if he be resolved with himself, or set on an opinion, accounts all idiots and asses that are not affected as he is,

——— [c]*nil rectum, nisi quod placuit sibi, ducit,*

[. . . he admits nothing to be correct, except what's pleased him,]

that are not so minded [d](*quodque volunt homines se bene velle putant* [and men think they have good reason to want what they do]), all fools that think not as he doth: he will not say with *Atticus*, *Suam quisque sponsam, mihi meam*, let every man enjoy his own spouse; but his alone is fair, *suus amor, &c.* [his beloved, etc.], and scorns all in respect of himself, [e]will imitate none, hear none [f]but himself, as *Pliny* said, a law and example to himself.[184] And that which *Hippocrates* in his epistle to *Dionysius*, reprehended of old, is verified in our times, *Quisque in alio superfluum esse censet, ipse quod non habet nec curat*, that which he hath not himself or doth not esteem, he accounts superfluity, an idle quality, a mere foppery in another: like *Aesop's* fox, when he had lost his tail, would have all his fellow foxes cut off theirs. The *Chineses* say, that we *Europeans* have one eye, they themselves two, all the world else is blind: (though [g]*Scaliger* accounts them Brutes too, *merum pecus* [mere cattle]), so thou and thy sectaries are only wise, others indifferent, the rest beside themselves, mere idiots and asses. Thus not acknowledging our own errors, and imperfections, we securely deride others, as if we alone were free, and spectators of the rest, accounting it an excellent thing, as indeed it is, *aliena optimum frui insania* [best to enjoy the insanity of others], to make ourselves merry with other men's obliquities, when as he himself is more faulty than the rest: *mutato nomine, de te fabula narratur* [changing the name, the story's about you], he may take himself by the nose for a fool; and which one calls *maximum stultitiae specimen* [the greatest sign of foolishness], to be ridiculous to others, and not to perceive or take notice of it, as *Marsyas* was when he contended with *Apollo*, *non intelligens se deridiculo haberi* [not realizing that he was being made a laughing stock], saith [h]*Apuleius*; 'tis his own cause, he is a convict madman, as *Austin*

a. *Clodius accusat moechos* [Clodius accuses adulterers].
b. *Sat. Menip.*
c. *Hor. Epist.* 2.
d. *Prosper.*
e. *Plin. Epist. lib. 8.*
f. *Nullus alteri sapere concedit, ne desipere videatur* [No one concedes that another is wise, lest he seem foolish himself]. *Agrip.*
g. *Omnis orbis percaecus a Persis ad Lusitaniam* [The whole world is blind from Persia to Portugal].
h. 2 *Florid.*

well infers, *In the eyes of wise men and Angels he seems like one, that to our thinking walks with his heels upward*.[185] So thou laughest at me, and I at thee, both at a third; and he returns that of the poet upon us again, [a]*Hei mihi, insanire me aiunt, quum ipsi ultro insaniant* [woe is me: they say I'm crazy, when they're crazy themselves]. We accuse others of madness, of folly, and are the veriest dizzards ourselves. For it is a great sign and property of a fool (which *Eccl. 10. 3* points at) out of pride and self-conceit, to insult, vilify, condemn, censure, and call other men fools (*Non videmus manticae quod a tergo est* [we don't see the part of the bag that's on our back]), to tax that in others, of which we are most faulty; teach that which we follow not ourselves: for an inconstant man to write of constancy, a profane liver prescribe rules of sanctity and piety, a dizzard himself make a treatise of wisdom, or with *Sallust* to rail downright at spoilers of countries, and yet in [b]office to be a most grievous poller himself.[186] This argues weakness, and is an evident sign of such parties' indiscretion. [c]*Peccat uter nostrum cruce dignius?* [Which of us commits an offence more deserving of the gallows?] *Who is the fool now?* Or else peradventure in some places we are [d]all mad for company, and so 'tis not seen, *Satietas erroris & dementiae, pariter absurditatem & admirationem tollit* [the abundance of error and insanity removes their absurdity as well as astonishment at them]. 'Tis with us, as it was of old (in [e]*Tully's* censure at least) with *C. Fimbria* in *Rome*, a bold, hare-brain, mad fellow, and so esteemed of all, such only excepted, that were as mad as himself: now in such a case there is [f]no notice taken of it.[187]

> *Nimirum insanus paucis videatur; eo quod*
> *Maxima pars hominum morbo jactatur eodem.*
>
> When all are mad, where all are like oppressed,
> Who can discern one madman from the rest?

But put case they do perceive it, and someone be manifestly convict of madness, [g]he now takes notice of his folly, be it in action, gesture, speech, a vain humour he hath in building, bragging, jangling, spending, gaming, courting, scribbling, prating, for which he is ridiculous to others, [h]on which he dotes, he doth acknowledge as much: yet with all the Rhetoric thou hast, thou canst not so recall him, but to the contrary notwithstanding, he will persevere in his dotage.[188] 'Tis *amabilis insania, & mentis gratissimus error* [a lovable madness

a. *Plautus Menechmi.*
b. *Dion.* Governor of *Africk* by *Caesar's* appointment.
c. *Hor. 2 ser. 7.*
d. *Nunc sanitatis patrocinium est insanientium turba* [As it is, the great number of the insane is the defence of their sanity]. *Seneca.*
e. *Pro Roscio Amerino.*
f. *Necesse est cum insanientibus furere, nisi solus relinqueris* [It's necessary to rave with the madmen, if you're not going to be alone]. *Petronius.*
g. *Hor. Quoniam non est genus unum stultitiae, qua me insanire putas?* [Since there's not just one kind of folly, how am I mad do you think?]
h. *Stultum me fateor, liceat concedere verum, atque etiam insanum* [I confess that I'm a fool (let me acknowledge the truth), and even a madman]. *Hor.*

and a most agreeable delusion], so pleasing, so delicious, that he [a]cannot leave it. He knows his error, but will not seek to decline it, tell him what the event will be, beggary, sorrow, sickness, disgrace, shame, loss, madness, yet [b]*an angry man will prefer vengeance, a lascivious his whore, a thief his booty, a glutton his belly before his welfare*. Tell an Epicure, a covetous man, an ambitious man of his irregular course, wean him from it a little, *pol me occidistis amici* [truly, friends, you've crushed me], he cries anon, you have undone him, and as [c]*a dog to his vomit*, he returns to it again: no persuasion will take place, no counsel, say what thou canst,

> *Clames licet & mare caelo*
> ——— *Confundas, surdo narras,*
>
> [You can shout, and mix up sea and sky,
> . . . You're talking to a deaf man,]

demonstrate as *Ulysses* did to [d]*Elpenor* and *Gryllus*, and the rest of his companions *those swinish men*, he is irrefragable in his humour, he will be a hog still; bray him in a mortar, he will be the same.[189] If he be in an heresy, or some perverse opinion, settled as some of our ignorant Papists are, convince his understanding, show him the several follies, and absurd fopperies of that sect, force him to say, *veris vincor* [I am conquered by truth], make it as clear as the sun, [e]he will err still, peevish and obstinate as he is; and as he said, [f]*si in hoc erro, libenter erro, nec hunc errorem auferri mihi volo* [if I'm mistaken in this, I'm gladly mistaken; nor do I want this error to be taken from me]; I will do as I have done, as my predecessors have done, [g]and as my friends now do: I will dote for company. Say now, are these men [h]mad or no, [i]*Heus age responde?* [hey, will you go ahead and answer?] Are they ridiculous? *Cedo quemvis arbitrum* [I'll grant you any judge you like], are they *sanae mentis* [of sound mind], sober, wise, and discreet? Have they common sense?

> ——— [i]*uter est insanior horum?*
>
> [. . . Which of these two is more insane?]

a. *Odi nec possum cupiens non esse quod odi* [I hate having desire, but I can't help being what I hate]. *Ovid. Errore grato libenter omnes insanimus* [We're all merrily mad with a pleasing error].
b. *Cardan. lib. 2 de conso.*
c. *Prov. 26. 11.*
d. *Plutarch. Gryllo. Suilli homines sic Clem. Alex. vocat* [Swinish men, so Clement of Alexandria calls them].
e. *Non persuadebis etiam si persuaseris* [You won't change his mind, even if you convince him].
f. *Tully.*
g. *Malo cum illis insanire, quam cum aliis bene sentire* [I prefer to be mad with them, rather than think correctly with others].
h. *Qui inter hos enutriuntur, non magis sapere possunt, quam qui in culina bene olere* [Those who are brought up among these people can no more be wise than those in the kitchen can smell clean]. *Petron.*
i. *Persius.*
j. *Hor. 2 ser.*

I am of *Democritus'* opinion for my part, I hold them [a]worthy to be laughed at; a company of brainsick dizzards, as mad as *Orestes* and *Athamas*, that they may go *ride the ass*, & all sail along to the *Anticyrae*, in the *ship of fools* for company together.[190] I need not much labour to prove this which I say otherwise than thus, make any solemn protestation, or swear, I think you will believe me without an oath; say at a word, are they fools? I refer it to you, though you be likewise fools and madmen yourselves, and I as mad to ask the question; for what said our comical *Mercury*?

[b]*Justum ab injustis petere insipientia est.*

[It's foolish to ask for justice from the unjust.]

I'll stand to your censure yet, what think you?

But forasmuch as I undertook at first, that Kingdoms, Provinces, families, were melancholy as well as private men, I will examine them in particular, and that which I have hitherto dilated at random, in more general terms, I will now particularly insist in, prove with more special and evident arguments, testimonies, illustrations, and that in brief.

[c]*Nunc accipe quare desipiant omnes aeque ac tu.*

[Now hear why everyone's as mad as you.]

My first argument is borrowed from *Solomon*, an arrow drawn out of his sententious quiver, *Prov. 3. 7*, *Be not wise in thine own eyes.* And *26. 12*, *Seest thou a man wise in his own conceit? More hope is of a fool than of him. Isaiah* pronounceth a woe against such men, *cap. 5. 21*, *that are wise in their own eyes, and prudent in their own sight.* For hence we may gather, that it is a great offence, [d]and men are much deceived that think too well of themselves, an especial argument to convince them of folly. Many men (saith *Seneca*) *had been without question wise, had they not had an opinion that they had attained to perfection of knowledge already, even before they had gone halfway*, too forward, too ripe, *praeproperi* [over-hasty], too quick and ready, [e]*cito prudentes, cito pii, cito mariti, cito patres, cito sacerdotes, cito omnis officii capaces & curiosi* [speedily wise, speedily pious, speedily husbands, speedily fathers, speedily priests, speedily capable of every duty and diligent in it], they had too good a conceit of themselves, and that marred all; of their worth, valour, skill, art, learning, judgement, eloquence, their good parts; all their geese are swans, and that manifestly proves them to be no better than fools. In former times they had but seven wise men, now you can scarce find so many fools.[191] *Thales* sent the golden *Tripos*, which the Fishermen found, & the oracle commanded to be

a. *Vesanum exagitant pueri, innuptaeque puellae* [Boys and unmarried girls torment the madman].
b. *Plautus.*
c. *Hor. lib. 2 sat. 3.*
d. *Superbam stultitiam Plinius vocat. 7 epist. 21. quod semel dixi fixum ratumque sit* [Pliny calls it arrogant stupidity. Bk. 7. Letter 21. Let what I have said once be established and approved].
e. *Seneca.*

[a]*given to the wisest*, to *Bias*, *Bias* to *Solon*, &c.[192] If such a thing were now found, we should all fight for it, as the three goddesses did for the golden apple, we are so wise: we have women-politicians, children metaphysicians; every silly fellow can square a circle, make perpetual motions, find the philosophers' stone, interpret *Apocalypsis* [the Book of Revelation], make new Theorics, a new system of the world, new Logic, new Philosophy, &c.[193] *Nostra utique regio*, saith *Petronius*, *our country is so full of deified spirits, divine souls, that you may sooner find a God than a man amongst us*, we think so well of ourselves, and that is an ample testimony of much folly.

My second argument is grounded upon the like place of Scripture, which though before mentioned in effect, yet for some reasons is to be repeated (& by *Plato's* good leave, I may do it, δὶς τὸ καλὸν ῥηθὲν οὐδὲν βλάπτει [there's no harm in saying something fine twice]). *Fools* (saith *David*) *by reason of their transgressions, &c.*, *Psal. 107. 17.* Hence *Musculus* infers all transgressors must needs be fools. So we read *Rom. 2*, *Tribulation and anguish is on the soul of every man that doth evil*; but all do evil. And *Isaiah 65. 14*, *My servants shall sing for joy, and* [b]*ye shall cry for sorrow of heart, and vexation of mind*. 'Tis ratified by the common consent of all philosophers. *Dishonesty* (saith *Cardan*) *is nothing else but folly and madness.* [c]*Probus quis nobiscum vivit?* [Is there an upright man living among us?] Show me an honest man. *Nemo malus qui non stultus* [There's no bad man who isn't foolish], 'tis *Fabius'* aphorism to the same end. If none honest, none wise, then all fools. And well may they be so accounted: for who will account him otherwise, *qui iter adornat in occidentem*, *quum properaret in orientem?* That goes backward all his life, westward, when he is bound to the east? Or hold him a wise man (saith [d]*Musculus*) *that prefers momentary pleasures to eternity, that spends his master's goods in his absence, forthwith to be condemned for it? Necquicquam sapit qui sibi non sapit* [His knowledge is pointless if he doesn't know himself], who will say that a sick man is wise, that eats & drinks to overthrow the temperature of his body?[194] Can you account him wise or discreet that would willingly have his health, and yet will do nothing that should procure or continue it? [e]*Theodoret* out of *Plotinus* the *Platonist*, *holds it a ridiculous thing for a man to live after his own laws, to do that which is offensive to God, and yet to hope that he should save him: and when he voluntarily neglects his own safety, and contemns the means, to think to be delivered by another*: who will say these men are wise?

A third argument may be derived from the precedent, [f]all men are carried away with passion, discontent, lust, pleasures, &c., they generally hate those virtues they should love, and love such vices they should hate. Therefore more than melancholy, quite mad, brute beasts, and void of reason, so *Chrysostom*

a. *Plutarchus Solone. Detur sapientiori* [It should be given to someone wiser].
b. Malefactors.
c. Who can find a faithful man? *Pro. 20. 6.*
d. *In Psal. 49.*
e. *Theod. cap. 6 de provid. lib. de curat. graec affect.*
f. *Sapiens sibi qui imperiosus, &c.* [The wise man who is in command of himself, etc.] *Hor. 2 ser. 7.*

contends; *or rather dead and buried alive*, as [a]*Philo Judaeus* concludes it for a certainty, *of all such that are carried away with passions, or labour of any disease of the mind. Where is fear and sorrow*, there [b]*Lactantius* stiffly maintains, *wisdom cannot dwell.*

> ——— *qui cupiet, metuet quoque porro,*
> *Qui metuens vivit, liber mihi non erit unquam.*
>
> [. . . He who desires, in turn will also fear,
> He who lives in fear, to my mind, will never be free.]

Seneca & the rest of the *Stoics* are of opinion, that where is any the least perturbation, wisdom may not be found. *What more ridiculous*, as *Lactantius* urgeth, than to hear how *Xerxes* whipped the *Hellespont*, threatened the Mountain *Athos*, and the like.[195] To speak *ad rem* [to the point], who is free from passion? [c]*Mortalis nemo est quem non attingat dolor, morbusve*, as [d]*Tully* determines out of an old Poem, no mortal man can avoid sorrow & sickness, and sorrow is an unseparable companion of melancholy. [e]*Chrysostom* pleads further yet, that they are more than mad, very beasts, stupefied and void of common sense: *For how* (saith he) *shall I know thee to be a man, when thou kickest like an ass, neighest like an horse after women, ravest in lust like a bull, ravenest like a bear, stingest like a scorpion, rakest like a wolf, as subtle as a fox, as impudent as a dog?*[196] *Shall I say thou art a man, that hast all the symptoms of a beast? How shall I know thee to be a man? By thy shape? That affrights me more, when I see a beast in likeness of a man.*

[f]*Seneca* calls that of *Epicurus*, *magnificam vocem*, an heroical speech, *A fool still begins to live*, and accounts it a filthy lightness in men, every day to lay new foundations of their life, but who doth otherwise? One travels, another builds; one for this, another for that business, and old folks are as far out as the rest; *O dementem senectutem* [oh, deranged old age!], *Tully* exclaims. Therefore young, old, middle age, all are stupid, and dote.

[g]*Aeneas Silvius* amongst many other, sets down three special ways to find a fool by. He is a fool that seeks that he cannot find: he is a fool that seeks that, which being found will do him more harm than good: he is a fool, that having variety of ways to bring him to his journey's end, takes that which is worst. If so, methinks most men are fools; examine their courses, and you shall soon perceive what dizzards and madmen the major part are.

a. *Conclus. lib. de vic. offer. Certum est animi morbis laborantes pro mortuis censendos* [It's certain that those who are afflicted with diseases of the mind should be thought of as dead men].
b. *Lib. de Sap.*
c. *Ecclus. 21. 12.* Where is bitterness, there is no understanding. *Prov. 12. 16.* An angry man is a fool.
d. *3 Tusc. Iniuria in sapientem non cadit* [Harm does not fall upon the wise man].
e. *Hom. 6 in 2 Epist. ad Cor. cap. 3.*
f. *Epist. lib. 2. 13. Stultus semper incipit vivere, faeda hominum levitas, nova quotidie fundamenta vitae ponere, novas spes, &c.* [The fool is always starting to live; shameful fickleness of men, every day laying new foundations for life, new hopes, etc.]
g. *De curial. miser.*

[a]*Beroaldus* will have drunkards, afternoon men, and such as more than ordinarily delight in drink, to be mad.[197] The first pot quencheth thirst, so *Panyasis* the Poet determines in *Athenaeus*, *secunda gratiis, horis & Dionysio* [the second is {a toast} to the Graces, Hours and Dionysus]: the second makes merry, the third for pleasure, *quarta ad insaniam*, the fourth makes them mad.[198] If this position be true, what a catalogue of madmen shall we have? What shall they be that drink four times four? *Nonne supra omnem furorem, supra omnem insaniam reddunt insanissimos?* I am of his opinion, they are more than mad, much worse than mad.

The [b]*Abderites* condemned *Democritus* for a madman, because he was sometimes sad, and sometimes again profusely merry. *Hac Patria* (saith *Hippocrates*) *ob risum furere & insanire dicunt*, his countrymen hold him mad because he laughs; & therefore *he desires him to advise all his friends at Rhodes, that they do not laugh too much, or be over-sad*. Had those *Abderites* been conversant with us, and but seen what [c]fleering and grinning there is in this age, they would certainly have concluded, we had been all out of our wits.

Aristotle in his *Ethics* holds, *foelix idemque sapiens*, to be wise and happy are reciprocal terms, [d]*bonus idemque sapiens honestus* [the good man is the same as the wise and honourable]. 'Tis *Tully's* paradox, *wise men are free, but fools are slaves*, liberty is a power to live according to his own Laws, as we will ourselves: who hath this liberty? Who is free?

> ——— [e]*sapiens sibique imperiosus,*
> *Quem neque pauperies, neque mors, neque vincula terrent,*
> *Responsare cupidinibus, contemnere honores*
> *Fortis, & in seipso totus teres atque rotundus.*
>
> He is wise that can command his own will,
> Valiant and constant to himself still,
> Whom poverty nor death, nor bands can fright,
> Checks his desires, scorns honours, just and right.[199]

But where shall such a man be found? If nowhere, then *e diametro* [the complete opposite], we are all slaves, senseless, or worse. [f]*Nemo malus foelix* [No bad man is fortunate]. But no man is happy in this life, none good, therefore no man wise.

> *Rari quippe boni* ———
>
> [Good men are rare indeed . . .]

For one virtue you shall find ten vices in the same party; *pauci Promethei, multi Epimethei* [few Prometheuses, many Epimetheuses].[200] We may peradventure

a. *Declamat.*
b. *Ep. Damageto.*
c. *Per multum risum poteris cognoscere stultum* [You can recognize a fool by his frequent laughter].
d. *Offic. 3 cap. 9.*
e. *Hor. 2 ser. 7.*
f. *Juven.*

usurp the name, or attribute it to others for favour, as *Carolus Sapiens*, *Philippus Bonus*, *Lodovicus Pius*, *&c.* [Charles the Wise, Philip the Good, Louis the Pious, etc.], & describe the properties of a wise man, as *Tully* doth an Orator, *Xenophon Cyrus*, *Castilio* a *Courtier*, *Galen Temperament*, an aristocracy is described by Politicians.[201] But where shall such a man be found?

> *Vir bonus & sapiens, qualem vix repperit unum*
> *Millibus e multis hominum consultus Apollo.*
>
> A wise, a good man in a million,
> *Apollo* consulted could scarce find one.[202]

A man is a miracle of himself, but *Trismegistus* adds, *Maximum miraculum homo sapiens*, a wise man is a wonder: *multi Thyrsigeri, pauci Bacchi* [there are many thyrsus-bearers, few Bacchuses].[203]

Alexander when he was presented with that rich and costly casket of King *Darius*, and every man advised him what to put in it, he reserved it to keep *Homer's* works, as the most precious Jewel of human wit, and yet [a]*Scaliger* upbraids *Homer's* Muse, *nutricem insanae sapientiae*, a nursery of madness, impudent as a Court Lady, that blushes at nothing. *Jacobus Micyllus*, *Gilbertus Cognatus*, *Erasmus*, and almost all posterity admire *Lucian's* luxuriant wit, yet *Scaliger* rejects him in his censure, and calls him the *Cerberus* of the *Muses*. *Socrates* whom all the world so much magnified, is by *Lactantius* and *Theodoret* condemned for a fool. *Plutarch* extols *Seneca's* wit beyond all the Greeks, *nulli secundus* [second to none], yet [b]*Seneca* saith of himself, *when I would solace myself with a fool, I reflect upon myself, and there I have him. Cardan* in his 16th book of *Subtleties*, reckons up twelve supereminent, acute Philosophers, for worth, subtlety, & wisdom: *Archimedes*, *Galen*, *Vitruvius*, *Archytas Tarentinus*, *Euclid*, *Geber*, that first inventor of *Algebra*, *Alkindus* the Mathematician, both *Arabians*, with others.[204] But his *triumviri terrarum* [triumvirate of the world] far beyond the rest, are *Ptolemaeus*, *Plotinus*, *Hippocrates*.[205] *Scaliger exercitat. 224* scoffs at this censure of his, calls some of them carpenters, and mechanicians, he makes *Galen fimbriam Hippocratis*, a skirt of *Hippocrates*: and the said [c]*Cardan* himself elsewhere condemns both *Galen* and *Hippocrates* for tediousness, obscurity, confusion.[206] *Paracelsus* will have them both mere idiots, infants in physic and philosophy.[207] *Scaliger* and *Cardan* admire *Suisset* the *Calculator*, *qui pene modum excessit humani ingenii* [who went almost beyond the limit of human wits], and yet [d]*Lod. Vives* calls them *nugas Suissetica*s [Swinesheadian trifles]: and *Cardan* opposite to himself in another place, contemns those ancients in respect of times present, [e]*Majoresque nostros ad presentes collatos juste pueros appellari* [when compared with men of the present, our ancestors are rightly called children].[208] In conclusion the said [f]*Cardan* and

a. *Hypocrit.*
b. *Epist. 33.*
c. *Primo contradicentium.*
d. *Lib. de causis corrupt. artium.*
e. *Actione ad subtil. in Scalig. fol. 1226.*
f. *Lib. 1 de sap.*

Saint *Bernard* will admit none into this Catalogue of wise men, [a]but only Prophets and Apostles; how they esteem themselves, you have heard before. We are worldly-wise, admire ourselves, and seek for applause: but hear Saint [b]*Bernard*, *quanto magis foras es sapiens, tanto magis intus stultus efficeris, &c., in omnibus es prudens, circa teipsum insipiens*: the more wise thou art to others, the more fool to thyself. I may not deny but that there is some folly approved, a divine fury, a holy madness, even a spiritual drunkenness in the Saints of God themselves; *sanctam insaniam* [sacred insanity] *Bernard* calls it (though not as blaspheming [c]*Vorstius* would infer it as a passion incident to God himself), but familiar to good men, as that of *Paul*, 2 *Cor.*, *he was a fool, &c.*, and *Rom. 9*, he wisheth himself *to be anathematized for them.* Such is that drunkenness which [d]*Ficinus* speaks of, when the soul is elevated and ravished with a divine taste of that heavenly Nectar, which poets deciphered by the sacrifice of *Dionysius*, and in this sense with the Poet, [e]*insanire lubet* [it is pleasurable to be mad], as [f]*Austin* exhorts us, *ad ebrietatem se quisque paret*, let's all be mad and [g]drunk.[209] But we commonly mistake, and go beyond our commission, we reel to the opposite part, we are not capable of it, [h]and as he said of the *Greeks*, *Vos Graeci semper pueri, vos Britanni, Galli, Germani, Itali, &c.* [you Greeks are perpetual children, you British, French, Germans, Italians, etc.], you are a company of fools.[210]

Proceed now *a partibus ad totum* [from the parts to the whole], or from the whole to parts, and you shall find no other issue, the parts shall be sufficiently dilated in this following Preface.[211] The whole must needs follow by a *Sorites* or induction.[212] Every multitude is mad, [i]*bellua multorum capitum* [a many-headed monster], precipitate and rash without judgement, *stultum animal* [a foolish animal], a roaring rout. [j]*Roger Bacon* proves it out of *Aristotle*, *Vulgus dividi in oppositum contra sapientes, quod vulgo videtur verum, falsum est*; that which the commonalty accounts true, is most part false, they are still opposite to wise men, but all the world is of this humour (*vulgus* [the commoners]) and thou thyself art *de vulgo*, one of the Commonalty; and he, and he, and so are all the rest; and therefore, as *Phocion* concludes, to be approved in naught you say or do, mere idiots and asses: begin then where you will, go

a. *Vide miser homo, quia totum est vanitas, totum stultitia, totum dementia, quicquid facis in hoc mundo, praeter hoc solum quod propter Deum facis* [See, wretched man, that all is vanity, all folly, all insanity, whatever you do in this world, excepting only that which you do for the sake of God].
b. *Ser. de miser. hum.*
c. *Dum iram & odium in Deo revera ponit* [When he proposes that anger and hatred truly exist in God].
d. *In 2 Platonis dial. lib. de justo.*
e. *Virg. lib. Ecl. 3.*
f. *In Psal. 104. Austin.*
g. *Psal. Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus* [They will be intoxicated by the abundance of the house].
h. *In Platonis Tim. sacerdos Aegyptius* [The Egyptian priest].
i. *Hor. Vulgus insanum* [The crazed mob].
j. *Patet ea divisio probabilis, &c.* [This demonstrable division is clear, etc.], *ex Arist. Top. lib. 1 cap. 8. Rog. Bac. Epist. de secret. art. & nat. cap. 8. Non est judicium in vulgo* [There's no discernment in the mob].

backward or forward, choose out of the whole pack, wink and choose, you shall find them all alike, *never a barrel better herring.*[213]

Copernicus, *Atlas* his successor, is of opinion, the earth is a planet, moves and shines to others, as the Moon doth to us.[214] *Digges*, *Gilbert*, *Keplerus*, *Origanus*, and others, defend this *hypothesis* of his in sober sadness, and that the Moon is inhabited: if it be so that the Earth is a Moon, then are we also giddy, vertiginous and lunatic within this sublunary Maze.[215]

I could produce such arguments till dark night: if you should hear the rest,

> *Ante diem clauso componet vesper Olympo:*
>
> [Before the end, the evening star would shut the day
> away in the closed heavens:]

but according to my promise, I will descend to particulars. This melancholy extends itself not to men only, but even to vegetals and sensibles. I speak not of those creatures which are *Saturnine*, melancholy by nature, as Lead, and such-like Minerals, or those Plants, Rue, Cypress, &c., and Hellebore itself, of which [a]*Agrippa* treats, Fishes, Birds, and Beasts, Hares, Coneys, Dormice, &c., Owls, Bats, Nightbirds, but that artificial, which is perceived in them all.[216] Remove a plant, it will pine away, which is especially perceived in Date trees, as you may read at large in [b]C*onstantine's* husbandry, that antipathy betwixt the Vine and the Cabbage, Vine and Oil. Put a bird in a cage, he will die for sullenness, or a beast in a pen, or take his young ones or companions from him, and see what effect it will cause. But who perceives not these common passions of sensible creatures, fear, sorrow, &c. Of all other, dogs are most subject to this malady, insomuch some hold they dream as men do, and through violence of melancholy, run mad; I could relate many stories of dogs, that have died for grief, and pined away for loss of their Masters, but they are common in every [c]Author.

Kingdoms, Provinces, and politic bodies are likewise sensible and subject to this disease, as [d]*Boterus* in his politics hath proved at large. *As in human bodies* (saith he) *there be diverse alterations proceeding from humours, so there be many diseases in a commonwealth, which do as diversely happen from several distempers*, as you may easily perceive by their particular symptoms. For where you shall see the people civil, obedient to God and Princes, judicious, peaceable and quiet, rich, fortunate, [e]and flourish, to live in peace, in unity and concord, a Country well tilled, many fair-built and populous Cities, *ubi incolae nitent* [where the inhabitants thrive], as old [f]*Cato* said, the people are neat, polite and terse, *ubi bene, beateque vivunt* [where they live well and happily], which our Politicians make the chief end of a Commonwealth; and which [g]*Aristotle Polit. lib. 3 cap. 4* calls *commune bonum* [the common good], *Polybius lib. 6. optabilem & selectum statum*

a. *De occult. Philosop. lib. 1 cap. 25 & 19 ejusd. lib.*
b. *Lib. 10 cap. 4.*
c. *See Lipsius epist.*
d. *De politia illustrium lib. 1 cap. 4.*
e. *Ubi reges philosophantur* [Where kings philosophize], *Plato.*
f. *Lib. de re rust.*
g. *Vel publicam utilitatem: salus publica suprema lex esto. Beata civitas non ubi pauci beati, sed tota civitas beata* [Or public utility. Let the public welfare be the supreme law.

[a desirable and choice condition], that country is free from melancholy; as it was in *Italy* in the time of *Augustus*, now in *China*, now in many other flourishing kingdoms of *Europe*.[217] But whereas you shall see many discontents, common grievances, complaints, poverty, barbarism, beggary, plagues, wars, rebellions, seditions, mutinies, contentions, idleness, riot, epicurism, the land lie untilled, waste, full of bogs, fens, deserts, &c., cities decayed, base and poor towns, villages depopulated, the people squalid, ugly, uncivil; that kingdom, that country, must needs be discontent, melancholy, hath a sick body, and had need to be reformed.[218]

Now that cannot well be effected, till the causes of these maladies be first removed, which commonly proceed from their own default, or some accidental inconvenience: as to be site in a bad clime, too far North, sterile, in a barren place, as the desert of *Libya*, deserts of *Arabia*, places void of waters, as those of *Lop* and *Belgian* in *Asia*, or in a bad air, as at *Alexandretta*, *Bantam*, *Pisa*, *Durazzo*, *St. John de Ullua*, *&c.*, or in danger of the sea's continual inundations, as in many places of the Low countries and elsewhere, or near some bad neighbours, as *Hungarians* to *Turks*, *Podolians* to *Tartars*, or almost any bordering countries, they live in fear still, and by reason of hostile incursions are oftentimes left desolate.[219] So are cities by reason [a]of wars, fires, plagues, inundations, [b]wild beasts, decay of trades, barred havens, the sea's violence, as *Antwerp* may witness of late, *Syracuse* of old, *Brundisium* in *Italy*, *Rye* and *Dover* with us, and many that at this day suspect the sea's fury and rage, and labour against it as the *Venetians* to their inestimable charge.[220] But the most frequent maladies are such as proceed from themselves, as first when religion and God's service is neglected, innovated or altered, where they do not fear God, obey their prince, where Atheism, Epicurism, Sacrilege, Simony, &c., and all such impieties are freely committed, that country cannot prosper. When *Abraham* came to *Gerar*, and saw a bad land, he said, sure the fear of God was not in that place.[221] [c]*Cyprian Eichovius* a *Spanish* Chorographer, above all other Cities of *Spain*, commends *Barcino*, *in which there was no beggar, no man poor, &c., but all rich & in good estate*, and he gives the reason, *because they were more religious than their neighbours*: why was *Israel* so often spoiled by their enemies, led into captivity, &c., but for their idolatry, neglect of God's word, for sacrilege, even for one *Achan's* fault?[222] And what shall we expect that have such multitudes of *Achans*, church robbers, simoniacal Patrons, &c., how can they hope to flourish, that neglect divine duties, that live most part like Epicures?

Other common grievances are generally noxious to a body politic; alteration

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The state is blessed not when a few are blessed, but when the whole state is blessed]. *Plato quarto de republica.*

a. *Mantua vae miseriae nimium vicina Cremonae* [Mantua, alas, too close to wretched Cremona].

b. *Interdum a feris, ut olim Mauritania, &c.* [Sometimes by wild beasts, as Mauritania in times past, etc.]

c. *Deliciis Hispaniae Anno 1604. Nemo malus, nemo pauper, optimus quisque atque ditissimus. Pie, sancteque vivebant, summaque cum veneratione, & timore divino cultui, sacrisque rebus incumbebant* [No one was an evil-doer, no one poor, everyone was decent and wealthy in the highest degree. They lived piously and purely, and devoted themselves to divine worship and sacred affairs with the greatest reverence and awe].

of laws and customs, breaking privileges, general oppressions, seditions, &c., observed by [a]*Aristotle*, *Bodin*, *Boterus*, *Junius*, *Arnisaeus*, *&c.* I will only point at some of the chiefest. [b]*Impotentia gubernandi* [Inability to govern], *ataxia* [disorder], confusion, ill government, which proceeds from unskilful, slothful, griping, covetous, unjust, rash, or tyrannizing magistrates, when they are fools, idiots, children, proud, wilful, partial, undiscreet, oppressors, giddy-heads, tyrants, not able or unfit to manage such offices: [c]many noble cities and flourishing kingdoms by that means are desolate, the whole body groans under such heads, and all the members must needs be misaffected, as at this day those goodly provinces in *Asia Minor*, *&c.*, groan under the burden of a *Turkish* government; and those vast kingdoms of *Muscovia*, *Russia*, [d]under a tyrannizing Duke. Whoever heard of more civil and rich populous countries than those of *Greece*, *Asia Minor*, *abounding with all wealth, multitude of inhabitants, force, power, splendour and magnificence*? And that miracle of countries, [e]the Holy land, that in so small a compass of ground could maintain so many Towns, Cities, produce so many fighting men? *Egypt* another Paradise, now barbarous and desert, and almost waste, by a despotical government of an imperious *Turk*, *intolerabili servitutis jugo premitur* [it's oppressed by the intolerable yoke of slavery] ([f]one saith) not only fire and water, goods or lands, *sed ipse spiritus ab insolentissimi victoris pendet nutu* [but its very spirit depends on the nod of its most arrogant conqueror], such is their slavery, their lives and souls depend upon his insolent will and command. A tyrant that spoils all wheresoever he comes, insomuch that an [g]Historian complains, *if an old inhabitant should now see them, he would not know them, if a traveller, or stranger, it would grieve his heart to behold them.* Whereas [h]*Aristotle* notes, *Novae exactiones, nova onera imposita*, new burdens and exactions daily come upon them, like those of which *Zosimus lib.* 2, so grievous, *ut viri uxores, patres filios prostituerent ut exactoribus e questu, &c.* [that men were prostituting their wives, and fathers their daughters, in order {to pay} the tax-collectors from the proceeds], they must needs be discontent, *hinc civitatum gemitus & ploratus*, as [i]*Tully* holds, hence come those complaints and tears of Cities, *poor, miserable, rebellious, and desperate subjects*, as [j]*Hippolytus* adds: & [k]as a judicious countryman of ours observed not long

a. *Polit. lib. 5 cap. 3.*
b. *Boterus polit. lib. 1 cap. 1. Cum nempe princeps rerum gerendarum imperitus, segnis oscitans, suique muneris immemor, aut fatuus est* [When, indeed, the prince is unskilled in governing, lazy and negligent, and is either forgetful of his duty or a buffoon].
c. *Non viget respublica cujus caput infirmatur* [A commonwealth whose head is weakened does not thrive]. *Sarisburiensis cap. 22.*
d. See Dr. *Fletcher's* relation, and *Alexander Guagninus'* history.
e. Not above 200 miles in length, 60 in breadth, according to *Adricomius.*
f. *Romulus Amaseus.*
g. *Sabellicus.*
h. *Polit. lib. 5 cap. 6. Crudelitas principum, impunitas scelerum, violatio legum, peculatus pecuniae publicae, &c.* [Cruelty of princes, impunity of crimes, violation of laws, embezzlement of public money, etc.]
i. *Epist.*
j. *De increm. urb. cap. 20.*
k. *R. Dallington, 1596, conclusio libri.*

since in a survey of that great Duchy of *Tuscany*, the people lived much grieved and discontent, as appeared by their manifold and manifest complainings in that kind. *That the State was like a sick body which had lately taken physic, whose humours are not yet well settled, and weakened so much by purging, that nothing was left but melancholy.*

Whereas the Princes and Potentates are immoderate in lust, Hypocrites, Epicures, of no religion, but in show: *Quid hypocrisi fragilius?* [what's more fragile than hypocrisy?] What so brittle and unsure? What sooner subverts their estates than wandering & raging lusts, on their subjects' wives, daughters? to say no worse. They that should *facem praeferre* [carry the torch in front], lead the way to all virtuous actions, are the ringleaders oftentimes of all mischief and dissolute courses, and by that means their countries are plagued, [a]*and they themselves often ruined, banished or murdered by conspiracy of their subjects*, as *Sardanapalus* was, *Dionysius Junior*, *Heliogabalus*, *Periander*, *Pisistratus*, *Tarquinius*, *Timocrates*, *Childericus*, *Appius Claudius*, *Andronicus*, *Galeacius Sforza*, *Alexander Medices*, *&c.*[223]

Whereas the Princes or great men are malicious, envious, factious, ambitious, emulators, they tear a Commonwealth asunder, as so many *Guelphs* and *Ghibellines* disturb the quietness of it, [b]and with mutual murders let it bleed to death; our histories are too full of such barbarous inhumanities, and the miseries that issue from them.[224]

Whereas they be like so many horse-leeches, hungry, griping, corrupt, [c]covetous, *avaritiae mancipia* [slaves to greed], ravenous as wolves, for as *Tully* writes; *qui praeest prodest, & qui pecudibus praeest, debet eorum utilitati inservire* [he who rules does good, and he who rules cattle should be devoted to their welfare]: or such as prefer their private before the public good. For as [d]he said long since, *res privatae publicis semper officere* [private interests always obstruct public ones]. Or whereas they be illiterate, ignorant, Empirics in policy, *ubi deest facultas,* [e]*virtus* (*Aristot. pol. 5 cap. 8*) *& scientia* [where there's a lack of ability, virtue . . . and knowledge], wise only by inheritance, and in authority by birthright, favour, or for their wealth and titles; there must needs be a fault, [f]a great defect: because as an [g]old Philosopher affirms, such men are not always fit. *Of an infinite number, few alone are Senators, and of those few, fewer good, and of that small number of honest good and noble men, few that are learned, wise, discreet and sufficient, able to discharge such places*, it must needs turn to the confusion of a State.

a. *Boterus lib. 9 cap. 4 Polit.*
b. *Mutuis odiis & caedibus exhausti, &c.* [Exhausted by mutual hatred and slaughter, etc.]
c. *Lucra ex maliis, sceleratisque causis* [Riches from evil and criminal sources].
d. *Sallust.*
e. For most part we mistake the name of Politicians, accounting such as read *Machiavel* and *Tacitus*, great statesmen, that can dispute of political precepts, supplant and overthrow their adversaries, enrich themselves, get honours, dissemble; but what is this to the *bene esse* [well-being], or preservation of a Commonwealth?
f. *Imperium suapte sponte corruit* [Supreme power collapses of its own accord].
g. *Apul. Prim. Flor.*

For as the [a]Princes are, so are the people; *Qualis Rex, talis grex* [however the king is, such is the mob]: which [b]*Antigonus* right well said of old, *qui Macedoniae regem erudit, omnes etiam subditos erudit*, he that teacheth the King of *Macedon*, teacheth all his subjects, is a true saying still.[225]

> *For Princes are the glass, the school, the book,*
> *Where Subjects' eyes do learn, do read, do look,*
>
> ——— [c]*Velocius & citius nos*
> *Corrumpunt vitiorum exempla domestica, magnis*
> *Cum subeant animos authoribus* ———
>
> [. . . Evil examples at home
> Corrupt us more swiftly and rapidly,
> As they enter our minds with authority . . .]

their examples are soonest followed, vices entertained, if they be profane, irreligious, lascivious, riotous, Epicures, factious, covetous, ambitious, illiterate, so will the commons most part be, idle, unthrifts, prone to lust, drunkards, and therefore poor and needy [d](ἡ πενία στάσιν ἐμποιεῖ καὶ κακουργίαν, for poverty begets sedition and villainy), upon all occasions ready to mutine and rebel, discontent still, complaining, murmuring, grudging, apt to all outrages, thefts, treasons, murders, innovations, in debt, cozeners, shifters, outlaws, *profligatae famae ac vitae* [dissolute in reputation and life].[226] It was an old [e]Politician's Aphorism, *They that are poor and bad, envy rich, hate good men, abhor the present government, wish for a new, and would have all turned topsy-turvy.* When *Catiline* rebelled in *Rome*, he got a company of such deboshed rogues together, they were his familiars and coadjutors, and such have been your rebels most part in all ages, *Jack Cade*, *Tom Straw*, *Kett*, & his companions.[227]

Where they be generally riotous and contentious, where there be many discords, many laws, many lawsuits, many Lawyers, and many Physicians, it is a manifest sign of a distempered, melancholy state, as [f]*Plato* long since maintained: for where such kind of men swarm, they will make more work for themselves, and that body politic diseased, which was otherwise sound. A general mischief in these our times, an unsensible plague, and never so many of them: *which are now multiplied* (saith *Mat. Geraldus*, [g]a Lawyer himself), *as so many Locusts, not the parents, but the plagues of the Country, and for the most part a supercilious, bad, covetous, litigious generation of men.*[228] [h]*Crumenimulga natio, &c.*, a

a. *Non solum vitia concipiunt ipsi principes, sed etiam infundunt in civitatem, plusque exemplo quam peccato nocent* [The princes don't just harbour vices, but even impart them to the state, and do more harm by their example than by the fault itself]. *Cic. 3 de legibus.*
b. *Epist ad. Zen.*
c. *Juven. Sat. 14.*
d. *Arist. pol. 2 cap. 7.*
e. *Sallust.*
f. *3 De legibus.*
g. *In praef. stud. juris. Licitum latrocinium exercent* [They engage in licensed robbery].
h. *Dousa epod.*

purse-milking nation, a clamorous company, gowned vultures, [a]*qui ex injuria vivunt & sanguine civium* [who live off the injury and blood of citizens], thieves and Seminaries of discord; worse than any pollers by the highway side, *auri accipitres, auri exterebronides, pecuniarum hamiolae, quadruplatores, Curiae harpagones, fori tintinabula, monstra hominum, mangones, &c.* [hawks for gold, extractors of gold, anglers for money, tricksters, thieves of the law-courts, bells of the courts, monstrous men, slave-dealers, etc.], that take upon them to make peace, but are indeed the very disturbers of our Peace, a company of irreligious, Harpies, scraping, griping catchpoles (I mean our common hungry Pettifoggers, *rabulas forenses* [wrangling advocates of the court], love and honour in the meantime, all good laws, and worthy Lawyers, that are so many [b]Oracles and Pilots of a well-governed commonwealth).[229] Without Art, without Judgement, that do more harm, as [c]*Livy* said, *quam bella externa, fames, morbive*, than sickness, wars, hunger, diseases; *and cause a most incredible destruction of a Commonwealth*, saith [d]*Sesellius*, a famous civilian sometimes in *Paris*, as Ivy doth by an Oak, embrace it so long, until it hath got the heart out of it, so do they by such places they inhabit; no counsel at all, no justice, no speech to be had, *nisi eum praemulseris* [unless you've sweetened him up first], he must be feed still, or else he is as mute as a fish, better open an Oyster without a knife.[230] *Experto crede* (saith [e]*Sarisburiensis*) *in manus eorum millies incidi, & Charon immitis qui nulli pepercit unquam, his longe clementior est; I speak out of experience, I have been a thousand times amongst them, and Charon himself is more gentle than they; he is contented with his single pay, but they multiply still, they are never satisfied*: besides, they have *damnificas linguas*, as he terms it, *nisi funibus argenteis vincias* [injurious tongues . . . unless you restrain them with chains of silver], they must be feed to say nothing, and get more to hold their peace, than we can to say our best. They will speak their clients fair, and invite them to their tables, but as he follows it, *of all injustice, there is none so pernicious as that of theirs, which when they deceive most, will seem to be honest men*. They take upon them to be peacemakers, *& fovere causas humilium* [and assist the cases of the humble], to help them to their right, *patrocinantur afflictis* [they defend the wretched], [f]but all is for their own good, *ut loculos pleniorum exhauriant* [so that they empty the pockets of the rich], they plead for poor men *gratis*, but they are but as a stale to catch others.[231] If there be no jar, [g]they can make a jar, out of the law itself find still some quirk or other, to set men at odds, and continue causes so long, *lustra aliquot* [for several five-year periods], I know not how many years before the cause is heard, and when 'tis judged and determined by reason of some tricks and

a. *Barc. Argen.*
b. *Juris consulti domus oraculum civitatis* [The house of the lawyer is the oracle of the state]. *Tully.*
c. *Lib. 3.*
d. *Lib. 1 de rep. Gallorum.*
e. *Polycrat. lib.*
f. *Nam quocunque modo causa procedat, hoc semper agitur, ut loculi impleantur, etsi avaritia nequit satiari* [For however the case progresses, it always happens that their pockets are filled, though their avarice cannot be sated].
g. *Camden in Norfolke: Qui si nihil sit litum e juris apicibus lites tamen serere callent* [Who, if no dispute exists, are skilful at sowing the seeds of one with legal minutiae].

errors, it is as fresh to begin, after twice seven years sometimes, as it was at first; and so they prolong time, delay suits till they have enriched themselves, and beggared their clients.[232] And as [a]*Cato* inveighed against *Isocrates'* Scholars, we may justly tax our wrangling Lawyers, they do *consenescere in litibus* [grow old in lawsuits], are so litigious and busy here on earth, that I think they will plead their clients' causes hereafter, some of them in hell. [b]*Simlerus* complains amongst the *Swissers* of the Advocates in his time, that when they should make an end, they begin controversies, and *protract their causes many years, persuading them their title is good, till their patrimonies be consumed, and that they have spent more in seeking than the thing is worth, or they shall get by the recovery.* So that he that goes to law as the proverb is, holds a wolf by the ears, or as a sheep in a storm runs for shelter to a briar, if he prosecute his cause he is consumed, if he surcease his suit he loseth all; what difference? They had wont heretofore, saith *Austin*, to end matters, *per communes arbitros* [by public umpires]; and so in *Switzerland* (we are informed by [c]*Simlerus*), *they had some common arbitrators, or daysmen in every Town, that made a friendly composition betwixt man and man, and he much wonders at their honest simplicity, that could keep peace so well, and end such great causes by that means.*[233] At [d]*Fez* in *Africk*, they have neither Lawyers nor Advocates; but if there be any controversies amongst them, both parties plaintiff and defendant come to their *Alfakins* or chief Judge, *and at once without any further appeals, or pitiful delays, the cause is heard and ended.*[234] Our forefathers, as [e]a worthy Chorographer of ours observes, had wont *pauculis cruculis aureis*, with a few golden crosses, and lines in verse, make all conveyances, assurances. And such was the candour & integrity of succeeding ages, that a Deed (as I have oft seen) to convey a whole Manor, was *implicite* [by implication] contained in some twenty lines, or thereabouts; like that scede or *Scytala Laconica*, so much renowned of old in all contracts, which [f]*Tully* so earnestly commends to *Atticus*.[235] *Plutarch* in his *Lysander*, *Aristotle polit*., *Thucydides lib. 1*, [g]*Diodorus* and *Suidas* approve and magnify, for that *Laconic* brevity in this kind, and well they might, for according to [h]*Tertullian*, *certa sunt paucis*, there is much more certainty in fewer words. And so was it of old throughout: but now many skins of parchment will scarce serve turn, he that buys and sells a house, must have a house full of writings, there be so many circumstances, so many words, such tautological repetitions of all particulars (to avoid cavillation they say) but we find by our woeful experience, that to subtle wits it is a cause of much more contention and variance, and scarce any conveyance so accurately penned by one, which another will not find a crack in, or cavil at, if any one word be misplaced, any little error, all is disannulled.[236] That which is law today, is none tomorrow, that which is sound in one man's opinion, is most faulty to another; that in conclusion, here is nothing amongst us but contention and confusion, we bandy one against

a. *Plutarch. vit. Cat.*
b. *Lib. 2 de Helvet. repub.*
c. *Lib. de Helvet. repub.*
d. *Clenard. lib. 1 ep.*
e. *Camden.*
f. *Lib. 10 epist. ad Atticum, epist. 11.*
g. *Biblioth. lib. 3.*
h. *Lib. de Anim.*

another. And that which long since [a]*Plutarch* complained of them in *Asia*, may be verified in our times. *These men here assembled, come not to sacrifice to their gods, to offer Jupiter their first fruits, or merriments to Bacchus; but an yearly disease exasperating Asia hath brought them hither, to make an end of their controversies and lawsuits.* 'Tis *multitudo perdentium & pereuntium* [a throng of those who waste and perish], a destructive rout, that seek one another's ruin. Such most part are our ordinary suitors, termers, clients, new stirs every day, mistakes, errors, cavils, and at this present, as I have heard in some one Court, I know not how many thousand causes: no person free, no title almost good, with such bitterness in following, so many slights, procrastinations, delays, forgery, such cost (for infinite sums are inconsiderately spent), violence and malice, I know not by whose fault, lawyers, clients, laws, both or all: but as *Paul* reprehended the [b]*Corinthians* long since, I may more appositely infer now: *There is a fault amongst you, & I speak it to your shame, is there not a* [c]*wise man amongst you, to judge between his brethren? But that a brother goes to law with a brother.*[237] And *Christ's counsel concerning Lawsuits was never so fit to be inculcated, as in this age: [d]*Agree with thine adversary quickly, &c.*, *Matth. 5. 25.*

I could repeat many such particular grievances, which much disturb a body politic; to shut up all in brief, where good government is, prudent and wise Princes, there all things thrive and prosper, peace and happiness is in that Land: where it is otherwise, all things are ugly to behold, incult, barbarous, uncivil, a Paradise is turned to a wilderness.[238] This Island amongst the rest, our next neighbours the *French* and *Germans*, may be a sufficient witness, that in a short time by that prudent policy of the *Romans*, was brought from barbarism; see but what *Caesar* reports of us, and *Tacitus* of those old *Germans*, they were once as uncivil as they in *Virginia*, yet by planting of Colonies and good laws, they became from barbarous outlaws, [e]to be full of rich and populous cities, as now they are, and most flourishing Kingdoms. Even so might *Virginia*, and those wild *Irish* have been civilized long since, if that order had been heretofore taken, which now begins, of planting Colonies, &c. I have read a [f]discourse, printed *Anno* 1612, *Discovering the true causes, why Ireland was never entirely subdued, or brought under obedience to the Crown of England, until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign.*[239] Yet if his reasons were thoroughly scanned by a judicious Politician, I am afraid he would not altogether be approved, but that it would turn to the dishonour of our Nation, to suffer it to lie so long waste. Yea, and if some traveller should see (to come nearer home) those rich, united Provinces of *Holland*, *Zeeland*, *&c.*, over against us; those neat cities and populous

a. *Lib. major morb. corp. an animi.*
b. *1 Cor. 6. 5, 6.*
c. *Stulti quando demum sapietis?* [Fools, just when shall you be wise?] *Psal. 94. 8.*
d. Of which Text read two learned Sermons, *so entitled, and preached by our Regius Professor Dr. *Prideaux*: printed at *London* by *Felix Kingston*, 1621.
e. *Saepius bona materia cessat sine artifice* [Good material is too often unused in the absence of a craftsman]. *Sabellicus de Germania. Si quis videret Germaniam urbibus hodie excultam, non diceret ut olim tristem cultu, asperam caelo, terram informem* [If anyone should observe Germany today, adorned with cities, he wouldn't say as in times past that it was dismally cultivated, with a harsh climate, a hideous land].
f. By his Majesty's Attorney-General there.

towns, full of most industrious artificers, [a]so much land recovered from the Sea, and so painfully preserved by those artificial inventions, so wonderfully improved, as that of *Beemster* in *Holland*, *ut nihil huic par aut simile invenias in toto orbe*, saith *Bertius* the Geographer, all the world cannot match it, [b]so many navigable channels from place to place, made by men's hands, &c., and on the other side so many thousand acres of our fens lie drowned, our cities thin, and those vile, poor, and ugly to behold in respect of theirs, our trades decayed, our still running rivers stopped, and that beneficial use of transportation, wholly neglected, so many Havens void of ships and towns, so many Parks and Forests for pleasure, barren Heaths, so many Villages depopulated, &c., I think sure he would find some fault.[240]

I may not deny but that this Nation of ours, doth *bene audire apud exteros* [have a good reputation with other countries], is a most noble, a most flourishing kingdom, by common consent of all [c]Geographers, Historians, Politicians, 'tis *unica velut arx* [like a single fortress], and which *Quinctius* in *Livy* said of the inhabitants of *Peloponnesus*, may be well applied to us, we are *testudines testa sua inclusi*, like so many Tortoises in our shells, safely defended by an angry Sea, as a wall on all sides; our Island hath many such honourable Elogiums; and as a learned countryman of ours right well hath it, [d]*Ever since the Normans' first coming into England, this country both for military matters, and all other of civility, hath been paralleled with the most flourishing kingdoms of Europe, and our Christian world*, a blessed, rich country, and one of the fortunate Isles: and for some things [e]preferred before other countries, for expert seamen, our laborious discoveries, art of navigation, true Merchants, they carry the bell away from all other Nations, even the *Portugals* and *Hollanders* themselves; [f]*without all fear*, saith *Boterus*, *furrowing the Ocean Winter and Summer, and two of their Captains, with no less valour than fortune, have sailed round about the world*.[241] [g]We have besides many particular blessings, which our neighbours want, the Gospel truly preached, Church discipline established, long peace and quietness free from exactions, foreign fears, invasions, domestical seditions, well manured, [h]fortified by Art, and Nature, and now most happy in that fortunate union of *England* and *Scotland*, which our forefathers have laboured to effect, and desired to see: but in which we excel all others, a wise, learned, Religious King, another *Numa*, a second *Augustus*, a true *Josiah*, most worthy Senators, a learned Clergy, an obedient Commonalty, &c.[242] Yet amongst many roses, some thistles grow, some bad weeds and enormities, which much disturb the peace of this body politic, eclipse the honour and glory of it, fit to be rooted out, and with all speed to be reformed.

The first is idleness, by reason of which we have many swarms of rogues and beggars, thieves, drunkards, and discontented persons (whom *Lycurgus* in

a. As *Zeeland, Beemster* in *Holland, &c.*
b. From *Ghent* to *Sluis*, from *Bruges* to the Sea, &c.
c. *Ortelius, Boterus, Mercator, Meteranus, &c.*
d. *Camden Brit. de Normannis.*
e. *Geog. Kecker.*
f. *Amphitheatro Boterus.*
g. A fertile soil, good air, &c. Tin, Lead, Wool, Saffron, &c.
h. *Tota Britannica unica velut arx* [The whole of Britain is like a single fortress]. *Boter.*

Plutarch calls *morbos reipub.* the boils of the commonwealth), many poor people in all our Towns, *Civitates ignobiles*, as [a]*Polydore* calls them, base-built cities, inglorious, poor, small, rare in sight, ruinous, and thin of inhabitants.[243] Our land is fertile we may not deny, full of all good things, and why doth it not then abound with cities, as well as *Italy*, *France*, *Germany*, the Low countries? Because their policy hath been otherwise, and we are not so thrifty, circumspect, industrious; idleness is the *malus Genius* [evil genius] of our nation. For as [b]*Boterus* justly argues, fertility of a country is not enough, except Art and Industry be joined unto it, and according to *Aristotle*, riches are either natural or artificial; natural are good land, fair mines, &c., artificial, are manufactures, coins, &c. Many kingdoms are fertile, but thin of inhabitants, as that Duchy of *Piedmont* in *Italy*, which *Leander Albertus* so much magnifies for Corn, Wine, Fruits, &c., yet nothing near so populous as those which are more barren. [c]*England*, saith he (*London only excepted*), *hath never a populous City, and yet a fruitful Country.* I find 46 cities and walled towns in *Alsatia*, a small Province in *Germany*, 50 castles, an infinite number of Villages, no ground idle, no not rocky places, or tops of hills are untilled, as [d]*Munster* informeth us. In [e]*Greichgea* a small territory on the *Necker*, 24 *Italian* miles over, I read of 20 walled towns, innumerable villages, each one containing 150 houses most part, besides castles and Noblemen's Palaces.[244] I observe in [f]*Thuringia* in *Dutchland* (twelve miles over by their scale) 12 counties, and in them 144 cities, 2,000 villages, 144 towns, 250 castles.[245] In *Bavaria* 34 cities, 46 towns, &c. [g]*Portugallia interamnis*, a small plot of ground hath 1,460 parishes, 130 monasteries, 200 bridges. *Malta* a barren Island, yields 20,000 inhabitants.[246] But of all the rest, I admire *Lewis Guicciardine's* relations of the Low countries. *Holland* hath 26 cities, [h]400 great villages. *Zeeland* 10 cities, 102 parishes. *Brabant* 26 cities, 102 parishes. *Flanders* 28 cities, 90 towns, 1,154 villages, besides Abbeys, castles, &c. The Low countries generally have three cities at least for one of ours, and those far more populous and rich: and what is the cause, but their industry & excellency in all manner of trades? Their commerce, which is maintained by a multitude of Tradesmen, so many excellent channels made by art, and opportune havens, to which they build their Cities: all which we have in like measure, or at least may have. But their chiefest Loadstone which draws all manner of commerce and merchandise, which maintains their present estate, is not fertility of soil, but industry that enricheth them, the gold mines of *Peru*, or *Nova Hispania* may not compare with them.[247] They have neither gold nor silver of their own, wine nor oil, or scarce any corn growing in those united Provinces, little or no Wood, Tin, Lead, Iron, Silk, Wool, any stuff almost, or Metal; and yet *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, that brag of their mines, fertile *England* cannot compare with them.[248] I dare boldly say, that neither *France*, *Tarentum*, *Apulia*,

a. *Lib. 1 hist.*
b. *Increment. urb. lib. 1 cap. 9.*
c. *Boterus.*
d. *Cosmog. lib. 3 cap. 119.*
e. *Chytraeus orat. edit. Francof. 1583.*
f. *Maginus Geog.*
g. *Ortelius e Vaseo & Pet. de Medina.*
h. An hundred families in each.

Lombardy, or any part of *Italy*, *Valence* in *Spain*, or that pleasant *Andalusia*, with their excellent fruits, Wine and Oil, two Harvests, no not any part of *Europe* is so flourishing, so rich, so populous, so full of good ships, of well-built cities, so abounding with all things necessary for the use of man. 'Tis our *Indies*, an Epitome of *China*, and all by reason of their industry, good policy, and commerce. Industry is a Loadstone to draw all good things; that alone makes countries flourish, cities populous, [a]and will enforce by reason of much manure, which necessarily follows, a barren soil to be fertile and good, as Sheep, saith [b]*Dion*, mend a bad pasture.

Tell me Politicians, why is that fruitful *Palestina*, noble *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Asia Minor*, so much decayed, and (mere carcasses now) fallen from that they were? The ground is the same, but the government is altered, the people are grown slothful, idle, their good husbandry, policy, and industry is decayed. *Non fatigata aut effoeta humus* [The soil isn't wearied or exhausted], as [c]*Columella* well informs *Sylvinus*, *sed nostra fit inertia, &c.* [but is made so by our laziness, etc.] May a man believe that which *Aristotle* in his politics, *Pausanias*, *Stephanus*, *Sophianus*, *Gerbelius* relate of old in *Greece*? I find heretofore 70 Cities in *Epirus* overthrown by *Paulus Aemilius*, a goodly Province in times past, [d]now left desolate of good towns and almost inhabitants.[249] 62 Cities in *Macedonia* in *Strabo's* time. I find 30 in *Laconia*, but now scarce so many Villages, saith *Gerbelius*. If any man from Mount *Taygetus* should view the country round about, and see *tot delicias, tot urbes per Peloponnessum dispersas*, so many delicate and brave built cities with such cost and exquisite cunning, so neatly set out in *Peloponnesus*, [e]he should perceive them now ruinous and overthrown, burnt, waste, desolate, and laid level with the ground.[250] *Incredibile dictu, &c.* [Incredible to say, etc.], and as he laments, *Quis talia fando Temperet a lachrymis? Quis tam durus aut ferreus* [who could hold back tears in telling of such things? Who's so hard or unfeeling?] (so he prosecutes it), who is he that can sufficiently condole and commiserate these ruins? Where are those 400 cities of *Egypt*, those 100 cities in *Crete*? Are they now come to two? What saith *Pliny* and *Aelian* of old *Italy*? There were in former ages 1,166 cities: *Blondus* and *Machiavel*, both grant them now nothing near so populous, and full of good towns as in the time of *Augustus* (for now *Leander Albertus* can find but 300 at most), and if we may give credit to [f]*Livy*, not then so strong and puissant as of old: *They mustered 70 Legions in former times, which now the known world will scarce yield. Alexander* built 70 cities in a short space for his part, our *Sultans* and *Turks* demolish twice as many, and leave all desolate. Many will not believe but that our Island of Great *Britain* is now more populous than ever it was; yet let them read *Bede*, *Leland*, and others, they shall find it most flourished in the *Saxon Heptarchy*, and in the *Conqueror's* time was far better inhabited, than at this present.[251] See that *Domesday*-Book, and show me those thousands of Parishes, which are now decayed, cities ruined, Villages

a. *Populi multitudo diligenti cultura foecundat solum* [The great number of people make the soil fruitful with their industrious cultivation], *Boter. lib. 8 cap. 3.*
b. *Orat. 35.*
c. *De re rust. lib. 2 cap. 1.*
d. *Gerbelius desc. Graeciae lib. 6.*
e. *Gerbelius.*
f. *Lib. 7.*

depopulated, &c. The lesser the Territory is, commonly the richer it is. *Parvus sed bene cultus ager* [The field is small but well cultivated]. As those *Athenian*, *Lacedaemonian*, *Arcadian*, *Elean*, *Sicyonian*, *Messenian*, *&c.*, Commonwealths of *Greece* make ample proof, as those Imperial Cities, and free States of *Germany* may witness, those Cantons of *Switzers*, *Rheti*, *Grisons*, *Walloons*, Territories of *Tuscany*, *Lucca* and *Siena* of old, *Piedmont*, *Mantua*, *Venice* in *Italy*, *Ragusa*, *&c.*[252]

That Prince therefore, as [a]*Boterus* adviseth, that will have a rich Country, and fair Cities, let him get good Trades, Privileges, painful inhabitants, Artificers, and suffer no rude Matter unwrought, as tin, Iron, Wool, Lead, &c., to be transported out of his Country. [b]A thing in part seriously attempted amongst us, but not effected. And because industry of men, and multitude of Trades so much avails to the ornament and enriching of a Kingdom; those ancient [c]*Massilians* would admit no man into their city that had not some Trade.[253] *Selim* the first *Turkish* Emperor procured a thousand good Artificers to be brought from *Tauris* to *Constantinople*. The *Polanders* indented with *Henry* Duke of *Anjou*, their new chosen King, to bring with him an hundred Families of Artificers into *Poland*.[254] *James* the first in *Scotland* (as [d]*Buchanan* writes) sent for the best Artificers he could get in *Europe*, and gave them great rewards to teach his Subjects their several Trades.[255] *Edward* the third, our most renowned King to his eternal memory, brought clothing first into this Island, transporting some families of Artificers from *Gaunt* hither.[256] How many goodly cities could I reckon up, that thrive wholly by Trade, where thousands of Inhabitants live singular well by their fingers' ends: as *Florence* in *Italy* by making cloth of Gold; great *Milan* by Silk, and all curious Works; *Arras* in *Artois* by those fair Hangings; many cities in *Spain*, many in *France*, *Germany*, have none other maintenance, especially those within the Land. [e]*Mecca* in *Arabia Petraea*, stands in a most unfruitful country, that wants water, amongst the Rocks (as *Vertomannus* describes it), and yet it is a most elegant and pleasant city, by reason of the traffic of the East and West.[257] *Ormus* in *Persia* is a most famous Mart Town, hath naught else but the opportunity of the haven to make it flourish.[258] *Corinth* a noble city (*Lumen Greciae*, *Tully* calls it), the Eye of *Greece*, by reason of *Cenchreae* and *Lechaeum*, those excellent Ports, drew all that traffic of the *Ionian* and *Aegean* seas to it; & yet the country about it was *curva & superciliosa*, as [f]*Strabo* terms it, rugged and harsh. We may say the same of *Athens*, *Actium*, *Thebes*, *Sparta*, and most of those towns in *Greece*. *Nuremberg* in *Germany* is sited in a most Barren soil, yet a noble Imperial city, by the sole industry of Artificers, and cunning Trades, they draw the riches of most countries to them, so expert in Manufactures, that as *Sallust* long since gave out of the like, *Sedem animae in extremis digitis habent*, their soul, or *intellectus agens*, was placed in their fingers' ends; & so we may say of *Basel*, *Speyer*, *Cambray*, *Frankfurt*, *&c.*[259]

a. *Polit. lib. 3 cap. 8.*
b. For dyeing of cloths, and dressing, &c.
c. *Valer. lib. 2 cap. 1.*
d. *Hist. Scot. lib. 10. Magnis propositis praemiis, ut Scoti ab iis edocerentur* [Having offered great rewards, so that the Scots could be instructed by them].
e. *Munst. cosm. lib. 5 cap. 74.*
f. *Lib. 8 Geogr. Ob asperum situm* [Because of its harsh site].

It is almost incredible to speak what some write of *Mexico*, and the Cities adjoining to it, no place in the world at their first discovery more populous, [a]*Mat. Riccius* the Jesuit and some others, relate of the industry of the *Chinese's* most populous countries, not a beggar, or an idle person to be seen, and how by that means they prosper and flourish.[260] We have the same means, able bodies, pliant wits, matter of all sorts, Wool, Flax, Iron, Tin, Lead, Wood, &c., many excellent subjects to work upon, only industry is wanting. We send our best commodities beyond the seas, which they make good use of to their necessities, set themselves awork about, and severally improve, sending the same to us back at dear rates, or else make toys and baubles of the Tails of them, which they sell to us again, at as great a reckoning as they bought the whole.[261] In most of our cities, some few excepted, like [b]*Spanish* loiterers, we live wholly by Tippling-Inns and Alehouses, Malting are their best ploughs, their greatest traffic to sell ale.[262] [c]*Meteran* and some others object to us, that we are no whit so industrious as the *Hollanders*: *Manual trades* (saith he) *which are more curious or troublesome, are wholly exercised by strangers: they dwell in a Sea full of Fish, but they are so idle, they will not catch so much as shall serve their own turns, but buy it of their neighbours.* Tush, [d]*Mare liberum* [the sea is free], they fish under our noses, and sell it to us when they have done, at their own prices.

——— *Pudet haec opprobria nobis*
Et dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.

[. . . It's disgraceful that these reproaches
Can be levelled at us, and that they can't be refuted.]

I am ashamed to hear this objected by strangers, and know not how to answer it.

Amongst our Towns, there is only [e]*London* that bears the face of a City, [f]*Epitome Britanniae* [the epitome of Britain], a famous *Emporium*, second to none beyond Seas, a noble Mart: but *sola crescit, decrescentibus aliis* [it alone grows, others are getting smaller]; and yet in my slender judgement, defective in many things. The rest ([g]some few excepted) are in mean estate, ruinous most part, poor and full of beggars, by reason of their decayed trades, neglected or bad policy, idleness of their Inhabitants, riot, which had rather beg or loiter, and be ready to starve, than work.[263]

I cannot deny but that something may be said in defence of our Cities, [h]that

a. *Lib. Edit. a Nic. Trigaut. Belg. Anno 1616, de Christ. expedit. in Sinas.*
b. *Ubi nobiles probri loco habent artem aliquam profiteri* [Where nobles who profess any employment are held in disgrace]. *Clenard. ep. lib. 1.*
c. *Lib. 13 Belg. Hist.*
d. *Grotii Liber.*
e. *Urbs animis numeroque potens et robore gentis* [A city powerful from the courage, number and strength of its people]. *Scaliger.*
f. *Camden.*
g. *York, Bristol, Norwich, Worcester, &c.*
h. Mr. *Gainsford's* Argument: Because Gentlemen dwell with us in the Country villages, our Cities are less, is nothing to the purpose: put three hundred or four hundred villages in a Shire, and every village yield a Gentleman, what is four hundred families to increase one of our Cities, or to contend with theirs, which stand thicker? And whereas ours usually consists of seven thousand, theirs consists of forty thousand inhabitants.

they are not so fair built (for the sole magnificence of this Kingdom (concerning buildings), hath been of old in those *Norman* Castles and Religious Houses), so rich, thick-sited, populous, as in some other countries; besides the reasons *Cardan* gives, *Subtil. Lib. 11*, we want Wine and Oil, their two Harvests, we dwell in a colder Air, and for that cause must a little more liberally [a]feed of Flesh, as all Northern Countries do: our provision will not therefore extend to the maintenance of so many: yet notwithstanding we have matter of all sorts, an open sea for traffic, as well as the rest, goodly Havens. And how can we excuse our negligence, our riot, drunkenness, &c., and such enormities that follow it? We have excellent laws enacted, you will say, severe statutes, houses of correction, &c., to small purpose it seems, it is not houses will serve, but cities of correction, [b]our trades generally ought to be reformed, wants supplied. In other countries they have the same grievances, I confess, but that doth not excuse us, [c]wants, defects, enormities, idle drones, tumults, discords, contention, Lawsuits, many Laws made against them to repress those innumerable brawls and Lawsuits, excess in Apparel, Diet, decay of Tillage, Depopulations, [d]especially against Rogues, Beggars, Egyptian vagabonds (so termed at least), which have [e]swarmed all over *Germany*, *France*, *Italy*, *Poland*, as you may read in [f]*Munster*, *Cranzius*, and *Aventinus*; as those *Tartars* and *Arabians* at this day do in the Eastern countries: yet such hath been the iniquity of all ages, as it seems to small purpose.[264] *Nemo in nostra civitate mendicus esto* [Let nobody be a beggar in our state], saith *Plato*, he will have them purged from a [g]Commonwealth, [h]*as a bad humour from the body*, that are like so many Ulcers and Boils, and must be cured before the Melancholy body can be eased.

What *Carolus Magnus*, the *Chinese*, the *Spaniards*, the Duke of *Saxony*, and many other states have decreed in this case, read *Arnisaeus cap. 19*, *Boterus lib. 8 cap. 2*, *Osorius de Rebus gest. Eman. lib. 11*.[265] When a country is over-stored

a. *Maxima pars victus in carne consistit* [The largest part of their diet consists of meat]. *Polyd. Lib. 1 Hist.*

b. *Refraenate monopolii licentiam, pauciores alantur otio, redintegretur agricolatio, lanificium instauretur, ut sit honestum negotium quo se exerceat otiosa illa turba. Nisi his malis medentur, frustra exercent justitiam* [Curb the licence of monopoly, let fewer be maintained in idleness, let agriculture be renewed, let weaving be restored, so that there is decent employment in which that idle crowd can engage itself. Unless these evils are corrected, they administer justice in vain], *Mor. Utop. Lib. 1.*

c. *Mancipiis locuples eget aeris Cappadocum rex* [The king of the Cappadocians, rich in slaves, lacks money]. *Hor.*

d. *Regis dignitatis non est exercere imperium in mendicos, sed in opulentos. Non est regni secus, sed carceris esse custos* [The dignity of a king consists in exercising power not over beggars, but over the wealthy. Otherwise it is to be the keeper not of a kingdom, but a prison]. *Mor. Utop. Lib. 1.*

e. *Colluvies hominum, mirabiles excocti sole, immundi veste, foedi visu, furtis imprimis acres, &c.* [The dregs of men, strange sunburnt people, dressed filthily, with ugly looks, pre-eminently zealous in robbery, etc.]

f. *Cosmog. lib. 3 cap. 5.*

g. *Seneca. Haud minus turpia principi multa supplicia, quam medico multa funera* [A multitude of punishments is no less shameful to a prince than a multitude of funerals is to a doctor].

h. *Ac pituitam & bilem a corpore* (11 *de leg.*) *omnes vult exterminari* [And he wants (Bk 11 of the *Laws*) to expel all phlegm and bile from the body].

with people, as a pasture is oft overlaid with cattle, they had wont in former times to disburden themselves, by sending out colonies, or by wars, as those old *Romans*, or by employing them at home about some public buildings, as Bridges, Roadways, for which those *Romans* were famous in this Island: as *Augustus Caesar* did in *Rome*, the *Spaniards* in their *Indian* Mines, as at *Potosa* in *Peru*, where some 30,000 men are still at work, 6,000 Furnaces ever boiling, &c.[266] [a]Aqueducts, Bridges, Havens, those stupend works of *Trajan*, *Claudius* at [b]*Ostium*, *Dioclesiani Therma*, *Fucinus Lacus*, that *Piraeus* in Athens, made by *Themistocles*, *Amphitheatrums* of curious Marble, as at *Verona*, *Civitas Philippi*, and *Heraclea* in Thrace, those *Appian* and *Flaminian* ways, prodigious works all may witness: and rather than they should be [c]idle, as those [d]*Egyptian Pharaohs*, *Moeris* and *Sesostris* did, to task their subjects to build unnecessary Pyramids, Obelisks, Labyrinths, Channels, Lakes, Gigantian works all, to divert them from Rebellion, Riot, Drunkenness, [e]*quo scilicet alantur, & ne vagando laborare desuescant* [by which they would certainly be sustained, and so that they would not forget how to work due to wandering around].[267]

Another eyesore is that want of conduct and navigable rivers, a great blemish as [f]*Boterus*, [g]*Hippolytus à Collibus*, and other Politicians hold, if it be neglected in a Commonwealth. Admirable cost and charge is bestowed in the Low Countries on this behalf, in the Duchy of *Milan*, Territory of *Padua*, in [h]*France*, *Italy*, *China*, and so likewise about corrivations of Waters to moisten and refresh barren Grounds, to drain Fens, Bogs, and Moors.[268] *Masinissa* made many inward parts of *Barbary*, and *Numidia* in *Africk* before his time incult and horrid, fruitful and battable by this means.[269] Great industry is generally used all over the Eastern Countries in this kind, especially in *Egypt*, about *Babylon* and *Damascus*, as *Vertomannus* and [i]*Gothardus Arthus* relate; about *Barcelona*, *Segovia*, *Murcia*, and many other places of *Spain*, *Milan* in *Italy*, by reason of which, their Soil is much improved, and infinite commodities arise to the Inhabitants.[270]

The *Turks* of late attempted to cut that *Isthmus* betwixt *Africk* and *Asia*, which [j]*Sesostris* and *Darius*, and some *Pharaohs* of *Egypt* had formerly

a. See *Lipsius Admiranda*.
b. *De quo Suet. in Claudio, & Plinius cap. 36.*
c. *Ut egestati simul & ignaviae occurratur opificia condiscantur, tenues subleventur* [So that poverty and inactivity are relieved, crafts are learned thoroughly, the poor are supported]. *Bodin. lib. 6 cap. 2 num. 670.*
d. *Amasis Aegypti Rex legem promulgavit, ut omnes subditi quotannis rationem redderent unde viverent* [Amasis, king of Egypt, promulgated a law that all his subjects should annually declare their means of livelihood].
e. *Besoldus discursu polit. cap. 2.*
f. *Lib. 1 de increm. urb. cap. 6.*
g. *Cap. 5 de increm. Urb. Quas flumen, lacus, aut mare alluit* [Those which are washed against by a river, a lake or the sea].
h. *Incredibilem commoditatem vectura mercium tres fluvii navigabiles, &c.* [Three navigable rivers, an incredible advantage for the transportation of merchandise, etc.] *Boterus de Gallia.*
i. *Ind. Orient. cap. 2. Rotam in medio flumine constituunt, cui ex pellibus animalium consutos uteres appendunt, hi dum rota movetur, aquam per canales, &c.* [In the middle of the water they place a wheel, on which they hang bags made out of stitched-together animal skins; as the wheel is set in motion, these push the water through the channels, etc.]
j. *Herodotus.*

undertaken, but with ill success, as [a]*Diodorus Siculus* records, and *Pliny*, for that Red Sea being three [b]cubits higher than *Egypt*, would have drowned all the country, *coepto destiterant*, they left off; yet as the same [c]*Diodorus* writes, *Ptolemy* renewed the work many years after, and absolved it in a more opportune place.[271]

That *Isthmus* of *Corinth* was likewise undertaken to be made navigable by *Demetrius*, by *Julius Caesar*, *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Herodes Atticus*, to make a speedy [d]passage, and less dangerous, from the *Ionian* and *Aegean* seas; but because it could not be so well effected, the *Peloponnesians* built a wall like our *Picts'* wall about *Schoenunte*, where *Neptune's* Temple stood, and in the shortest cut over the *Isthmus*, of which *Diodorus lib. 11*, *Herodotus lib. 8*, *Uran.*[272] Our latter writers call it *Hexamilium*, which *Amurath* the Turk demolished, the *Venetians anno* 1453 repaired in 15 days with 30,000 men.[273] Some, saith *Acosta*, would have a passage cut from *Panama* to *Nombre de Dios* in *America*, but *Thuanus* & *Serres* the *French* historians speak of a famous Aqueduct in *France*, intended in *Henry* the fourth's time, from the *Loire* to the *Seine*, and from *Rhodanus* to *Loire*.[274] The like to which, was formerly assayed by *Domitian* the Emperor, [e]from *Arar* to *Mossella*, which *Cornelius Tacitus* speaks of in the 13th of his Annals, after by [f]*Charles* the great and others.[275] Much cost hath in former times been bestowed in either new-making or mending channels of rivers, and their passages (as *Aurelianus* did by *Tiber* to make it navigable to *Rome*, to convey corn from *Egypt* to the city, *vadum alvei tumentis effodit*, saith *Vopiscus*, *& Tyburis ripas extruxit* [he dug out the ford in the swelling riverbed . . . and raised the banks of the Tiber], he cut fords, made banks, &c.), decayed havens, which *Claudius* the Emperor with infinite pains and charges attempted at *Ostia*, as I have said, the *Venetians* at this day preserve their City; many excellent means to enrich their Territories, have been fostered, invented in most Provinces of *Europe*, as planting some *Indian* plants amongst us, Silkworms, [g]the very Mulberry leaves in the Plains of *Granada*, yield 30,000 crowns *per annum* to the King of *Spain's* coffers, besides those many trades and artificers that are busied about them in the kingdom of *Granada*, *Murcia*, and all over *Spain*.[276] In *France* a great benefit is raised by salt, &c., whether these things might not be as happily attempted with us, and with like success, it may be controverted, Silkworms (I mean), Vines, Fir trees, &c.[277] *Cardan* exhorts *Edward* the sixth to plant Olives, and is fully persuaded they would prosper in this Island. With us, navigable rivers are most part neglected; our streams are not great, I confess, by reason of the narrowness of the Island, yet they run smoothly and

a. *Centum pedes lata fossa, 30 alta* [A trench one hundred feet wide, 30 deep].
b. Contrary to that of *Archimedes* who holds the superficies of all waters even.
c. *Lib. 1 cap. 3.*
d. *Dion, Pausanias, & Nic. Gerbelius. Munster. Cosm. lib. 4 cap. 36. Ut breviter foret navigatio & minus periculosa* [So that the voyage would be shorter and less dangerous].
e. *Ut navigabilia inter se Occidentis & Septentrionis littora fierent* [So that it would be made navigable between the western and northern shores].
f. *Charles* the great went about to make a channel from *Rhine* to *Danubius. Bil. Pirkimerus descript. Ger.* the ruins are yet seen about *Weissenberg* from *Rednitz* to *Altmuhl.*
g. *Maginus Geogr.*